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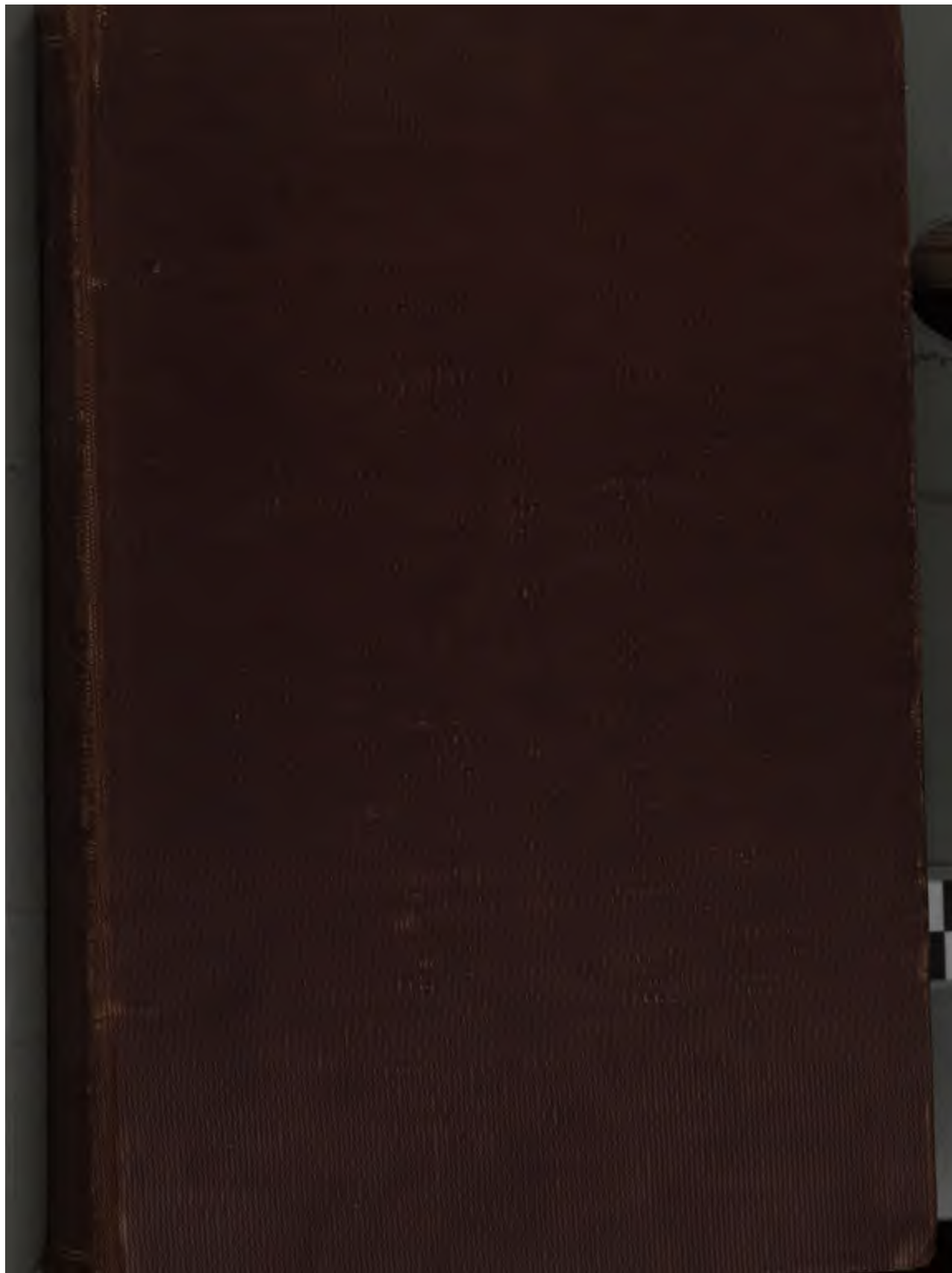
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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
BAPTIST DENOMINATION
IN
AMERICA
AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

BY DAVID BENEDICT.

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PREFACE

TO FOREIGN BAPTISTS, BAPTIST AUTHORS, AND THE BAPTISMAL CONTROVERSY.

It is now seven years since I commenced in earnest my preparation for this continuation of Baptist History.

In the prosecution of this long and laborious undertaking I have gone much beyond my original design, and as an unavoidable consequence, the period of bringing it to a close has been protracted far beyond my own calculations and the expectations of my patrons and friends.

Foreign Department. An abridgment of what is contained in my first vol., with the addition of such items and facts as I could collect from Orchard's work on *Foreign Baptists*, and other productions of baptist writers which have been published since my former accounts were made out, was all that I at first proposed under this head. But as I progressed in my inquiries and researches, for the reasons which I shall soon name, I resolved on a more thorough investigation of the history of the people among whom our peculiar sentiments are found than I had ever before made.

Waldenses and kindred communities. I found so many conflicting statements relative to the denominational character of these ancient witnesses for the truth, that I determined, as far as possible, to go back to the original works, from which baptists and pedobaptists have made their quotations in support of their adverse and respective claims. This I have found a laborious task; the result of my examinations is expressed in pp. 60, 61, 72—76.

Dr. Wall's maxim in matters of dispute on the baptismal question is full of sound sense and ought always to be observed, viz.: "It is unwise to deny to an opponent what can certainly be proved, as it creates a suspicion of all else we have to say." Those who contend that "the Waldenses as a whole always baptized their children," and those who maintain that the practice was not known among them, mutually place themselves in an extremely awkward position, since facts in history are continually coming up which most categorically disprove both these statements. I would as soon attempt to affirm or deny the practice of pedobaptism among the *Dissenters* and *Nonconformists* of England of all classes for many centuries past, as to establish either of the above theories.

The very generic character of the term Waldenses, is overlooked by most writers respecting the wide-spread community to whom it is applied; they view them as we do any sect or denomination of the present time, and do not seem to realize that the people in question were spread over all Europe for many centuries, and were, as Robinson denominates them, the Ante-Lutheran Protestants, who, while they all agreed in opposing the errors and oppressions of the papal power, still differed from each other in their creeds and forms much the same as do the anti-catholics of the present day. Whatever local name they bore, the catholics called them all Vaudois or Waldenses, the same as they now do *Lutherans* all dissenters from their church in all the east.

This view of the diversified character of this great people enables us as baptists to meet our opponents in an open field which we may range all around, and if we can prove, as we certainly can, that any portion of them rejected infant baptism, our main position is established.

No writer on our side should lay claim to all who passed under the general names of Waldenses, Albigenses, Patarines, Picards, &c.; the protestants, to be sure, have generally done so, and I have become so ineffably disgusted with their sweeping pretensions in opposition to so many facts of history, and especially to catholic impeachments of the anti-pedobaptist heresy of some of them, that I am sorry to see any of our people follow their example.

I have endeavored to exhibit the arguments and concessions of Mosheim in a clearer point of light than our writers have generally done; my comments on the statements of this distinguished historian may be found in pp. 44—49.

Dr. Wall, of England, lived among the baptists and had free intercourse with them relative to their peculiar views, which may account for his treating them in his writings with more mildness and respect than most authors of that age were accustomed to do; but Dr Mosheim does not appear to have had any personal acquaintance with them nor any pred-

lections in their favor; on the other hand his feelings toward the whole community and their primordial principles, I think it not too much to say, were excessively bitter and severe; he uniformly describes them as a deluded and fanatical people. This being the case, any of his statements which favored their cause must have been the result of the abstract principles of historical veracity.

From the accounts of this author, as may be seen in my quotations and comments, the three following points are made exceedingly plain:

1. That there was an intimate connection between the German Anabaptists and the old Waldenses, Petrobrussians and kindred sects, from whom, in his opinion, they descended.

2. That "the origin of that sect which acquired the name of *anabaptists* by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained."

3. That the Waldenses, Petrobrussians, Wickliffites, Hussites and Henricians, were all essentially alike, and all were the denominational ancestors of the German Anabaptists. Thus much for the concessions of the great German historian and distinguished doctor of the Lutheran church.

My readers will discover that in my descriptions of the ancient sects, I have selected those who by the general consent of protestant writers, were evangelical christians, and also were distinguished for the extent and duration of their institutions; and the five parties above named will, I believe, be admitted, by all who have but a moderate acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, to have embraced the substance of the dissenting interest for many centuries.

I became so much interested in the history of these ancient people, and found such increasing evidence of the extensive spread of baptist sentiments among them, that I very much regretted that my time and limits compelled me to suspend it for the present.

Sources of information yet to be explored. Many of our brethren have an idea that with proper attention, there may be found in the libraries of the old world historical facts which will illustrate more fully than has yet been done the affairs of our denomination in the *dark ages*; my own impression is, that our historians have already dug out most of the facts which are available for us as a denomination, which can be obtained from ancient authors, and that the archives of the old ecclesiastical courts must be examined for additional intelligence. With the exception of those who were destroyed by mobs, by clandestine malevolence, and by local crusades, the martyrs had formal trials according to the established forms of law, which were generally in conformity to the Roman system of jurisprudence. The records of these trials were deposited among the official documents of the tribunals before which the reputed heretics were arraigned, whether of the Inquisition or of the bishops; and the indictments, the interrogatories and the answers of the criminals, indicate the heresies of which they were accused. Detailed accounts of a number of these trials are found in Allix's *History of the Waldenses*; the author of the *Dutch Martyrology* gathered much of his information from records of this kind, some of them were in latin, others in the German, Dutch, and French languages.

Robinson's story of the existence of a baptist church near Cambridge, about four centuries ago, was obtained from the records of the bishop of Ely, which were in latin. There might be some difficulty in gaining access to the documents under consideration, as they are mostly in the hands of the Roman Catholics; but literary men even in that church are becoming more courteous as literary antiquarians than formerly; great freedom is allowed at Rome and other strongholds of the catholics for researches of this kind.

No small amount of literary acquirements would be needful for the investigations I propose; many of the works are in manuscript with all the abbreviations of former years.

The Baptismal controversy. This whole article is in addition to my original plan, and is so much beyond what I promised to my patrons; the examination of all the works on my list, and which I have reviewed to a greater or less extent, with the article on Foreign Baptists, cost me a full year's labor more than I had anticipated. Reading men will understand the amount of labor I have performed, however imperfectly it has been done; others will have but little conception of the toil which I have endured. Completeness of enumeration of all works on the subject was my aim; on the baptist side I am confident that but few productions of any considerable size have been omitted; the list of pedobaptist authors, I am conscious, as yet is very imperfect, but I am pursuing my inquiries and augmenting my catalogue by frequent additions. I shall esteem it a favor to have information of any works which are not on my list, on either side great or small.¹

Mode of baptism. In conformity to the custom of ecclesiastical writers, I have uniformly adopted this term, although upon the strict principles of philology it is ungrammatical and improper, when any but immersion in administering the rite is employed. The *mode of dipping* is a form of speech which no one would think of using; pouring or sprinkling may be administered in different ways, and the application may be more or less copious, according to the instruments employed by the administrator, or his notions of propriety or necessity in the case.

¹ All must bear in mind that according to my rules of proceeding, as a general thing I omit anonymous productions, unless the authors are well known, and fix on those which are devoted principally to the baptismal controversy.

Strictly speaking, it would be just as proper to speak of the *form* of a circle, or the *shape* of a triangle, as of the *mode* of baptism. The term baptism defines itself, and nothing but *pseudo* and sectarian criticism would ever make anything else out of it but immersion. So it was viewed by the ancients, and is still by all branches of the Greek Church. They speak as lightly of aspersion or affusion as do the baptists; and this, as my quotations have abundantly shown, has been the opinion of learned men of all parties, countries, and ages.

Infant baptism. This expression I have also uniformly used, unless in quoting from others, when *infant sprinkling* in most cases would be the appropriate language. In all accounts of baptism for thirteen centuries, and at present among the Greeks, the phrase is a proper one. In these and all other descriptions of ecclesiastical affairs, as a matter of courtesy, and to avoid circumlocution, I have conformed to the current language of authors in general.

Indifference to ordinances of all kinds. I did intend to have made some comments on this subject in my general remarks, but as they have been omitted, I will in this place merely say that loose views of theology uniformly superinduce a cool and philosophical indifference to baptism in all ways, the Lord's supper, and christian ordinances and duties in general.

The *old* General Baptists in England, sunk down to a low point in their requisitions of candidates for membership in their churches. The same may be said of most of the Menno-nites, whether in Europe or America. They required a profession of faith, such as it was, but in process of time all barriers will be broken down, in the wide sweep of a liberal creed; and it will take but a few centuries to do the work.²

Terms of communion. This subject has often been incidentally referred to in the course of my narratives, but facts connected with it, have been exhibited without much comment. I had intended, in my closing remarks, to show that the Baptists as a body, in all ages and countries, have literally adhered to the grand primordial principle of all churches in christendom, national or dissenting:

“Nemo ad cœnam admittitur nisi baptizatus.”

No one is admitted to the Lord's supper unless he is baptized.³

Dr. Wall comes to the same point, as follows:

“Among all the absurdities that were ever held, none ever maintained *that*, that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized.”⁴

These statements are not only confirmed by the practice of all churches who baptize at all, but their rules of church building, as defined by their oldest divines, are very explicit on the point, as I could show from their writings.

The only difficulty with the baptists is, that they differ from most others as to what constitutes a valid baptism. All must admit that they conform to the great law of baptism, as above stated, and that in their peculiar requirements of their communicants they adhere to the letter of the scriptures, and are consistent with themselves.

My rules of proceeding on controverted points. When treating on all matters of controversy, or when speaking of all churches, creeds, and forms, I have studiously avoided all terms of reproach or disrespect, so far as my own language is concerned; when quoting from others, I could not always follow the rules which in the beginning of my work I had prescribed for myself, without using undue freedom with their writings. My work is professedly of a denominational character, and one great object, from first to last, has been the defense and propagation of the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, yet even on the baptismal question, I have published nothing of my own writing which I would not have *said* to any one on the other side. As I most sincerely believe that pedobaptism is an unscriptural institution, and injurious in its tendency, I have used my best endeavors to cut it up root and branch, and would as heartily rejoice to see it banished from the christian church, as I would to see that church universally prevail. Yet I know no bounds to my friendship, fellowship and goodwill, to multitudes who maintain it. While I regard them as most certainly in an error *quoad hoc*, in this one thing, yet I most cordially agree with them upon almost every other

² Not long since, I fell into conversation with an intelligent layman, whose sympathies were strongly enlisted on the side of the Unitarian creed as professed by the descendants of the New England Puritans. In answer to my questions on this subject he frankly admitted that there was a growing indifference to the ordinances of religion among the religious community with whom he was associated; that infant baptism was much more generally neglected than formerly; the same of the Lord's supper, and the outward forms of religion in general.

While the cause of evangelical religion suffers from the paralyzing influence of latitudinarian creeds, that of historical literature becomes the gainer. This is especially true of the present race of neologists of Germany; as they have become indifferent to all the dogmas and rites of their ancestors, they throw open all the archives of antiquity, bring everything to the test of a fair and impartial scrutiny, and follow the facts of history wherever they may lead them, whether the doctrines and deeds of old ecclesiastical establishments are approved or undermined. In this way, all the hitherto hidden mysteries of the Munster affair are being fairly examined, and the characters of men whom sectarian bigotry, for three centuries past, has doomed to infamy and disgrace, are about to be presented according to the principles of historical veracity, which they have never before been, and thus far the old anabaptists have gained in credit by the investigations which have been made.

³ Hornbeckius, as quoted in Booth's Apology for the Baptists, Boston ed., p. 17.

⁴ History of Infant Baptism, Part II., Chap. IX.

point, and have no hesitation in saying, that I most devoutly wish that in many things many of my own people would more closely follow their examples. Their notions of baptism, both as to the subjects and mode, for almost half a century I have disowned and opposed, but for the people themselves I cherish fraternal affection and profound respect.

Friends and helpers. These have been so many even on this first volume of my new series of Baptist History, that I am somewhat embarrassed in making a selection from the list. As all cannot be mentioned, I will name among my pedobaptist correspondents, Drs. Miller, Murdock, Woods, Pond, Colman and Coit; among the baptists, Drs. Williams, Dowling, Sears, Chase, Choules, Sharpe, and Rev. Messrs. Hague, Turnbull, Ripley, Woolsey, of the northern states, and Fox, Dr. Malcom of Ky., and Rev. Messrs. Haynes of S. C., and Williams of Penn., &c. These gentlemen have afforded me assistance in the loan of books, in references to works needful for my use, or in historical facts pro and con on disputed matters.

From England I have had books and documents from Rev. Messrs. Orchard and Norton of London; in the book line they have sent me D'Anvers on Baptism, which I could not find in this country in any library, public or private, Stonel's Do., and the first vol. of the Hansard Knollys Society.

A number of the gentlemen above named have referred me to other works of an historical or controversial character, which I have not been able yet to obtain, or else my limits would not permit me to use.

I found it out of the question to do justice to the baptismal controversy without a thorough examination of the works on both sides. Dr. Wall's three volumes I have gone into as I would into a text-book, and the same may be said of many others. This labor has caused a great consumption of time, but it has given me a more full view of the positions and the various arguments of all classes of pedobaptists in every age and country than I could otherwise obtain.

These varying positions, from those of the strongest defenders of baptismal regeneration, without figure or contingency, as held by the catholics and most national churches, to the mild and attenuated views of the Independents and kindred parties, I have endeavored to describe and present to the public, as far as possible, without notes or comments of my own. I will not, with Dr. Wall, say that I have been more thorough and candid than preceding writers on either side; but thus much I will say, that according to my judgment and belief, the number of persons is not large who have so patiently and fully examined more of the works of the different parties.

Acknowledgment. As a matter of justice, I am pleased to inform my readers, that, super-added to all other aids of my brethren, Dr. Williams, of New York, examined generally my MS. copy, and also the printed proofs of my work, so far as Foreign Baptists and Baptist authors were concerned, and by my request made such additions and amendments as his superior reading enabled him to do; so that to his assiduity and paternal kindness my readers will be indebted for a considerable number of facts and passages which are interspersed in my narratives.

Multum in parvo has been my motto, and I have found to my cost the difference between constructing short and abbreviated articles and long ones.

P R E F A C E

TO THE

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS.

The main object in this department of my history has been to fill in a space of over thirty years since my old work was published; but as that may be difficult of access to many readers, I have abridged its most prominent parts, so as to present a connected and continuous view of all the affairs of all classes of baptists, from their first settlement and their earliest movements in the country.

Although a number of local histories have been put forth within a few years past, yet most of my materials for the American department have been obtained from my numerous correspondents in all parts of the wide-spread field which I have endeavored to explore; to whom, for the last seven years, a large amount of my historical papers and circulars have been sent.

In many cases it has been somewhat difficult to make them understand my wants, and while some have been too brief in their communications, others have gone much more in detail than was needful for my plan. As my researches are to be continued if Providence permits, they will see in my historical sketches what kind of materials are wanted, and in what form they should be presented.

Church Manuals. But a small number of these useful documents have I been able to obtain; some few came to hand too late, but I am inclined to think that very few churches have published them. They should always contain some brief historical sketches of the origin of the body, its succession of pastors, &c., and no full-grown church should be without one. When well got up, they are the best documents for a historian, and on which implicit confidence may be placed.

Want of stability in churches and associations. Many of them are more like the encampments of travelling companies, than permanent settlements, such has been the migratory character of great multitudes of our people. Changes of location and names, and new and different dates, I have often found serious difficulties in the way of historical correctness. A new set of men would often remodel the institutions which they find on the ground, to make them conform to their notions of building. But as the people become more stationary in their habits, these changing propensities will subside.

The American field well filled for Baptists. Since the commencement of the Christian dispensation, never did people of our sentiments find a country so suited to their principles and pursuits, where they could operate with such entire freedom, and with such surprising effect. In all other countries, the ruling powers either in church or state, and generally in both, have thrown obstructions in their way, but here everything is inviting them to go up and possess the land, not for the purpose of domination and control, but for the diffusion of their free and primitive institutions. In view of these special favors of Providence toward our denomination, how often have I been grieved and astonished that so many of them would spend so much of their time in carping about little matters, and in distressing each other with their sectional or provincial jealousies and altercations. And although I am a decided advocate for the foreign mission cause, yet I am often surprised, beyond measure, that our people generally do not look with more interest upon, and put forth more vigorous efforts in favor of, the great *Home field*, which is spread open before us; this great field of moral destitution, to which millions are flocking from almost all parts of the old world, and which is fast filling up with the exuberant growth of our native population. Other sects and parties, and some whose success all deplore, seem to have more correct views of the importance of this field than is entertained by many of our own society, and not unfrequently do I inquire in what year of our Lord shall we awake from our slumbers, shake off our apathy, and, instead of standing entirely aloof from the *Home mission* cause, or doling out our scanty pittance for its support, give it our hearty approval. We are doing well in our foreign efforts, but how much better could we do if our home field was under good cultivation, and our people had all learnt the important lesson of each one building over against his own house.

The Baptists at home in this country. The American soil seems well fitted for the spread of our peculiar opinions; they are in a measure indigenous to this new world of freedom, civil and religious; they have spread with astonishing rapidity for the last half century, as may be seen by the augmentations of their numbers among the people who are altogether baptists *de facto*; and not only this, but they have been widely diffused among many other communities where, they either do not preponderate, or who, while they are of the baptist persuasion, have not hitherto been counted of their connection.

The Millerites, or Adventists, by thousands, have separated from the baptists of different parties, but still are staunch advocates for immersion; or, if they came from the Methodists or other pedobaptist communities, all I believe follow their custom as to baptism.¹

The whole body of the *Mormons* or *Latter-day Saints*, however it may affect the credit of our principles, are inveterate dippers, and as thorough-going anti-pedobaptists as can be found.

With the Methodists in this country the practice of immersion and the neglect of infant baptism are both making rapid advances; in many places their converts almost uniformly require the primitive mode of baptizing.

Members not a few, who by the aid or consent of their pastors, have followed the baptist rule in the business of baptism, are found in connection with a number of the large evangelical denominations in this country.

Many thousands of baptists *de facto* in these positions, are thus left out of our statistical accounts of the denomination, as we count none but those who are members of churches among the different classes of baptists whom we have placed on our list.

Small associations. As I have said in my narratives, I am mortified to present so many very small bodies of this kind where there is no excuse for their inferior size, but the splits and divisions among them. If many of them would unite together, the measure, I should think, would be a good one.

Small churches. While large bodies in cities and populous places, are often too slow in getting up new interests, by sending out colonies or encouraging them to form new organizations, many of those of moderate size in country locations have sometimes carried their divisions much too far, even when made by mutual agreement; and the result has been, we have by far too many feeble and pastorless communities. The old system of having *branches*, which hung in colonial dependence on the central or parent stock, was, after all the objections against it, preferable to the one which has succeeded it. These remarks are made on a broad scale, and will not apply to all cases where either the former or more modern system has been maintained.

One thing is certain, that no churches can get along well without good ministers and comfortable houses of worship; and it is pleasing to witness the rapid advances which have been made in both these respects within a few years past.²

¹ These people are not sufficiently organized to be reported as a distinct community. So far as I am acquainted with them, they are a much better people than is generally supposed, and I am always sorry to see them treated with ridicule and contempt. Their theory is nothing new, but has often been advanced for many centuries past.

Our people generally, I presume, are not aware of the inroads which the *Adventists* have made among them for a few years past. From this cause I account, in part, for the diminution of our numbers in many of the northern States. My correspondents have given me hints on this subject which I did not think it expedient to incorporate in my narratives. The disputes between the parties have, no doubt, in many cases been unskillfully managed on both sides, the result of which has been to add a new sect to the multitudes heretofore existing, which is baptist in practice, though not in name. A portion of them, in time, will probably come back to their quondam associates.

² I did intend to have said much more than I have done either in my narratives or here, relative to the evil consequences of so many feeble communities; also on the proper course to be pursued in cities for the accommodation of the multitude of members who cannot afford to obtain seats in the modern costly temples which wealthy ones build for themselves; many of them will go to other places of worship, and all must see the danger of serious losses to the denomination unless chapels of ease, in some way or other, are provided. But more of this hereafter.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTIST DENOMINATION.

Part 1.

FOREIGN BAPTISTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE VARIOUS DISSENTING PARTIES, WHOSE AFFAIRS ARE
HERE DESCRIBED UP TO THE TIME OF THE WALDENSES.

SECTION I.

National Churches.—Greek Dissenters, &c.

THE history of foreign baptists, as I have arranged it, embraces a period of fifteen centuries, from the introduction of christianity till the Reformation, in the early part of the sixteenth century. It is not my design to give even an abridged account of ecclesiastical affairs during this long lapse of ages, but merely to exhibit the best evidence that can be procured, that the peculiar sentiments of that portion of christian professors, now called baptists, have always lived, and been maintained, among the different sects and parties which have been constantly seceding from the Greek, the Roman, and other great bodies, which may properly be denominated

NATIONAL CHURCHES.—The term is at once understood by all readers of ecclesiastical history; but, as there may be some into whose hands the work may fall, to whom some brief explanations on this subject may be acceptable, I will proceed to give them.

The Greek Church.—This church claims priority of that of Rome; it came out as a distinct body from a division of the great catholic party in early times, into the *eastern* and *western* churches. The story is very long, and cannot be given here in its most summary details. Besides, the names of *eastern* and *western*, those of the Greek and Latin churches, have been applied to these ancient and extensive communities, on account of the languages which prevailed in the two respective sections of country.

The Greek church embraces in its communion a population nearly equal, and some accounts make it superior, to that of Rome. This church is overwhelmed in superstition, but the ancient mode of immersion, in all ages and countries, it has uniformly maintained, whether in the temperate climes of the south, or in the frozen regions of Russia and Siberia.

The Church of Rome is now a phrase of magnitude and splendor; yet, at first, it stood for no more than an assembly of converted Jews, dwelling at Rome.

who met for worship in the hired house of Saul of Tarsus, then a prisoner. The general ideas conveyed by this imposing title, are familiar to all classes of readers.

The Lutheran Church takes its name from that of the distinguished man by whom it was founded, a little more than three centuries since. This body embraces many millions, and is the established religion of a number of European kingdoms and states.

The Churches of England, Scotland, Holland, Switzerland or the Helvetic Church, and the Reformed Church of Germany, or Calvinists—all come under the head of national churches; they all seek protection and support from the civil power, and are zealous advocates for the old doctrine of union of church and state, which the baptists, in all ages, have reprobated and condemned, as fraught with absurdity and harm.

From all these churches large bodies of members, for different reasons, in all ages, have withdrawn, and united in separate communities, which were always branded with the name of heretics, and were pursued with unchristian and unfeeling severity by the great bodies from which they dissented, and by none more than the church of Rome.

Among this class of "heretics," to adopt the language of all old ecclesiastical historians, and some of more modern date, the baptists look for their denominational kindred, whose doctrines of religious freedom, of the ordinances of the gospel, and of primitive purity and simplicity, were similar to their own.

For the purpose of coming at the testimony of which we are in pursuit in the most clear and convincing manner, I shall in the first place give some brief sketches of the history, and exhibit a few of the most prominent incidents pertaining to the rise, progress, and general character of the most considerable bodies of these heretical dissenters, which have appeared at different times in all parts of the christian world.

This will enable us to discover their various locations, the extent of their operations, and their claims to the sympathy and fellowship of evangelical christians of the present time.

The great mass of these dissenters were in the common walks of life, with but little information or influence. In all cases, however, they had among them men of talent and education, who were capable of writing in defense of their character and cause. It is certain, moreover, that all works of this kind were destroyed, so that all we now know of them is derived from the statements of their opponents, as we shall more fully show in another place.

The first three Centuries.—I shall omit the recital of the common arguments of the baptists in favor of their cause, from all that appears in the New Testament, and in the histories of the primitive times, and will only say, that I have always considered their appeal to the records and commands of the great christian lawgiver, the bulwark of their defense for their departure from the pedobaptist system.

Christ's commission to his apostles, his own baptism by John, the story of Philip and the eunuch, of Lydia, the jailer, and kindred narratives—in the language of Dr. Carson—"all the ingenuity of all the critics of Europe cannot silence the evidence of these passages,"—and the bare recital of them on baptismal occasions, and the solemn administration of the sacred rite to the willing converts, who thus publicly profess a religion which they love and understand, has done more to incline mankind to favorable views of the baptist creed, than all the books that were ever written, however distinguished for candor, learning and ingenuity.

It is generally admitted that, for the first three hundred years of the christian era, although the original simplicity of the gospel was in many cases greatly perverted, yet there was still a semblance of the primitive model in the ordinances and institutions of the gospel; and if we were anxious to trace a lineal succession of churches which we could recognize as our own, that many of them might still be found up to the days of Constantine and Sylvester, and

perhaps for a long time after, in different parts of the world to which the gospel had been carried, without going among the dissenters.

By this time the christian religion had spread far and wide among the people of the civilized world and among many of the barbarous nations.

Corruptions first began in places of opulence and refinement, in imitation of the splendid, imposing, and time-honored system of the pagan worship, which the new religion had abjured, and extended more slowly into the outskirts of rusticity, poverty, and obscurity. The gospel, as at first promulgated, was disgusting to men who had been accustomed to splendid temples and a showy exterior of religious worship, and the native propensity of mankind to conform to models more popular and attractive, was early developed among the ministers and people, and I often think how far the best of modern christians are on the road, which in a few ages conducted them to a degree of conformity which we all deplore.

But dissensions very early appeared in what is generally denominated the christian church; and although the leaders of them were ridiculed, denounced, and persecuted, as the dominant party became more hostile and powerful, yet so prevalent was the desire of multitudes to return to the primitive standard, that they easily fell in with the plans of reform, as the multitude of churches which were organized under the bold reformers abundantly show.

The catholics reason just the other way; the great church, say they, was the true standard of the gospel, and all who departed from it were heretics and blasphemers.

Early Dissenters.—I shall not attempt to give a list, still less a description of the numerous parties which come under this head; some separated because the leading party had become corrupt, and others to follow the reveries of enthusiastic zeal.

Robinson, in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*, under the head of the Greek church, has entered largely into the history of the dissenters from that widespread community, where they first appeared; and according to his account the founders of the dissenting sects were primitive christians, who could not conform to the increasing superstitions of the times. Mosheim is always disposed to be the advocate of the great body which he uniformly calls *the Church*, and to speak in terms of censure and reproach of all who dissented from it. Yet in this case he has the candor to make concessions on this point in the following terms:

“The accounts which have been given of them are not in all respects to be depended upon; and there are several circumstances which render it extremely probable that many persons of eminent piety and zeal for genuine christianity, were confounded by the Greeks with these enthusiasts, and ranked in the lists of heretics, merely on account of their opposing the vicious practices and the insolent tyranny of the priesthood, and their treating with derision that motley spectacle of superstition that was supported by public authority. In short, the righteous and the profligate, the wise and the foolish, were equally comprehended under the name of *Messalians*, whenever they opposed the reigning superstitions of the times, or looked upon true and genuine piety as the essence of the christian character.¹

*Puritans, Messalians, Euchites, Bogmolians,*² &c., were the appellations generally applied to these people by their opponents, all at first intended as terms of reproach. The names were derived from different languages, as the people

¹ Mosheim, Vol. III., pp. 105-6.

² *Messalians* and *Euchites*, the one a Hebrew, the other a Greek name, and both signify a people that pray. *Bogmolians* were so called by the people of Myria, from two Bulgarian words, which signifies *God be merciful*.—Robinson. And *Puritan* then, as ever after, was thrown at these people, as pretending to be more religious than their neighbors. At that early period, as in all after ages, many, and some high in office in the church, were disposed to favor the principles of these dissenters, who still continued in the establishment.

were spread out into different countries, but all intended to represent a more pure and spiritual state of things than was found in the reigning party.

Montanists.—According to the representations of most writers, this sect took its name from Montanus; others suppose they were so called from their dwelling in the mountains, to avoid the persecutions of their enemies.

The Montanists were in a flourishing condition towards the latter part of the second century. They began in Phrygia, and spread abroad throughout Asia, Africa, and a part of Europe. The severity of their doctrines, says Mosheim, gained them the esteem and confidence of many who were far from being the lowest order.³

With this party the famous Tertullian united, about A. D. 200, and wrote many books in defense of their sentiments. It is proper here to remark that heresies in abundance were attributed to this people, relative both to their faith and practice; but when we consider that such a man as Tertullian, with many other eminent characters, became their associates and defenders, it seems to relieve in a measure the gloomy picture which many have drawn of their ignorance and fanaticism.

As the first church of this sect was formed at Pepuza, in Phrygia, as also Quintilla, a famous lady, was a prophetess among them, from all these circumstances these early dissenters went by the name of Cataphrygians, Quintillianists, and Pepuzians, as well as Montanists.⁴

This people will be referred to in the narratives which will follow. After the Donatists arose they were often called by that name.⁵

SECTION II.

Novatians, or Novatianists.

As this is the first party of importance who were acknowledged to be sound in doctrine which withdrew from the established church, it is proper to give a full account of the reasons which led to the separation, and also some of the leading facts of their history while they continued as distinct and independent churches.

Robinson, in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*, has given ample details on this subject, and my first selection will be from that work.

“The history of Novatian is long, and, like that of all others in his condition, is beclouded with fables and slander. . . . The case in brief was this. Novatian was an elder in the church of Rome. He was a man of extensive learning, and held the same doctrine as the church did, and published several treatises in defense of what he believed. His address was eloquent and insinuating, and his morals were irreproachable. He saw with extreme pain the intolerable depravity of the church. Christians, within the space of a few years, were caressed by one emperor, and persecuted by another. In seasons of prosperity, many rushed into the church for base purposes. In times of adversity they denied the faith, and ran back to idolatry again. When the squall was over, they came again to the church, with all their vices, to deprave others by their examples. The bishops, fond of proselytes, encouraged all this, and transferred the attention of christians from the old confederacy for virtue, to vain shows at Easter, and other Jewish ceremonies, adulterated too with paganism. On the death of bishop Fabian, Cornelius, a brother elder, and a vehement partizan for taking in the multitude, was put in nomination. Novatian opposed him; but as Cornelius carried his election, and he saw no prospect of reformation, but on the contrary a tide of immorality pour-

³ *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I. p. 233.

⁴ *Hannah Adams' Dictionary of all Religions*. This story of female teachers, as we shall see, runs through the history of most of the ancient sects.

⁵ *Orchard's Foreign Baptists*, p. 84.

ing into the church, he withdrew, and a great many with him. Cornelius, irritated by Cyprian, who was just in the same condition, through the remonstrances of virtuous men of Carthage, and who was exasperated beyond measure by one of his elders, named Novatus, who had quitted Carthage, and had gone to Rome to espouse the cause of Novatian, called a council, and got a sentence of excommunication passed against Novatian. In the end Novatian formed a church, and was elected bishop. Great numbers followed his example, and all over the empire puritan churches were constituted, and flourished through the succeeding two hundred years. Afterward, when penal laws obliged them to lurk in corners, and worship God in private, they were distinguished by a variety of names, and a succession of them continued till the Reformation.”

“ Novatian was the first anti-pope ; and yet, at that time, there was no pope in the modern sense of the word. They call Novatian the author of the heresy of puritanism ; and yet they know Tertullian had quitted the church near fifty years before for the same reason ; and Privatus, who was an old man in the time of Novatian, had, with several more, repeatedly remonstrated against the alteration taking place ; and, as they could get no redress, had dissented, and formed separate congregations. They tax Novatian with being the parent of an innumerable multitude of congregations of puritans all over the empire ; and yet he had no other influence over any than what his good example gave him. People saw everywhere the same cause of complaint, and groaned for relief ; and when one man made a stand for virtue, the crisis had arrived ; people saw the propriety of the cure, and applied the same means to their own relief. They blame this man and all these churches for the severity of their discipline ; yet this severe moral discipline was the only coercion of the primitive churches, and it was the exercise of this that rendered civil coercion unnecessary. Some exclaimed, It is a barbarous discipline to refuse to readmit people into christian communion, because they have lapsed into idolatry or vice. Others, finding the inconvenience of such a lax discipline, required a repentance of five, ten or fifteen years ; but the Novatians said :—“ If you be a virtuous believer, and will accede to out confederacy against sin, you may be admitted among us by baptism ; or, if any catholic has baptized you before, by rebaptism ; but, mark this, if you violate the contract by lapsing into idolatry or vice, we shall separate you from our community ; and, do what you will, we shall never readmit you. God forbid that we should injure either your person, your property, or your character, or even judge the truth of your repentance and your future state ; but you can never be readmitted to our community without our giving up the best and only coercive guardian we have of the purity of our morals.” Whether these people reasoned justly or not, as virtue was their object, they challenge respect, and he must be a weak man indeed who is frightened out of it because St. Cyprian, the most intolerant of all saints, says they were the children of the devil.”⁶

Mr. Orchard's account of the origin and early operations of the Novatians goes more into detail, and will give a more distinct view of them to those unacquainted with ecclesiastical history than any which is before me.

“ When Decius came to the throne, in 249, he required, by edicts, all persons in the empire to conform to pagan worship. Forty years' toleration had greatly increased professors, and they were found in every department of the government. They had been so long unaccustomed to trials, that the lives of many were unsuited to suffering. Decius' edicts rent asunder the churches, multitudes apostatized, and many were martyred. In two years the trial abated, when many apostates applied for restoration to christian fellowship, and sanctioned their application by letters written by some eminent christians who had been martyrs during the persecution. The flagrancy of some apostates occa-

⁶ The substance of this account is copied into Mr. Jones' Ch. Hist.

sioned an opposition to their readmission. In the time of peace many had entered the church without calculating on trials; and when persecution arose, such persons revolted easily to idolatry, and, on trials subsiding, gained but too easy admittance again to communion. One Novatian, a presbyter in the church of Rome, strongly opposed the readmission of apostates; but he was not successful. The choice of a pastor in the same church fell upon Cornelius, whose election Novatian opposed from his readiness to readmit apostates. Novatian consequently separated himself from the church, and from Cornelius' jurisdiction.

"Novatian, with every considerate person, was disgusted with the hasty admission of such apostates to communion, and with the conduct of many pastors, who were more concerned about *numbers* than *purity* of communion. Novatian was the first to begin a separate interest with success, and which was known for centuries by his name.

"It is evident that many persons were previously in such a situation as to embrace the earliest opportunity of uniting with churches whose communion was scriptural. Novatian became the first pastor in the new interest, and is accused of the crime of giving birth to an innumerable multitude of congregations of Puritans in every part of the Roman empire; and yet, all the influence he exercised was, an upright example and moral suasion. These churches flourished until the fifth century.

"There was no difference in point of doctrine between the Novatianists and other christians. Novatian had seen evils result from readmitting apostates; he consequently refused communion to all those who had fallen after baptism.

"'They considered,' says Mosheim, 'the christian church as a society where virtue and innocence reigned universally, and none of whose members, from their entrance into it, had defiled themselves with any enormous crimes; and, of consequence, they looked upon every society which readmitted heinous offenders to its communion as unworthy of the title of a true christian church. On account of the church's severity of discipline, the example was followed by many, and churches of this order flourished in the greatest part of those provinces which had received the gospel.'"

Learned men and historians have investigated the pretensions of these churches to puritanical character, and have conferred on them the palm of honor. Dupin says:—"Novatian's style is pure, clear, and polite; his expressions choice, his thoughts natural, and his way of reasoning just; he is full of citations of texts of Scripture, that are always to the purpose; and besides, there is a great deal of order and method in those treatises of his we now have; and he never speaks but with a world of moderation and candor."⁷ "Their manners," says Dr. A. Clark, "were, in general, simple and holy; indeed, their rigid discipline is no mean proof of this." We well know that the people called Pietists, in Germany, and Puritans in England were, in general, in their respective times, among the most religious and holy people in both nations. "They were," says Robinson, "trinitarian baptists."

These churches existed for sixty years under a pagan government, during which time the old corrupt interests at Rome, Carthage, and other places, possessed no means but those of persuasion and reproach, to stay the progress of dissent. During this period the Novatian churches were very prosperous, and were planted *all over the Roman empire.*⁸

"They were numerous," says Lardner, "in Phrygia, and a number of eminent men were raised up in the work of the ministry. It is impossible to calculate the benefits of their services to mankind. Their influence must have considerably checked the spirit of innovation and secularity in the old churches. Although rigid in discipline and schismatic in character, yet they were found extensive and in a flourishing condition when Constantine came to the throne,

⁷ Hist. Ch. 3, § 17.

⁸ Dupin, chap. 3, pp. 125, 146.

⁹ Mosheim, Gill, Milner, Neal, Robinson and Jones, as quoted by Orchard, p. 55.

(306). Their soundness in doctrine, evident unity among themselves, with their numbers, suggested to Constantine the propriety of uniting them with the catholic church, but this comprehension they refused. These churches with other dissenters, realized religious liberty in 313, from Constantine.

“ In 331, he changed his policy towards these people, and they were involved, with other denominations, in distress and sufferings. Their books were sought for, they were forbidden assembling together, and many lost their places of worship. The orthodoxy of the Novatian party, with the influence of some of their ministers, is supposed to have procured some mitigation of the law. Constantine’s oppressive measures prompted many to leave the scene of sufferings and retire into some more sequestered spots. Claudius Seyssel, the popish archbishop, traces the rise of the Waldensian heresy to a pastor named *Leo*, leaving Rome at this period for the valleys.¹⁰

“ In 375, the emperor Valens embraced the Arian creed. He closed the Novatian churches, banished their ministers,¹ and probably would have carried his measures to extreme severity had not his prejudices and zeal been moderated by a pious man named Marcion. During this severe trial the benevolent feelings of the Novatians became so apparent as to extort admiration from their enemies.

“ At the conclusion of the fourth century, the Novatianists had three, if not four, churches in Constantinople. They had churches also at Nice, Nicomedia and Cotivous, in Phrygia, all of them large and extensive bodies; besides which, they were very numerous in the western empire. There were several churches of this people in the city of Alexandria in the beginning of the fifth century. In 412, Cyril was ordained bishop of the catholic church in this city. One of his first acts was to shut up the churches of the Novatianists, to strip them of all their sacred vessels and ornaments. One minister, Cyril, was deprived of everything he possessed. They experienced very similar treatment at Rome from Innocent, who was one of the first bishops to persecute the dissenters and rob them of their churches.

“ In the fourth Lateran Council, canons were made to banish them as heretics, and these canons were supported by an edict in 413, issued by the emperors Theodosius and Honorius, declaring “ that all persons rebaptized, and the rebaptizers, should be both punished with death. Accordingly, Albanus, a zealous minister, with others, was punished with death for rebaptizing. The edict was probably obtained by the influence of Augustine, who could endure no rival, nor could he bear with any who questioned the virtue of his rites, or the sanctity of his brethren, or the soundness of the catholic creed; and these points, being disputed by the Novatianists and Donatists—two powerful and extensive bodies of dissidents in Italy and Africa—they were consequently made to feel the weight of his influence. These combined modes of oppression led the faithful to abandon the cities and seek retreats in the country, which they did, particularly in the valleys of Piedmont, the inhabitants of which began to be called Waldenses.

“ The Novatianists had hitherto flourished mightily in Rome, having a great many places of worship and large congregations; but the rising power of the catholic interests, its union with the sword, the ambitious character of its officers, with the tyrannical spirit of its bishops, prompted them to crush every opposing interest. They consequently robbed the Novatianists of all their churches, and drove them into obscurity. About this time some epistles appeared against them, written by different individuals, which had a baneful influence at this period on the interests of this people. One individual, whose hostility was felt by the Novatianists, was Celestines, one of Innocent’s successors, A.D. 432. He took possession of all their churches in the city of Rome, and

¹⁰ Facts opp. to Fiction, p. 37. As quoted by Orchard, p. 57.

¹ This Valens, who required baptism for his dying son, sent eighty ministers into banishment; but before the vessel had got far from land, it was fired, and all of them perished.

compelled them to worship in private houses in the most obscure places. A council was convened at Arles and at Lyons, in 455, in which the views of the Novatianists on predestination were controverted, and by which name they were stigmatized.²

“These holy people now retired from public notice; yet, it is pretty manifest that, while some of them sought asylums in other kingdoms, many of these despised people continued in Italy, and a succession of them will be found under another name.”³

“In 476, on the twenty-third day of August, a period was put to all persecution in Italy by the subjection of that kingdom to the Goths, whose laws breathed the purest spirit of equal and universal liberty. The state of religion out of the catholic church is not made apparent. This civil and religious liberty continued for about *three centuries*, during which time the dissidents, no doubt, greatly increased. The accounts given of the Novatianists by Eusebius and Socrates in their histories, are decided proofs of their extensive influence. That they subsisted towards the end of the sixth century, is evident from the book of Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria. Dr. Lardner remarks, ‘The vast extent of this sect is manifest from the names of the authors who have mentioned or written against them, and from several parts of the Roman empire in which they were found. It is evident, too, that these churches had among them some individuals of note and eminence.’

“The rise of those puritans at so critical a period, their soundness in the faith, their regard to character and purity of communion, their vast extent and long success, must have had a powerful influence in all the vicinity of their churches, in checking the ambition and secularity of the established clergy, and in shedding a moral auspice on benighted provinces. These sealed witnesses (Rev. vii. 3) were the first protestant dissenters from assuming hierarchies; and it is most gratifying to be able to *prove ourselves* the successors of a class of men who first set the example of contending for the purity and simplicity of christian worship, and a firm adherence to the laws of the King of Zion.”⁴

Although these people ceased to exist as a separate community after a few centuries, yet we shall see their names often occur during the narratives which will follow.

SECTION III.

Donatists.

My first account of the people who bore this name I shall take from Jones' Church History. His information was derived from Dr. Lardner, who says he has collected into a few pages almost everything that is now interesting relative to this denomination of christians.

“The Donatists appear to have resembled the followers of Novatian more than any other class of professors in that period of the church of whom we have any authentic record; but their origin was at least half a century later, and the churches in this connection appear to have been almost entirely confined to Africa. They agreed with the Novatians in censuring the lax state of discipline in the catholic church, and though they did not, like the former, refuse to readmit penitents into their communion, nor like them condemn all second marriages, they denied the validity of baptism as administered by the church of Rome, and rebaptized all who left its communion to unite with them. In doctrinal sentiments they were agreed with both the catholics and the Novatians; while the regard they paid to the purity of their communion,

² Mezeray, p. 19, Clovis, as quoted by Orchard, p. 61.

³ Mosh. Hist. in many places.

⁴ Robinson's Ec. Res., ch. 8; Jones' Lect., 25. See a detailed account of the Novatianists in Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, Vol. III., Part 2, ch. 47, p. 2, seq. As quoted by Orchard, p. 62.

occasioned their being stigmatized with the title of puritans, and uniformly treated as schismatics by Optatus and Augustine, the two principal writers against them in the catholic church.

“The Donatists are said to have derived their distinguished appellation from Donatus, a native of Numidia, in Africa, who was elected bishop of Carthage about the year 306. He was a man of learning and eloquence, very exemplary in his morals, and, as would appear from circumstances, studiously set himself to oppose the growing corruptions of the catholic church. The Donatists were consequently a separate body of christians for nearly three centuries, and in almost every city in Africa there was one bishop of this sect and another of the catholics. The Donatists were very numerous, for we learn that in the year 411 there was a famous conference held at Carthage, between the catholics and the Donatists, at which were present two hundred and eighty-six catholic bishops, and of the Donatists two hundred and seventy-nine, which, when we consider the superior strictness of their discipline, must give us a favorable opinion of their numbers, and especially as they were the subjects of severe and sanguinary persecutions from the dominant party. The emperor Constantian, who reigned over Africa, actuated by the zeal of his family for the peace of the church, sent two persons of rank, Paul and Macarius, in the year 348, to endeavor to conciliate the Donatists, and, if possible, to restore them to the communion of the catholic church. But the Donatists were not to be reconciled to such an impure communion! To all their overtures for peace they replied, *Quid est imperatori cum ecclesia?* that is, ‘What has the emperor to do with the church?’—An excellent saying, certainly, and happy had it been for both the church and the world, could all christians have adopted and acted upon it. Optatus relates another maxim of theirs, which is worthy of being recorded. It was usual with them to say, ‘*Quid christianis cum regibus, aut quid episcopis cum palatio?*’, ‘*What have christians to do with kings, or what have bishops to do at court?*’ These hints are strikingly illustrative of the principles and conduct of the Donatists, who had among them men of great learning and talents, and who distinguished themselves greatly by their writings.”⁵

These sentiments of the old Donatists relative to the union of church and state, and the interference of the civil powers in religious concerns, are precisely those which the baptists have always maintained. In a number of other points a striking resemblance appears between these African dissenters and the baptists of the present day.

“The Donatists and Novatianists very nearly resembled each other in doctrines and discipline; indeed, they were charged by Crispin, a French historian, with holding together in the following things:—

“*First*, For purity of church members, by asserting that none ought to be admitted into the church but such as are visibly true believers and true saints.

“*Secondly*, For purity of church discipline.

“*Thirdly*, For the independency of each church; and,

“*Fourthly*, They baptized again those whose first baptism they had reason to doubt. They were consequently termed rebaptizers and anabaptists.

“Osiander says our modern anabaptists were the same with the Donatists of old. Fuller, the English church historian, asserts that the baptists in England, in his day, were the Donatists new ‘dipped;’ and Robinson declares they were trinitarian anabaptists.

“The disputes between the Donatists and catholics were at their height when Constantine became fully invested with imperial power, A.D. 314.

“In 362, after a long series of persecutions from the dominant party, Julian, commonly called the apostate, permitted the exiled Donatists to return and en-

⁵ See Lardner's Works, 4to ed., Vol. II., p. 295-301, and Long's History of the Donatists, as quoted in Jones' Ch. Hist., pp. 225, 226.

⁶ Danver's Hist. of the Baptism, p. 271.

joy the sweets of liberty, which revived the denomination; and, by their zealous and unceasing efforts, brought over, in a short time, the greatest part of the African province to espouse their interest. From various sources of information, it is most evident that the Donatists were a most powerful and numerous body of dissenters,⁷ almost as numerous as the catholics, which, considering the strictness of their discipline, and their close adherence to the laws of Zion, is a subject of pleasing reflection. Their influence must have been considerable, since, as Mr. Jones remarks, 'There was scarce a city or town in Africa in which there was not a Donatist church.'⁸

"The catholics found by experience that the means hitherto used had been ineffectual against the Donatists. They now (413) prevailed on Honorius and Theodosius, emperors of the East and West, to issue an edict, decreeing, *that the person rebaptizing and the person rebaptized, should be punished with death.* In consequence of this cruel measure, martyrdom ensued. Gibbon remarks on these edicts, that three hundred bishops, with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, proscribed by laws, if they presumed to conceal themselves in the provinces of Africa. Their numerous congregations, both in cities and the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens and the exercise of religious worship."⁹

"According to Long, they were professed anabaptists. They did not only rebaptize the adults that came over to them, but refused to baptize children contrary to the practice of the catholic church."¹⁰

"In 415, the council of Mela, in Numidia, with Augustine at its head, passed a solemn decree in the following words:—'We will that whoever denies that children by baptism are freed from perdition and eternally saved, that they be accursed.'"¹¹

The history of the Donatists is much like that of the Novatianists as to the changes, trials and persecutions to which they were exposed, except that the power of the anathemas of the church were often enforced by imperial statutes. There was this difference, however, in their location and operations. The Novatian churches extended all over the Roman empire, while those of the Donatists were principally confined to Africa.² As both parties had abjured the established church, and uniformly rebaptized all who came over to them from it, this made them continually obnoxious to the ruling party, by which they were treated in a most severe and unchristian manner.

⁷ Mosheim's Ec. Hist., ubi supra. ⁸ Ecc. Lect., Vol. I., p. 474. ⁹ Ro. Hist., ch. 33.

¹⁰ Hist. of the Donatists, p. 103; as quoted by Orchard, p. 95.

¹¹ "An honest indignation," says Robinson, "rises at the sound of such tyranny; and if a man were driven to the necessity of choosing one saint of two candidates, it would be Saint Balaam, the son of Bozor, who indeed loved the wages of unrighteousness, as many other saints have done, but who, with all his madness, had respect enough for the Deity to say, *How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed!* To curse citizens for saying; to curse Christians for not saying more of a subject than the Scripture says; to be cursed by the very men who were kept only for the sake of blessing mankind with good examples of virtue; fifteen African slaves to mount themselves on a tribunal, and denounce curses on the whole world! Who can help being offended at the sight? Who can be grieved to see the Vandals come forward and subvert all the labors of Austin's life?"

² As Africa has been frequently mentioned in the preceding narrative, it may be proper to observe what part of that dark quarter of the globe is intended. A person acquainted with ecclesiastical history will need no explanation, but others, into whose hands this work may fall, may desire one. Africa, which is now in a deplorable state of ignorance, once contained a number of civilized kingdoms, famous for commerce and the liberal arts. Among these, Carthage was probably the most distinguished; it was situated on the north of Africa, along the southern shores of the Mediterranean sea, where are now the Barbary States of Tunis, Algiers and Morocco. Carthage once vied with Rome in power, but it was finally subdued by her, and reduced to a province. It was overrun by the Vandals in the fifth century, and by the Saracens in the seventh; and from that period Mahometanism has been the established religion of the country. In this part of Africa christianity was planted in early times; and here, too, it was early corrupted. Here, and not in Judea, infant baptism originated, as is evident to every candid investigator of historical facts.

Under the long reign of the Vandals in Africa, the Donatists, with other dissenters, were allowed the sweets of civil and religious freedom; but, on the restoration of the old dynasty, their sufferings were renewed, and it is supposed a portion of them retired into the interior, or emigrated into Spain and Italy.

In the seventh century, they were dwindled almost into obscurity; and, in the century after, the whole coast of Africa along the shores of the Mediterranean, which, for many ages, had been renowned for christian churches, was overrun by the religion of the false prophet, under which it still remains.

“To review,” says Orchard, “the history of such a people, so correct in morals, simple in spiritual worship, scriptural in faith and practice, for the period of above four centuries, is a pleasing employment. The continued preservation which the Donatists realized amidst trials the most formidable, from crowned and mitred heads, is a satisfactory proof of their character, as forming part of that church against which the gates of hell shall never successfully prevail. We cannot help realizing a sacred respect for the memories of this body of people, whose religious profession and views were so nearly allied to our own; and some feelings of pleasure may be lawfully indulged at the remembrance of being their legitimate successors.”³

For a thousand years after the rise of the Donatists, we find them spread along in all parts of Europe under different names, but recognized by friends and foes as substantially the same people; and, in the middle of the seventeenth century, Fuller, the English ecclesiastical historian, says of the English baptists, that “they were Donatists new-dipped.”

SECTION IV.

Paulicians.

This was a very important company of the Greek dissenters; and, as the following sketches will show, they continued long, and spread far and wide into many other countries, and from them sprung many other parties of different names, who withstood the corruptions of the Roman hierarchy, and spread the light of the gospel into many parts of Europe.

Their history has been variously given by different writers, a number of which I have examined. The one compiled by Mr. Orchard is the best I have seen, and gives in a condensed manner an account of the origin, principles and progress of this people, which bears the strongest marks of probability: I shall therefore insert it without alteration.

“It was about the year 653 that a new sect arose in the East under the name of Paulicians, which deserves our attention. There resided in the city of *Mananalis*, in *Armenia*, an obscure person of the name of Constantine, with whom this sect appears to have originated. One day a stranger called upon him, who had been a prisoner among the Saracens, in Syria, and having obtained his release, was returning home through the city. He was kindly received by Constantine, and entertained some days at his house. To requite the hospitality of his generous host, he gave Constantine two manuscripts which he had brought out of Syria; and these were the four gospels, and the epistles of the apostle Paul. From the nature of the gift, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the stranger set a value upon these manuscripts, that he was acquainted with their contents, and was one who knew *the truth*; all which received corroboration from the fact that he had been an office-bearer, a deacon in the christian church. It is equally probable that the conversation of Constantine and his guest would occasionally turn upon the contents of these manuscripts. That this conversation and present had some effect on

³ Orchard's Foreign Baptists, pp. 82-100.

the mind of Constantine, is evident, for, from the time he got acquainted with the contents of these writings, it is said he would touch no other book. He threw away his Manichean library, and exploded and rejected many of the absurd notions of his countrymen. He became a teacher of the doctrines of Christ and his apostles.⁴ 'He formed to himself,' says Milner, 'a plan of divinity from the New Testament; and, as Paul is the most systematic of all the apostles, Constantine very properly attached himself to his writings with peculiar attention. From the attention (this sect paid) to this apostle's epistles and doctrines, they obtained the name of Paulicians.' 'In the present instance,' continues Milner, "I see reason to suppose the Paulicians to have been perfect originals. The little that has been mentioned concerning them carries entirely this appearance; and I hope it may be shortly evident that they originated from a heavenly influence, teaching and converting them; and that in them we have one of those extraordinary effusions of the Divine Spirit (on his word) by which the knowledge of Christ and the practice of godliness is kept alive in the world."⁵

"These originals, or rather *restorers of the New Testament order of things*, being allowed by all historians to have been the encouragers, if not the main strength, of the Albigensian churches in France at after periods; we shall be more particular in our attention to their character and practice."⁶

"The Paulicians sincerely condemned the memory and opinions of the Manichean sect, and complained of the injustice which impressed that invidious name on the simple followers of Paul and Christ. The objects which had been transformed by the magic of superstitions, appeared to the eyes of the Paulicians in their genuine and naked colors. Of the ecclesiastical chain many links were broken by these reformers; and, against the gradual innovations of discipline and doctrine, they were strongly guarded by habit and aversion, as by the silence of Paul and the evangelists. They attached themselves with peculiar devotion to the writings and character of Paul, in whom they gloried. In the gospels and epistles of Paul, Constantine investigated the creed of the primitive christians; and, whatever might be the success, a protestant reader will applaud the spirit of the inquiry. In practice, or at least in theory, of the sacraments, the Paulicians were inclined to abolish all visible objects of worship, and the words of the gospel were, in their judgments, *the baptism and communion of the faithful*. A creed thus simple and spiritual was not adapted to the genius of the times, and the rational christian was offended at the violation offered to his religion by the Paulicians."⁷

In confirmation of the above historian as to their views of the ordinance of baptism, we subjoin the authority of a few respectable writers.

"In these churches of the Paulicians, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper they held to be peculiar to the communion of the faithful; i. e. to be restricted to believers."⁸

"These people were called *Acephali*, or headless (from having no distinct order of clergy, or presiding person in their assemblies), and were hooted in councils for rebaptizing in private houses,' says Robinson, 'and holding conventicles; and for calling the established Church a worldly community, and rebaptizing such as joined their churches.' The religious principles and practices of these people are purposely mangled and misrepresented; but it is possible to obtain some evidences of what they were.

"But we now return to their efforts. Constantine gave himself the scriptural name of Sylvanus. He preached with great success in Pontus and Cappadocia. Regions once enlightened and renowned for christianity and suffering piety (1 Pet. i.), were again blessed with the gospel, through his exertions.¹⁰ Great numbers of disciples were made and gathered into societies. *The body*

⁴ Jones' Lect. on Ecc. Hist., Vol. II., pp. 179.

⁶ Gibbon's Ro. Hist., ch. 54.

⁵ History of Church, Cent. 9, ch. 2.

⁷ Gibbon's ut sup.

⁸ Rob.'s Res., p. 92.

¹⁰ Milner's Ch. Hist.

⁹ Jones' Lect., Vol. II., p. 181.

of christians in Armenia came over to the Paulicians and embraced their views. In a little time congregations were gathered in the provinces of Asia Minor, to the westward of the river Euphrates. Their opinions were also silently propagated in Rome, Milan, and in the kingdom beyond the Alps, (France.)

“ Churches were formed as much upon the plan and model of the apostolic churches as it was in their power to bring them. Six of their principal churches took the name of those to which Paul addressed his epistles: Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse and Thessalonica; while the names of Sylvanus’ fellow-teachers were Titus, Timothy and Tychicus. This innocent allegory, says Gibbon,¹ revived the memory and example of the first ages. The Paulician teachers were thus distinguished only by their scriptural names. They were known by the modest title of fellow-pilgrims, by the austerity of their lives, their zeal or knowledge, and the credit of some extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. They were incapable of desiring the wealth and honors of the catholic prelacy; such anti-christian pride they bitterly censured; and even the ranks of elders or presbyters were condemned as an institution of the Jewish synagogue.² There is no mention in all the accounts of this people of any clergy among them.³ Though charged with the Manichean errors, they have been honorably freed from this reproach by respectable writers.⁴ They called themselves christians, but the catholics they named Romans, as if they had been heathens.⁵

“ We have here exhibited a confession of simple worship, a scriptural constitution to their churches and its officers, with a blameless feature in the manner of these christians, which has been conceded by their enemies. Their standard of perfection was so high in christian morals, that their increasing congregations were divided into two classes of disciples.⁶ They had not any ecclesiastical governments administered by bishops, priests or deacons; they had no sacred order of men distinguished by their manner of life, their habits, or any other circumstance from the rest of the assembly. They had certain teachers whom they called companions in the journey of life; among these there reigned a perfect equality, and they had no peculiar rights, privileges, nor any external mark of dignity to distinguish them from the people. They recommended to the people without exception, and that with the most affecting and ardent zeal, the constant and assiduous perusal of the scriptures, and expressed the utmost indignation against the Greeks, who allowed to the priests alone an access to those sacred fountains of Divine knowledge.⁷

“ No object can be more laudable than the attempt to bring back the christian profession to its original simplicity, which evidently appears to have been the aim of the Paulicians, though, for this commendable conduct, terms of reproach and epithets of disgrace have been heaped on their memories by interested historians and dictionary writers. In this good work of preaching and evangelizing provinces, Sylvanus spent twenty-seven years of his life, taking up his residence at Cobossa, and disseminating his opinions all around. The united exertions of these people, their scriptural views, doctrine, discipline and itinerating system, were attended with evident displays of Divine approbation, and multitudes embraced a gospel simply and fully preached.

“ Alarmed at the progress these novel opinions were making, and discovering the growing importance of the Paulicians, the church party ‘engaged in the most bitter and virulent controversy with them.’ Ineffectual in their efforts, the Greek emperors began to persecute them with the most sanguinary severity. The Paulicians were sentenced to be capitally pun-

¹ Rom. Hist., ch. 54. ² Id. Note.—“The character of Gibbon is remarkable in this part of his history.”—*Milner*. ³ Rob.’s Res., p. 80. ⁴ Jortin’s Rem. on Hist., Vol. III, p. 408; and Lardner’s Cred. of the Gospel Hist., Part 2, ch. 63, Vol. III., p. 546. ⁵ Lardner, *id.*, p. 407. ⁶ These two classes can be traced through the Albigensian, Waldensian, German and Dutch baptist churches from this parent stock. ⁷ Mosh. Hist., Cent. 9, p. 2. ch. 5, § 5,

ished, and their books, wherever found, to be committed to the flames; and further, that if any person was found to have secreted them, he was to be put to death, and his goods confiscated.

"A Greek officer named Simeon, armed with legal and military authority, appeared at Coronia to strike the shepherd Sylvanus, and to reclaim, if possible, the lost sheep. By a refinement of cruelty, this minister of justice placed the unfortunate Sylvanus before a line of his disciples, who were commanded, as the price of their pardon, and as proof of their penitence, *to stone to death their spiritual father*. The affectionate flock turned aside from the impious office; the stones dropped from their filial hands, and of the whole number, only one executioner could be found. This apostate, Justus, after putting Sylvanus to death, gained, by some means, admittance into communion, and again deceived and betrayed his unsuspecting brethren; and as many as were treacherously ascertained, and could be collected, were massed together into an immense pile, and, by order of the emperor, consumed to ashes. Simeon, the officer, struck with astonishment at the readiness with which the Paulicians could die for their religion, examined their arguments, and became himself a convert, renounced his honors and fortune, and three years afterwards went to Cobossa, and became the successor of Constantine Sylvanus, a zealous preacher among the Paulicians, and at last sealed his testimony with his blood.⁸ To free the East from these troubles and commotions, said to arise from the Paulician doctrines, a great number of them were transported into Thrace during this century; but still a greater number were left in Syria and the adjoining countries. From Thrace these people passed into Bulgaria and Sclavonia, where they took root, and settled in their own church order.

"From these churches, at after periods, colonies were sent out, and they are said to have inundated Europe; though some relics of these ancient communities were to be traced till the fifteenth century.

"From the blood and ashes of the first Paulician victims, a succession of teachers and congregations repeatedly arose. The Greeks, to subdue them, made use both of arguments and arms, with all the terror of penal laws, without effecting their object. The great instrument of this people's multiplication was, *the alone use of the New Testament*, of which some pleasing anecdotes are related. One Sergius was recommended by a Paulician woman to read Paul's writings, and his attention to the sacred records brought him to embrace their views. For thirty-four years he devoted himself to the ministry of the gospel. Through every city and province that Sergius could reach, he spread abroad the savor of the knowledge of Christ, and with such success that the clergy in the hierarchies considered him to be the forerunner of anti-Christ, and declared he was producing the great apostacy foretold by Paul. The emperors, in conjunction with the clergy, exerted their zeal with a peculiar degree of bitterness and fury against this people. Though every kind of oppressive measure and means were used, yet all efforts for their suppression proved fruitless, 'nor could all their power and all their barbarity exhaust the patience nor conquer the obstinacy of that inflexible people, who possessed,' says Mosheim, 'a fortitude worthy of a better cause!'

"The face of things changed towards the end of the eighth century, and the prospects of this harassed people brightened under the emperor Nicephorus, who restored to them all their civil and religious privileges. During this auspicious season the Paulicians widely disseminated their opinions, and it is recorded that they became formidable to the East.¹⁰ Those persecuting laws which had been suspended for some years, were renewed and enforced with redoubled fury under the reign of Michael and Leo, who made strict inquisition throughout every province in the Grecian empire, and inflicted capital punishment upon such of them as refused to return to the bosom of the church.

⁸ Milner and Jones, *ut supra*.

¹⁰ Chambers' Cyclop. Art. Paulicians.

⁹ Mosheim, *Hist.*, Cent. 11, p. 2, ch. 5, § 2, 3.

These decrees drove the Paulicians into desperate measures. Oppression maketh a wise man mad.¹ The Paulicians are now charged with having put to death some of their clerical oppressors, and also of taking refuge in those provinces governed by Saracens, and that, in union with those barbarians, they infested the Grecian States.

“The power and influence of these dissidents were found to be so great as to suggest the policy of allowing them to return to their own habitations, and dwelling there in tranquillity. The severest persecution experienced by them was encouraged by the empress Theodora, A.D. 845. Her decrees were severe, but the cruelty with which they were put in execution by her officers, was horrible beyond expression. Mountains and hills were covered with inhabitants. Her sanguinary inquisitors explored cities and mountains in lesser Asia. After confiscating the goods and property of *one hundred thousand of these people*, the owners to that number were put to death in the most barbarous manner, and made to expire slowly under a variety of the most exquisite tortures. The flatterers of the empress boast of having extirpated in nine years that number of Paulicians. Many of them were scattered abroad, particularly in Bulgaria. Some fortified the city of Tephric and Philippopoli, from which last city they were called Philippopolitians; and, though they were driven hence, yet the spirit of independence was not subdued. A portion of this people emigrated from Thrace, and their doctrine soon struck deep root in the European soil. Such as escaped from the inquisitors fled to the Saracens, who received them with compassion; and in conjunction with whom, under experienced officers, they maintained a war with the Grecian nation for a period of one hundred and fifty years.

“From Italy, says Mosheim, the Paulicians sent colonies into almost all the other provinces of Europe, and formed gradually a considerable number of religious assemblies, *who adhered to their doctrine*, and who realized every opposition and indignity from the popes. It is undoubtedly certain, from the most authentic records, that a considerable number of them were, about the middle of the eleventh century, settled in Lombardy, Insubria, but principally at Milan; and that many of them led a wandering life in France, Germany and other countries, where they captivated the esteem and admiration of the multitude by their sanctity. In Italy they were called *Paterini* and *Cathari*. In France they were denominated *Bulgarians*, from the kingdom of their emigration, also *Publicans* instead of *Paulicians*, and *boni homines*, good men; but were chiefly known by the term *Albigenses*, from the town of Alby, in the Upper Languedoc. The first religious assembly which the Paulicians formed in Europe, is said to have been at Orleans, in the year 1017, on which we shall enlarge under the Churches in France, to which we shall repair after we have traced their existence and labors in the kingdom of Italy.

“Here we may be permitted to review the apostolic character and exertions of this extensive body of people, while we may express our surprise at the virulent opposition, the cruel measures used, and the extensive sacrifice of human life, for successive ages, on the alone ground of religious views. A special instance of divine grace was displayed in this people’s rise and early success; and we must attribute their preservation and enlargement to the ex-

¹ Gibbon renders an indirect apology for the conduct of these people at this period. This would be natural for a secular historian. But I must confess it is an item in their history, which I am sorry to find, as in my opinion, no circumstances nor provocations on the part of christians will justify a resort to arms. But we must remember this was about two hundred years after this people commenced their operations; that it is the history of a whole community, and not merely of church members that we are pursuing; that a portion of them had gone among the Turks, and there found a shelter and protection which nominal christians denied them; and under a chief of that nation, their wars were long carried on; that they were fighting for their country and freedom in accordance with the notions of most churches since the Reformation, but utterly at variance with the peace principles of most of the ancient sects among whom the baptists look for their denominational kindred.

ercise of the same compassion. An evident mark of apostolic spirit possessed by this people must be admitted by all: without any funds or public societies to countenance or support the arduous undertaking, otherwise than their respective churches, the Paulicians fearlessly penetrated the most barbarous parts of Europe, and went, single-handed and single-eyed, to the conflict with every grade of character. In several instances they suffered death or martyrdom, not counting their lives dear, so that they could promote the cause of their Redeemer." This narrative carries us into the eleventh century, a period of about four hundred years from the organization of the first company of the Paulicians under Constantine, surnamed Sylvanus. They had travelled from Armenia in the East into the heart of Europe, had formed a number of new sects under different names, or amalgamated with old ones in which they came in contact in the course of their wanderings. We shall see them frequently referred to in the accounts which will follow, where their baptist character will very distinctly appear. For the present, I will remark that Dr. Mosheim in his Ecclesiastical History, Dr. Allix in his Remarks on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, and Mr. Robinson in his History of Baptism, explicitly ascribe to them the rejection of infant baptism.

Dr. Allix's words are as follows:—"They, with the Manicheans, were Anabaptists, or rejectors of infant baptism, and were consequently often reproached with that term."

Paterines.

"Much has been written on the etymology of the word Paterines; but as the Italians themselves are not agreed on the derivation, it is not likely foreigners should be able to determine it. In Milan, where it was first used, it answered to the English word vulgar, illiterate, low-bred; and these people were so called because they were chiefly of the lower order of men; mechanics, artificers, manufacturers, and others who lived of their honest labors. Gazari is a corruption of Cathari, Puritans; and it is remarkable that in the examination of these people, they are not taxed with any immoralities, but were condemned for speculations, or rather for virtuous rules of action, which all in power accounted heresies. They said a christian church ought to consist of only good people; a church had no power to frame any constitution; it was not right to take oaths; it was not lawful to kill mankind; a man ought not to be delivered up to officers of justice to be converted; the benefits of society belonged alike to all the members of it; faith without works could not save a man; the church ought not to persecute any, even the wicked; the law of Moses was no rule to christians; there was no need of priests, especially of wicked ones; the sacraments, orders, and ceremonies of the church of Rome were futile, expensive, oppressive, and wicked, with many more such positions, all inimical to the hierarchy.

"As the catholics of those times baptized by immersion, the Paterines, by what name soever they were called, as Manicheans, Gazari, Josephists, Passigines, &c., made no complaint of the mode of baptizing, but when they were examined, they objected vehemently against the baptism of infants, and condemned it as an error. Among other things, they said that a child knew nothing of the matter, that he had no desire to be baptized, and was incapable of making any confession of faith, and that the willing and professing of another could be of no service to him. 'Here then,' says Dr. Allix, 'very truly, we have found a body of men in Italy, before the year one thousand and twenty-six, five hundred years before the Reformation, who believed contrary to the opinions of the church of Rome, and who highly condemned their errors.' Ato, Bishop of Verceulli, had complained of such people *eighty years before*, and so had others before him, and there is the highest reason to believe that they had always existed in Italy. It is observable that those who are alluded

² See Mosheim's Hist., Gibbon's Roman Hist., ch. 54; Robinson's Ecc. Res., ch. 6, pp. 74-79; Jones' Lectures on Ecc. Hist., Vol. II., pp. 179-184.

³ Rem. Ch. Pied., p. 138.

to by Dr. Allix were brought to light by mere accident. No notice was taken of them in Italy, but some disciples of Gundulf, one of their teachers, went to settle in the Lower Countries (Netherlands), and Gerard, bishop of Cambray, imprisoned them under pretence of converting them.

“ From the tenth to the thirteenth century the dissenters in Italy continued to multiply and increase, for which several reasons may be assigned. The excessive wickedness of the court of Rome, and the Italian prelates, was better known in Italy than in the other countries. There was no legal power in Italy in these times, to put dissenters to death. Popular preachers in the church, such as Claude of Turin, and Arnold of Brescia, increased the number of dissenters, for their disciples went further than their masters. The adjacency of France, and Spain too, contributed to their increase, for both abounded with christians of this sect. Their churches were divided into sixteen compartments, such as the English baptists would call associations. Each of these was subdivided into parts, which would be termed churches or congregations. In Milan there was a street called Pataria, where it is supposed they met for divine worship. At Modena they assembled at some water-mills. They had houses at Ferrara, Brescia, Viterbo, Verona, Vicenza, and several in Rimini, Romandiola, and other places. Reinerius says, in 1259, the Paterin church of Alba consisted of about five hundred members; that at Concorezzo of more than fifteen hundred; and that of Bognola about two hundred. The houses where they met seem to have been hired by the people, and tenanted by one of the brethren. There were several in each city, and each was distinguished by a mark known to themselves. They had bishops, or elders, pastors and teachers, deacons and messengers; that is, men employed in traveling to administer to the relief and comfort of the poor and persecuted. In times of persecution they met in small companies of eight, twenty, thirty, or as it might happen; but never in large assemblies for fear of the consequences.

“ The Paterines were decent in their deportment, modest in their dress and discourse, and their morals irreproachable. In their conversation there was no levity nor scurrility, no detraction, no falsehood, no swearing. Their dress was neither fine nor mean. They were chaste and temperate, never frequenting taverns or places of public amusement. They were not given to anger and other violent passions. They were not eager to accumulate wealth, but content with the necessaries of life. They avoided commerce, because they thought it would expose them to the temptations of collusion, falsehood, and oaths, choosing rather to live by labor or useful trades. They were always employed in spare hours either in giving or receiving instruction. Their bishops and officers were mechanics, weavers, shoemakers, and others who maintained themselves by their industry.

“ About the year 1040 the Paterines had become very numerous at Milan, which was their principal residence, and here they flourished at least two hundred years. They had no connection with the (catholic) church, for they rejected not only Jerome of Syria, Augustine of Africa, and Gregory of Rome, but Ambrose of Milan; considering them and other pretended fathers, as corruptors of christianity. They particularly condemned Pope Sylvester as anti-Christ. They called (the adoration of) the cross the mark of the beast. They had no share in the State, for they took no oaths, and bore no arms. The State did not trouble them, but the clergy preached, prayed, and published books against them with unabated zeal. About the year 1176 the archbishop of Milan, an old infirm man, while preaching against them with great vehemence, dropped down in a fit and expired as soon as he had received extreme unction! About fourteen years afterwards, one Bonacursi, *who pretended he had been one of these Paterines*, made a public renunciation of his opinions, and embraced the catholic faith, filling Milan with fables, as all renegades do. He reported that cities, suburbs, towns, and castles, were full of these false prophets—that it was the time to suppress them, and that the prophet Jeremiah had directed the Milanese what to do when he said, ‘cursed be he that keepeth back his sword

from blood!!' advice which we shall presently see was too implicitly followed."⁴

The scene is here laid between six and seven hundred years ago, and among this people, besides their opposition to infant baptism, we see in the arrangement of their associations a very distinctive trait of the baptist character. "One of these associations at this time, about 1050, contained upwards of fifteen hundred members."⁵

Mr. Orchard has traced the history of the Paterines in Italy to the middle of the thirteenth century. A few detached sketches in the words of this author I shall now present to the reader.

"It is acknowledged that the Latin church in this century (the 12th) was troubled with the puritans, a term, according to Mosheim, expressive of the successors of the Novatianists; but the pontiffs were particularly annoyed by the Paulicians, who emigrated in numbers from Bulgaria, who, leaving their native land, spread themselves throughout various provinces. Many of them, while doing good to others, and propagating the gospel, were put to death with the most unrelenting cruelty. Their accessions from different sources made the puritan or Paterine churches very considerable, and to their enemies very formidable, even before the name of Waldo of Lyons was known. Besides these foreign accessions, some books had been written and circulated by the puritans, while several reformers appeared in different kingdoms, all advocating the same doctrines and practice; so that the clergy and pontiff were aroused to vigorous opposition. In 1180, the Puritans had established themselves in Lombardy and Puglia, where they received frequent visits from their brethren who resided in other countries; in this and the next century they were to be found in the capital of christendom."⁶ Effective measures were matured about this time, when Waldo and his followers were driven from France.

"In 1210, the Paterines had become so numerous and so odious to the State clergy, that the old bishop of Ferrara obtained an edict of the emperor Otho IV. for the suppression of them; but this measure extended only to that city.

"In five years after, pope Innocent III., of bloody celebrity, held a council at the Lateran, and denounced anathemas against heretics of every description. Dr. Wall declared that this council did enforce infant baptism on the dissidents, as heretics taught it was to no purpose to baptize children.⁷

"In this council the Milanese were censured for sheltering the Paterines. After a variety of efforts to suppress them, the cruel policy of the court of Rome extended its sanguinary measures over Italy. In 1220 Honorius III. procured an edict of Frederick II., which extended over all the imperial cities, as had been the case for some years over the south of France, and the effects of the pontiff's anger were soon felt by the deniers of the infant right. These edicts were every way proper to excite horror, and which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from the most cruel death such as had the misfortune, says Mosheim, to be disagreeable to the inquisitors. No alternative of escaping those human monsters presented itself but that of flight, which was embraced by many; 'indeed,' Mosheim observes, 'they passed out of Italy and spread like an inundation throughout the European provinces, but Germany in particular afforded an asylum, where they were called Gazari instead of Cathari (puritans). One Ivo, of Narbonne, was summoned by the

⁴ This article I have copied entire from Jones' Ch. Hist. pp. 287—289. By him it was selected from Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, pp. 409—412, and p. 455.

"As it may afford satisfaction to some readers (says Mr. Jones) to know from what source of authority Mr. R. has drawn his account of the Paterines, I here subjoin them:—Muratori *Antiq. Ital.* tom. v. Gregorii *contra Menichæos, qui Paterine dicuntur, opusculi specimen.* Cap. vi. Sicardi *Episcopi Cremomensis chronicon,* ad An. 1213. Bonacursi *Vita hæreticorum Manifestatio hæresis Catharorum D'Acherii, Specilegium,* tom. i. 208. *De Catharis monitum.*" The writers above referred to were all Roman Catholics who lived more than six centuries ago.

⁵ Orchard's *Foreign Baptists,* p. 143.

⁶ McCrie's *Reform in Italy,* p. 4, as quoted by Orchard.

⁷ *Hist of Infant Baptism,* pt. 2, p. 243.

inquisitors of heretical pravity. Ivo fled into Italy. At Como he became acquainted with the Paterines, and accommodated himself to their views for a time. They informed him, after he was a member of their society, that they had churches in almost all the towns of Lombardy, and in some parts of Tuscany; that their merchants, in frequenting fairs and markets, made it their business to instil their tenets in the minds of the rich laymen with whom they traded, and the landlords in whose houses they lodged. On leaving Como, he was furnished with letters of recommendation to professors of the same faith in Milan; and in this manner he passed through all the towns situated on the Po, through Cremona, and the Venetian States, being liberally entertained by the Paterines, who received him as a brother, on producing his letters and giving the signs, which were known by all that belonged to the sect.⁸

“The Paterines knew their discipline could not possibly be practiced in the church, they therefore withdrew, constantly avowing the sufficiency of scripture, the competency of each to reform himself, the right of all, even of woman, to teach; and openly disclaiming all manner of coercion in matters of religion.

“In conformity with their declaration of the sufficiency of the scriptures to regulate a christian church, they had houses in many cities in which they assembled for religious worship, with their barbs, or religious teachers.

“And notwithstanding the persecutions to which they were exposed, they maintained themselves in Italy, and kept up a regular correspondence with their brethren in other countries. They had public schools where their sons were educated, and these were supported by contributions from churches of the same faith in Bohemia and Poland.⁹ Their prosperity irritated the pontiff, who, on Frederick’s death, 1250, and during an interregnum, resolved on extirpating heresy. The usual methods were attempted—preaching and mustering crusaders; but, after every effort devised for their instruction, they appeared no less in number, and still formidable to their adversaries. Indeed, it was found in the middle of this century that the Paterines had *exceedingly increased*, so that his holiness found it necessary to give full powers to his inquisitors, and to erect a standing tribunal, if possible, in every country where puritans were known to infest. These inquisitors were armed with all imaginable power to punish all those persons who dared to *think* differently to the pope and his successors. Unity of views, sentiments and practices was to be effected by these cruel measures; but, instead of accomplishing this object, we conclude the Paterines were dispersed abroad into other provinces, or else they retired into obscurity, from either of which circumstance their local names would become extinct. The terror of the inquisitors awed the Italians into silence; but it is highly credible, indeed, there are some reasons to believe the Paterines did continue dispersed in Italy till the Reformation in Germany. It is very probable that many of these people became incorporated with the Waldensian churches in the valleys of Piedmont, which at this period enjoyed, under the Duke of Savoy, the sweets of religious liberty. This incorporation could be easily effected, since it is proved, by Allix and others, that the most part of the Paterines held the same opinions as the churches in the valleys, and therefore were taken for the one and the same class of people.

“The straitened circumstances of the Vaudois in Pragela, suggested the propriety of seeking for a new territory. This they obtained on their own terms of liberty, in Calabria, a district in the northeast of Italy. This new settlement prospered, and their religious peculiarities awakened displeasure in the old inhabitants; but the landlords, well pleased with their industry, afforded them protection. This colony received fresh accessions from time to time of those who fled from the persecutions raised against them in Piedmont, and continued to flourish when the Reformation dawned on Italy, after which they were barbarously murdered.¹⁰

⁸ McCrie’s Ref. in Italy, p. 4, &c., as quoted by Orchard. ⁹ Perrin in McCrie.

¹⁰ Jones’ Lect. 2, p. 420; McCrie’s Ref. in Italy, p. 7, as quoted by Orchard.

“These plain facts allow us to conclude that Italy must have, in parts, enjoyed the lamp of truth from apostolic days. That the Cathari or puritan churches continued for ages, is acknowledged of the views of which we have spoken. Such churches were strengthened by the baptists from Bulgaria, whose sameness of views admitted their incorporation. When these congregations became too large to assemble in one place, they parted, and held separate assemblies, in perfect unity with each other.¹ They owned the scriptures as a rule of conduct, and administered the ordinances of baptism to believers by one immersion.² They maintained church discipline even on their ministers, as examples are recorded.³ They were always found on the side of religious liberty, and considered the oppressing clergy *the locust* which darkened and tormented the world. They were persecuted, awed, dispersed, or destroyed, yet their spirit and conduct will be again exhibited in future sections of our history.”

“The Paterines, in 1250,” says Reinerius, “had four thousand members in the perfect class, but those called disciples were an innumerable multitude.”⁴

¹ Robinson's Hist. Bapt., p. 356.

² Robinson's Researches, p. 384.

³ Jones' Lect., Vol. II., p. 273; Robinson's Ecc. Res., ch. 11, passim.

⁴ This mode of designation is often mentioned among other parties. I suppose they meant to convey by it much the same as we do by church and society, or congregation.

CHAPTER II.

SECTION I.

WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES, AND GERMAN ANABAPTISTS.

Origin of the names Waldenses and Albigenses, with some account of Peter Waldo, of Lyons, and the sanguinary edicts of Pope Lucius III. against the disciples of Waldo.

“HAVING sketched the more prominent features of the christian church for the first ten centuries, and arriving at that period in which we are to give the reader some account of the Waldenses, it will be proper to introduce the subject by an attempt to ascertain the origin of their distinguished appellation. The learned Mosheim contends, with considerable pertinacity, that they derived their name from Peter Waldo, an opulent merchant of Lyons, whose history will presently come under our notice. But, in this he is contradicted by his learned translator, and, I believe I may truly add, by most writers of authority since his time.

“The most satisfactory definition that I have met with of the term *Waldenses*, is that given by Mr. Robinson in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*; and, in the confidence that it is the true one, and that I may not unnecessarily trespass on the reader's time and patience, I submit it to his consideration.

“From the Latin word *Vallis*, came the English word *valley*, the French and Spanish *valle*, the Italian *valdesi*, the low Dutch *valleye*, the Provençal *vauz, vaudois*, the ecclesiastical *Valdenses, Ualdenses* and *Waldenses*. The word simply signifies *valleys*—inhabitants of valleys—and no more. It happened that the inhabitants of the valleys of the Pyrenees did not profess the catholic faith; it fell out, also, that the inhabitants of the valleys about the Alps did not embrace it; it happened, moreover, in the ninth century, that one Valdo, a friend and counselor of Berengarius, and a man of eminence, who had many followers, did not approve of the papal discipline and doctrine; and it came to pass, about a hundred and thirty years after, that a rich merchant of Lyons, who was called Valdis, or Waldo, openly disavowed the Roman catholic religion, supported many to teach the doctrines believed in the valleys, and became the instrument of the conversion of great numbers;—ALL THESE PEOPLE WERE CALLED WALDENSES.³ This view of the matter which, to myself, appears indisputably the true one, is also supported by the authority of their own historians, Pierre, Gilles, Perrin, Leger, and by Sir S. Morland and Dr. Allix.

“To the preceding account of the derivation of the term *Waldenses*, I shall now add the explanation given by these writers of various other appellations that were bestowed on this class of christians, and particularly that of *Albigenses*.

“The names imposed on them in France by their adversaries, they say, have been intended to vilify and ridicule them, or to represent them as new and different sects. Being stripped of all their property, and reduced by persecution to extreme poverty, they have been called ‘the poor of Lyons.’ From their mean and famished appearance in their exiled and destitute state, they have been called, in provincial jargon, ‘siccan,’ or pickpockets. Because they would not observe saints' days, they were falsely supposed to neglect the sabbath also, and called *Inzabbatati*, or *insabbathists*.⁴

“As they denied transubstantiation, or the personal and divine presence of Jesus Christ in the host, or wafer exhibited in the mass, they were called ‘arians.’ Their adversaries, promising that all power must be derived from God, *through his vicegerent, the pope*, or from an

³ *Ecclesiastical Researches*, pp. 302, 303.

⁴ “Dr. Mosheim traces the derivation of this word to a kind of slipper which they wore, as a distinguishing badge of the sect, and Gibbon has adopted his opinion. But I agree with Mr. Robinson in thinking it very unlikely, that people who could not descend from the mountains into neighboring states without hazarding their lives through the furious zeal of inquisitors, should tempt danger by affixing a visible mark on their shoes. The above opinion, therefore, appears to me much more probable.”—*Jones*.

opposite and evil principle, inferred that the Waldenses were 'Manicheans,' because they denied the pope's supremacy over the emperors and kings of the earth.

"In Languedoc, the catholics affirmed that the origin of these heresies were recent, and that they derived their name of Vandois, or Waldenses, from Peter Waldo, one of their barbs or preachers, whose immediate followers were called Waidenses; but this was rather the renovation of the name from a particular cause than its original; accordingly it extended over that district only, in France, where Peter Waldo preached; for, in other districts, the people who were branches of the same original sect, as in Dauphiny, were, from a noted preacher, called Josephists; in Languedoc, they were called Henricians; and in other provinces, from Peter Bruys, they were called Petrobrusians. Sometimes they received their name from their manners, as catharists, (*puritans*), and from the foreign country whence it was presumed they had been expelled, they were called 'Bulgarians,' or Bougres. In Italy they were commonly called fratricelli, that is, 'men of the brotherhood,' because they cultivated brotherly love among themselves, acknowledging one another as brethren in Christ. Sometimes they were denominated 'Paulicians,' and, by corruption of the word 'Publicans,' considering them as sprung from that ancient sect, which in the seventh century, spread over Armenia and Thrace, and which, when persecuted by the Greek emperor, might migrate into Europe, and mingle with the Waldenses in Piedmont. Sometimes they were named from the country or city in which they prevailed: as Lombardists, Toulousians and Albigenses. All these branches, however, sprang from one common stock, and were animated by the same religious and moral principles.

"Albigenses became, latterly, their common name in France, from the great number of them that inhabited the city of Alby, in the district of Albigeois, between the Garonne and the Rhone; but that name was not general and confirmed till after the council of Alby, in the year 1254, which condemned them as heretics. Their number, and prevalence in that country, are ascribed to the patronage and protection which they received from Roger, count of Alby, after they had been persecuted in other countries. Some writers have labored to prove that the Waldenses and Albigenses were quite different classes of christians, and that they held different principles and opinions; but there seems no solid ground for maintaining such a distinction. When the popes issued their fulminations against the Albigenses, they expressly condemned them as Waldenses; their legates made war against them as professing the faith of the Waldenses; the monks of the inquisition formed their processes of indictment against them as being Waldenses; the people persecuted them as such; and they uniformly adopted the title when it was given them, and even felt themselves honored by it. To this may be added, that historians do not trace their origin to any local causes, in Albigeois, and about Toulouse, but represent them as emigrants from other regions. Neither do they represent their origin as recent before the council of Alby, but as strangers from adjacent countries about a hundred years before.

"Farther, the provincial councils of Toulouse, in 1119, and of Lombes, in 1176, and the general councils of Lateran, in 1139, and 1179, do not treat of them, nor condemn them as Albigenses, but as heretics; and when they particularize them, they denominate them 'bons homines,'—(i. e. good men.)—'Cathari,' 'Paterini,' 'Publicani,' &c., which shows that they existed before they were generally known as Albigenses. It is also proved, from their books, that they existed as Waldenses, before the time of Peter Waldo, who preached about the year 1160. Perrin, who wrote their history, had in his possession a New Testament in the Vallese language, written on parchment, in a very ancient letter, and a book, entitled, in their language, 'Qual cosa sia l'anti-Christ?' that is, 'What is antichrist?' under date of the year 1120, which carries us back at least twenty years before Waldo. Another book, entitled, 'The Noble Lesson,' is dated 1100.

"Their enemies confirm their great antiquity. Reinerius Saccho, an inquisitor, and one of their most implacable enemies, who lived only eighty years after Waldo, admits that the Waldenses flourished five hundred years before that preacher. Gretzer, the Jesuit, who also wrote against the Waldenses, and had examined the subject fully, not only admits their great antiquity, but declares his firm belief, that the Toulousians and Albigenses condemned in the years 1177 and 1178, were no other than Waldenses. In fact, their doctrine, discipline, government, manners, and even the errors with which they had been charged (by the catholics), show that the Albigenses and Waldenses were distinct branches of the same sect, or that the former were sprung from the latter.⁵

"From the death of Claude, bishop of Turin, who may not be improperly termed the Wickliffe of that city, to the time of Peter Waldo, of Lyons, a considerable period intervened, during which the history of the disciples of that great man is involved in much obscurity. They seem to have had no writers among themselves capable of detailing their proceedings during this period; or, if any records of their ecclesiastical history were committed to writing, the zeal of their opponents hath prevented their transmission to our times. In the writings of their adversaries, indeed, we have abundant proof of their existence as a class of christians, separated in faith and practice from the catholic church, and of the mul-

⁵ "Dr. Rankin's *History of France*, Vol. III., p. 198-202. To this contemporary and able writer, I have much pleasure in tendering my acknowledgments for the eminent service which, in this instance, he has rendered to the cause of truth and virtue. His patient research, and his cool, correct and discriminating judgment, have greatly abridged my labor on this branch of the subject."—*Jones*.

tiplication of their number; but of their proceedings in the formation of churches, and of their order, worship and discipline, we are very imperfectly informed.

"Of the *Catharists*, in Germany, and of the *Palerines* in the duchy of Milan, &c., during this period, both of which held the same principles as the Waldenses, we have already taken some notice in the preceding chapter. But it was not till the twelfth century that the Vaudois appeared in ecclesiastical history as a people obnoxious to the church of Rome. And even then, it seems in great measure to have been occasioned by the indefatigable labors, the ardent zeal, and the amazing success which crowned the ministry of Peter Waldo, of Lyons, whose followers first obtained the name of Leonists, and who, when persecuted in France, fled to Piedmont, incorporating themselves with the Vaudois."

"The following is the account which Mr. Robinson gives of this intricate article of ecclesiastical history; and, as it appears to myself more probable than any other that I have seen, I incline to admit it as the true one:—

"In the twelfth century, towards the close, a great reformation was begun in Lyons, under the auspices of a merchant there, who procured a translation of the four gospels, from Latin into French, and who both preached in person, and engaged others to do so in various parts of the country. Reinerius Saccho thought all the believers (*credenti*) sprung from this stock; and he therefore called them all Leonists. Whether the merchant received his name (Valdus) from the Vaudois, or whether they received theirs from him, is uncertain; the former is the more probable opinion of the two; and the fact seems to be, that till then, the Vaudois were (comparatively speaking) few and obscure, and the Leonists at once numerous and popular; that the Vaudois and Leonists soon incorporated themselves together; that the Vaudois communicated their name, which passed for that of a low, rustical and obscure people, to the Leonists; and that the Leonists emboldened the Vaudois to separate openly from the church. This view of things in part reconciles the opinion of the catholic bishop, Bossuet, with that of Dr. Allix and other Protestants. Bossuet says the separation of the Vaudois was, for a long time, a mere schism in the church, and that Waldo was their parent. Protestants deny this, and say that the Vaudois were the parents of the Leonists. It should seem the Vaudois were the first, and that they continued in the church a sort of a party, until Waldo emboldened them to separate, and so became not the founder of the party, but the parent of their separation."

Mr. Jones goes on to show that Waldo was an opulent merchant in the city of Lyons, in France, in which the gospel was planted in the second century; but, at the time this extraordinary man began his evangelical career, it was sunk in the grossest darkness and superstition. Waldo, at first, like other great reformers, had not the most distant idea of withdrawing himself from the communion of the Romish church; that his first attack on the superstitions of that body was against the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation. His first early efforts were directed to a translation of the four gospels into French, which he caused to be circulated extensively among his countrymen, especially the poor—which his wealth enabled him to do. He soon became a preacher, gathered a church in his native city, from which, after a few years, he and most of his adherents were driven by the anathemas of the pope.

"Waldo himself retired into Dauphiny, where he preached with abundant success; his principles took deep and lasting root, and produced a numerous harvest of disciples, who were denominated Leonists, Vaudois, Albigenses, or Waldenses; for the very same class of christians is designated by these various appellations at different times, and according to the different countries, or quarters of the same country, in which they appeared."

"Persecuted from place to place, Waldo retired into Picardy, where, also, success attended his labors. Driven from thence, he proceeded into Germany, carrying along with him the glad tidings of salvation; and, according to the testimony of Thuanus, the eminent and singularly exact French historian, he at length settled at Bohemia, where he finished his course in the year 1179, after a ministry of nearly twenty years.

"The persecution of Waldo and his followers, with their flight from Lyons, is a remarkable epoch in the annals of the christian church. Wherever they went, they sowed the seeds of the reformation. The countenance and blessing of the King of kings accompanied them. The word of God grew and multiplied, not only in the places where Waldo himself had planted it, but in more distant regions. In Alsace, and along the Rhine, the doctrines of Waldo spread extensively. Persecutions ensued, thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned in one fire at the city of Bingen, and eighteen at Mentz itself. The bishop of both Mentz and Strasburg breathed nothing but vengeance and slaughter against them; and, at the latter city, where Waldo himself is said to have narrowly escaped apprehension, eighty persons

6 Ch. Hist., pp. 307-311.

7 Perrin's Hist., chap. 1.

were committed to the flames. In the treatment, and in the behavior of the Waldenses, were renewed the scenes of martyrdom of the second century. Multitudes died praising God, and in the confident hope of a blessed resurrection. But the blood of the martyrs again became the seed of the church; and in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary, churches were planted, which flourished throughout the thirteenth century, and which are said to have owed their rise chiefly to the labors of one Bartholomew, a native of Carcassone, a city not far distant from Toulouse, in the south of France, and which may not be improperly termed the metropolis of the Albigenses. In Bohemia, and in the country of Passau, it has been computed that there were not less than eighty thousand of this class of christians in the year 1315. In short, we shall find in the sequel, that they spread themselves throughout almost every country in Europe; but they were everywhere treated as the filth of the world, and as the off-scouring of all things.⁸

"It can excite no surprise that their increasing numbers should rouse the courts of Rome to adopt the most vigorous measures for suppressing them. The inquisition had not yet been established; but council after council had been convened in France; and about twenty years after Waldo had been driven from Lyons, the following persecuting edict was issued from Rome."

This decree was passed in 1181, under Pope Lucius III. It is very long, and contains the usual amount of anathema and proscription to be found in such edicts from the papal power.

The following paragraph may serve as a specimen of the whole:—

"More particularly, we declare all Catharists, Paterines, and those who call themselves the 'poor of Lyons,' the Passignes, Josephists, Arnoldists, to lie under a perpetual anathema. And because some, under a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, as the apostle saith, assume to themselves the authority of preaching; whereas the same apostle saith, 'How shall they preach except they be sent,' we therefore conclude, under the same sentence of a perpetual anathema, all those who, either being forbid or not sent, do, notwithstanding, presume to preach publicly, or privately, without any authority received either from the apostolic See, or from the bishops of their respective dioceses; as also, all those who are not afraid to hold or teach any opinions concerning the sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, baptism, the remission of sins, matrimony, or any other sacrament of the church, differing from what the holy church of Rome doth preach and observe; and, generally, all those whom the same church of Rome, or the several bishops in their dioceses, with the advice of their clergy, or the clergy themselves, in case of a vacancy of the See, with the advice, if need be, of a neighboring bishop, shall judge to be heretics. And we likewise declare, all entertainers and defenders of the said heretics, and those who have showed any favor, or given countenance to them, thereby strengthening them in their heresy, whether they be called *comforted*, *believers*, or *perfect*, or with whatsoever superstitious name they disguise themselves, to be liable to the same sentence."⁹

SECTION II.

Some account of the doctrinal sentiments and religious practices of the Waldenses, collected from the writings of their adversaries.

Thus far the Waldenses and Albigenses are described as one people, which, in most respects, they were. I will now represent their affairs under separate heads.

"It is intended in this and the two following sections to lay before the reader a more detailed account of the principles and practices of the Waldenses than hath hitherto been given; and there appears no method of doing this more satisfactorily than by hearing the charges first brought against them, by their adversaries of the Romish church, and then attending to the apologies, reasonings and confessions of faith which, from time to time, the ever laudable principle of self-defense necessarily extorted from them. This is the plan, therefore, which I intend to pursue, and the present section shall be devoted to the testimony of their adversaries.

"Reinerius Saccho, whose name I have had occasion more than once to mention, was, for seventeen years of the earliest part of his life, in some way or other connected with the Waldenses; but he apostatized from their profession,

⁸ Perrin's Hist., chap. 2.

⁹ Church Hist., pp. 313-315.

entered the catholic church, was raised in it to the dignified station of an inquisitor, and became one of their most cruel persecutors. He was deputed by the pope to reside in Lombardy, in the south of France; and, about the year 1250, published a catalogue of the errors of the Waldenses under three-and-thirty distinct heads. The reader who wishes to peruse the original Latin, may find it in Dr. Allix's Remarks upon the Churches of Piedmont, pp. 188-191. The following is a faithful translation:—

"The first error," says he, "is a contempt of ecclesiastical power, and from thence they have been delivered up to Satan, and by him cast headlong into innumerable errors, mixing the erroneous doctrines of the heretics of old with their own inventions. And being cast out of the catholic church, they affirm that they alone are the church of Christ and his disciples. They declare themselves to be the apostle's successors, to have apostolic authority, and the keys of binding and loosing. They hold the church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon (Rev. ch. xvii.), and that all that obey her are damned, especially the clergy that have been subject to her since the time of pope Sylvester.¹⁰ They deny that any true miracles are wrought in the church, because none of themselves ever worked any. They hold that none of the ordinances of the church, which have been introduced since Christ's ascension, ought to be observed, as being of no value. The feasts, fasts, orders, blessings, officers of the church, and the like, they utterly reject. They speak against consecrating churches, churchyards, and other things of like nature, declaring that it was the intention of covetous priests to augment their own gains, in spunging the people by those means of their money and oblations. They say that a man is then first baptized when he is received into their community. Some of them hold that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot actually believe. They reject the sacrament of confirmation, but, instead of that, their teachers lay hands upon their disciples. They say the bishops, clergy, and other religious orders, are no better than the scribes and pharisees, and other persecutors of the apostles. They do not believe the body and blood of Christ to be the true sacrament, but only blessed bread, which, by a figure only, is called the body and blood of Christ, even as it is said, 'and the rock was Christ,' &c. Some of them hold that this sacrament can only be celebrated by those that are good;¹ others, again, by any that know the words of consecration. This sacrament they celebrate in their assemblies, repeating the words of the gospel at their table, and participating together, in imitation of Christ's supper.² They say that malefactors ought not to be put to death by the secular power. According to them, there is no purgatory, and all that die immediately pass either into heaven or hell. That therefore the prayers of the church for the dead are of no use, because those that are in heaven do not want them, nor can those that are in hell be relieved by them. And from thence they infer that all offerings made for the dead are only of use to the clergymen that eat them, and not to the deceased, who are incapable of being profited by them."

"Such is the view which Reinerius gave of the principles of the Waldenses, about eighty years subsequent to the times of Peter Waldo; and we must understand this description as applicable to one general class of christians, scattered throughout the south of France, the valleys of the Pyrenees mountains, the valleys of Piedmont, and the country of the Milanese, though probably distinguished in different places by the different names of Puritans or Catharists, Paterines, Arnoldists, Leonists, Albigenses or Waldenses, the last of which ultimately became their more general appellation. No doubt there were shades of difference in sentiments among them on points of minor importance, even as there are among christians in the present day; and it is very certain that the catholic writers sometimes class under the general name of Waldenses or Albigenses, persons whose theological sentiments and religious practices were very opposite to those which were professed by the followers of Peter Waldo.

"In the sketch which Reinerius has furnished of the principles of the Waldenses, it is to be remarked that there is not the slightest allusion to any erroneous opinions maintained by them regarding the faith and doctrines of the gospel, and this is a noble testimony to the soundness of their creed. For having himself been connected with them—a man of learning and talents,—he doubtless was intimately acquainted with their doctrinal sentiments; and, hav-

¹⁰ This pontiff was bishop of Rome in the days of Constantine the Great, about the year 330.

¹ "The meaning of this does not seem obvious. The words in the original are, *Quidam autem hoc dicunt tantum per bonos fieri alii per omnes qui verba consecrationis sciunt*; and the reason of the obscurity is, that, as I shall hereafter show, they did not allow any but pastors to administer the eucharist."—*Jones*.

² Church Hist., pp. 318, 319.

ing apostatized from their profession, and become their determined adversary, he did not want inclination to bring forward any accusation against them which could be done with the smallest regard to decency on his own part. The errors of which he accuses them (a few instances excepted, and on which they repelled his slanderous charges), are such as no protestant dissenter of the present day would shrink from the odium which is connected with holding, since they will all be found in one way or other to resolve themselves into the unfounded claims of the clergy, or the introduction of human traditions and the basest superstition into the worship of God. * * * * *

“Crantz, who wrote the history of the Bohemian brethren, mentions a colony of Waldenses as obtaining permission to settle at Saltz and Lun, on the river Eger, so early as the twelfth century, which, the coincidence of time renders it highly probable, refers to the persecuted Waldo and his brethren. Certain it is, that his labors were crowned with great success in that country; and we have two noted authors who have left us a particular account of the faith and practices of the Waldenses in Bohemia during the fourteenth century, at which time their numbers had increased very considerably, and they had to sustain the fire of papal persecution. The first is an inquisitor of the church of Rome, who says, ‘*he had exact knowledge of the Waldenses,*’ at whose trials he often assisted in several countries. The other is Æneas Sylvius, who wrote the history of Bohemia, and afterwards ascended the pontifical chair, with the title of pope Pius II. Thus writes the inquisitor concerning the Waldenses of Bohemia.

“The first error of the Waldenses, says he, is, that they affirm the church of Rome is not the church of Jesus Christ, but an assembly of ungodly men, and that she has ceased to be the true church, from the time of pope Sylvester, at which time the poison of temporal advantages was cast into the church; that all vices and sins reign in that church, and that they alone live righteously;—that they are the true church of Christ, and that the church of Rome is the whore mentioned in the Revelations. * * * * *

“As to the second class of their errors:—They condemn all the sacraments of the church. Concerning the sacrament of baptism, they say that the catechism signifies nothing, that the absolution pronounced over infants avails them nothing, that the godfathers and godmothers do not understand what they answer the priest. That the oblation which is called *Al moget* is nothing but a human invention. They reject all exorcisms and blessings. Concerning the eucharist, they say that a wicked priest cannot celebrate that sacrament, that transubstantiation is not performed by the hands of him who celebrates unworthily, and that it (the eucharist) may be celebrated on our common tables, alleging for this the words of Malachi, i. 2:—‘In every place shall a pure offering be offered to my name.’ * * * * *

“Their third class of errors is as follows:—They condemn all approved ecclesiastical customs which they do not read of in the gospel: such as the observation of Candlemas, Palm-Sunday, the reconciliation of penitents, and the adoration of the cross on Good Friday. They despise the feast of Easter, and all other festivals of Christ and the saints, and say that one day is as good as another, working upon holy days, where they can do it without being taken notice of.” * * * * *

“An ancient inquisitor, to whose writings against the Waldenses I had occasion to refer in a former section, thus describes them:—

“These heretics are known by their manners and conversation, for they are orderly and modest in their behavior and deportment. They avoid all appearance of pride in their dress; they neither indulge in finery of attire, nor are they remarkable for being mean and ragged. They avoid commerce that they may be free from falsehood and deceit. They get their livelihood by manual industry, as day-laborers or mechanics; and their teachers are weavers or tailors. They are not anxious about amassing riches, but content themselves with the necessaries of life. They are chaste, temperate and sober. They abstain from anger. Even when they work, they either learn or teach. In like manner, also, their women are modest, avoiding backbiting, foolish jesting, and levity of speech, especially abstaining from lies or swearing, not so much as making use of the common asseverations, ‘in truth,’ ‘for certain,’ or the like, because they regard these as oaths, contenting themselves with simply answering ‘yes,’ or ‘no.’” * * * * *

“In the time of a great persecution of the Waldenses of Merindol and Provence, a certain monk was deputed by the bishop of Cavaillon to hold a conference with them that they might be convinced of their errors, and the effusion of blood prevented. But the monk re-

turned in confusion, owning that, in his whole life, he had never known so much of the scriptures as he had learned during those few days that he had been conversing with the heretics. The bishop, however, sent among them a number of doctors, young men, who had lately come from the Sorbonne, which, at that time, was the very centre of theological subtlety at Paris. One of these publicly owned that he had understood more of the doctrine of salvation from the answers of little children in their catechisms, than by all the disputations he had ever before heard."

"But of all the catholic writers who have treated of the Waldenses, there is none whose testimony is more important than that of Reinerius Saccho. He had himself been one of their number, and consequently could speak of them from personal knowledge. He had apostatized from their profession; was, 'by merit, raised to the bad eminence' of an inquisitor in the catholic church, and, of course, was become one of their bitterest persecutors. He wrote a book against them (A.D. 1258), from which I have already quoted largely in a former section. But that extract is almost wholly confined to an enumeration of the articles on which they did not agree with the catholic church. Let the reader now remark his unbought testimony in their favor.

"Of all the sects that have risen up against the church of Rome," says he "the Waldenses have been the most prejudicial and pernicious, inasmuch as their opposition has been of very long continuance. Add to which, that this sect is become very general, for there is scarcely a country to be found in which this heresy is not planted. And, in the third place, because, while all other sects beget in people a dread and horror of them on account of their blasphemies against God, this, on the contrary, hath a great appearance of godliness; for, they live righteously before men, believe rightly concerning God in every particular, holding all the articles contained in the (apostles') creed,—but hating and reviling the church of Rome, and on this subject they are readily believed by the people."

"The first lesson," says he in another place, "that the Waldenses teach those whom they bring over to their party, is to instruct them what kind of persons the disciples of Christ ought to be; and this they do by the doctrine of the evangelists and apostles, saying, that those only are the followers of the apostles who imitate their manner of life. Inferring from thence," says he, "that the pope, the bishops, and the clergy, who possess the riches of this world, and make them the object of their pursuit, do not tread in the footsteps of the apostles, and therefore are not the true guides of the church; it never having been the design of the Lord Jesus Christ to commit his chaste and well-beloved spouse to those who would rather prostitute her by their bad example and abominable works, than preserve her in the same state of purity in which they at first received her, a virgin chaste and without spot."

"The same author has furnished us with an interesting account of the manner in which the Waldenses privately disseminated their principles among the gentry; and a proper attention to it will sufficiently explain to the reader the amount of various charges brought against them, from time to time, by the catholic writers, viz., that they allowed their women to teach. It seems to have been a common practice with their teachers, the more readily to gain access for their doctrine among persons in the higher ranks of life, to carry with them a small box of trinkets, or articles of dress, something like the hawkers or pedlars of our day, and Reinerius thus describes the manner in which they were wont to introduce themselves:—

"Sir, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets? 'Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needlework for veils? I can afford them cheap.' If, after the purchase, the company ask, 'Have you anything more?' the salesman would reply, 'O, yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them if you will protect me from the clergy.' Security being promised, on he would go. 'The inestimable jewel I spoke of is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him. In the sixth month, the angel Gabriel was sent from God, unto a city of Galilee, named Nazareth,' and so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke;⁴ or he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew: 'The scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat'—'Wo unto you; ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye

⁴ Vesembecius's Oration on the Waldenses, quoted by Perrin in his *Hist. des Vaudois*, ch. v., as quoted by Jones, *Ch. Hist.*, p. 347.

⁵ The reader should keep in mind, that at this time the use of the Bible was not allowed by the pope to the laity; and, indeed, very few of the clergy knew anything about its contents.

neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering, to go in. Wo unto you, ye devour widows' houses.' 'And pray,' should one of the company say, 'against whom are these woes pronounced, think you?'—he would reply, 'Against the clergy and the monks. The doctors of the Roman church are pompous, both in their habits and their manners; they love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called, rabbi, rabbi. For our part, we desire no such rabbis. They are incontinent. We live each in chastity, with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, 'Wo unto you, ye rich, for ye have received your consolation;' but we, 'having food and raiment, are therewith content.' They are voluptuous, and devour widows' houses;—we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight, and encourage wars, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, 'He that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword.' For our part, they persecute us for righteousness' sake. They do nothing but eat the bread of idleness;—we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and 'wo be to them that take away the key of knowledge.' But, among us, women teach as well as men; and one disciple, as soon as he is informed himself, teaches another. Among them, you can hardly find a doctor who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart;—but of us, there is scarcely man or woman who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these scribes and pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ."

"The plan adopted by the Waldenses for engaging the attention of others to the word of God, as described by Reinerius in the foregoing extract, is both simple and striking, and deserves the attention of missionaries in the present day. It seems to have been prosecuted for several centuries, even beyond the time of the reformation, as appears from the following circumstance:—"The first editor of the complete book of Reinerius, was Father Gretzer, who published it in the year 1613. In the margin of that work, opposite to the passage quoted, he has placed these words: 'This is a true picture of the heretics of our age, particularly of the anabaptists.' There are few of the baptists of the present day, it is to be hoped, who would blush to own an alliance with either of the old Waldensian preachers, or the heretical baptists referred to by this father of the catholic church, at least in this part of their conduct; and, indeed, it would be well if all our missionaries and private christians of the present day were as conversant with the word of God as the Waldenses, even in that dark age, appear, from the testimony of their very enemies, to have been."⁶

CARDINAL HOSIUS, a learned and zealous champion for the papacy, who presided at the council of Trent, lived during the Lutheran reformation, and wrote a history of the heresies of his own times, in which he says, "The leprosy of the Waldenses spread its infection throughout all Bohemia; and following the doctrine of Waldo, the greatest part of that kingdom separated itself from the church of Rome."⁷

Then follows Mr. Jones' description of the rise of the inquisition, and the armies of the crusades, by which vast multitudes of these people were slain.

SECTION III.

ALBIGENSES.

Their terrible persecutions, and dispersion.

As these people were the same in their sentiments and general character as the Waldenses, and took their name from the city of Alby, in France, as has already been related, I shall confine my remarks to the terrible sufferings which they endured, and the scenes of havoc and slaughter to which they were exposed, and the general dispersion of those who survived into other countries.

Mr. Jones goes on to describe the efforts of the court of Rome and its col-

⁶ Church Hist., pp. 350-352.

⁷ Id., p. 357.

Affairs of the Waldenses from 1230 to 1530.

Only a few detached sentences can be given under this head, which I shall select mostly from Jones and Orchard.

During the long period of time now under review, which is scarcely equal to that which has elapsed since the reformation, the circumstances of the Waldenses were always afflictive, but, at some periods, and in some places and countries, they were much more so than others. The church of Rome, with the aid of the inquisition and the armies of crusaders, which were always ready to lend their assistance for the suppression of heresy at any point where their forces were directed, was never more active nor powerful than in the three centuries preceding the reformation. But notwithstanding this condition of this august establishment, so many were the contests of the pope with secular princes, whose affairs he attempted to regulate and control, and so violent were the wars of the different catholic states with each other, that these obnoxious dissenters had, in different locations, seasons of temporary repose.

One of the severest conflicts of his holiness with his refractory and rebellious sons, was that maintained against Frederick II., emperor of Germany in 1250.

"After the death of Frederick, the establishment of the inquisition met with less obstruction. The affairs of Germany had been left by him in great disorder. Italy was without a prince, and the Milanese under the control of the pope. 'The latter,' says Limborch, 'now determined to extirpate all heresy, which had greatly increased during the preceding war.'"²

About the year 1330, an inquisitor by the name of Echard, after inflicting cruelties with great severity for a length of time on the Waldenses, became a convert to their cause, and was soon after, by his brother inquisitors, committed to the flames.

In 1370 a company of Waldensian youths from Dauphiny, in France, made a settlement in Calabria, in Italy, where they remained under the protection of their landlords until the reformation.

"I believe I must interrupt the narrative," says Mr. Jones, "for the purpose of introducing a short extract from that lively French writer, Monsieur Voltaire, in which he furnishes us with an estimate of the character of the Waldenses in France, of whom we have been speaking. It is interesting to compare the opinions of different writers upon any particular subject; and the reader cannot be displeased at having an opportunity of seeing how nearly, on this topic, those of Voltaire, a man of no religion, coincided with the sentiments of the liberal Sleidan, and the incomparable Thuanus, to both of whom we have already had occasion to advert, and shall again in the sequel."

"In the twelfth century," says Voltaire, "there was one Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, whose piety and errors are said to have given rise to the Vaudois, (Waldenses.) This man, having retired with several poor people whom he maintained, to the desert valleys betwixt Provence and Dauphiny, acted both as their high priest and father, instructing them in his doctrine, in which he differed very little from the Albigenses, or from Wickliffe, John Huss, Luther, and Zuinglius, in regard to several of the chief articles. These men lived a great while in obscurity, busied in the culture of barren lands, which, with indefatigable industry, they rendered fit for corn and pasture; a proof of our being greatly to blame, if through neglect we suffer any part of France to be uncultivated. The neighboring grounds were let to them on leases; and they improved them by their labor so as to maintain themselves, and to enrich their landlords, who never complained of their behavior. In the space of two hundred and fifty years, their number increased to near eighteen thousand, who were dispersed in thirty small towns, besides hamlets. All this was the fruit of their industry. There were no priests among them, no quarrels about religious worship, no law suits; they determined their differences among themselves. None but those who repaired to the neighboring cities knew that there existed any such thing as mass or bishops. They prayed to God in their own jargon;³ and, being continually employed, they had the happiness to know no vice. This peaceful state they enjoyed for about two hundred years, since the wars against the Albigenses, with which the nation had been wearied. When mankind have long rioted in cruelty, their fury abates and sinks into langor and indifference: as we see constantly

² Limborch's Inquisition, ch. 15.

³ What Mons. Voltaire means by this uncouth speech is, that the Waldenses had no liturgy or forms of public prayer.—Jones.

country is an interchange of hill and dale, mountain and valley—traversed with four principal rivers, viz. the Po, the Tanaro, the Stura, and the Dora, besides about eight and twenty rivulets, great and small, which, winding their courses in different directions, contribute to the fertility of the valleys, and make them resemble a watered garden. * * * * *

“The Pyreneen mountains which separate France from Spain, extend from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; that is, at least two hundred miles, and in breadth at several places more than one hundred. The surface is, as may naturally be expected, wonderfully diversified. Hills rise upon hills, and mountain over mountain, some bare of verdure, and others crowned with forests of huge cork trees, oak, beech, chestnuts and evergreens. * * * * *

“A spectator taking his stand on the top of the ridge of these mountains, will observe, that at the foot, on the Spanish side, lie Asturias, old Castile, Arragon, and Catalonia; and on the French side Guienne, and Languedoc, Toulouse, Bearn, Alby, Boussillon, and Narbonne, all of which places were remarkable in the darkest times for harboring Christians who were reputed heretics. Indeed, from the borders of Spain, throughout the greatest part of the south of France, among and below the Alps, along the Rhine, and even to Bohemia, thousands of the disciples of Christ, as will hereafter be shown, were found even in the very worst of times, preserving the faith in its purity, adhering to the simplicity of Christian worship, patiently bearing the cross after Christ: men distinguished by their fear of God, and obedience to his will, and persecuted only for righteousness' sake.”

CLAUDE, BISHOP OF TURIN.—This bold reformer, who came to this See about 817, has been called the Wickliffe of his age; and, although he probably never entirely separated from the catholic church, yet such was his opposition to the prevailing superstitions of the times, as to afford material aid to the cause of dissenters. His first attack was on the worship of images, and the following quotations will show us his mode of reasoning on the subject:—

“When I came to Turin, I found all the churches full of abominations and images; and because I began to destroy what every one adored, every one began to open his mouth against me.

“God commands one thing, and these people do quite the contrary. God commands us to bear our cross, and not to worship it; but these are all for worshiping it, whereas they do not bear it at all—to serve God after this manner is to go a whoring from him. For if we ought to adore the cross, because Christ was fastened to it, how many other things are there which touched Jesus Christ, and which he made according to the flesh? Did he not continue nine months in the womb of the virgin? Why do they not then on the same score worship all that are virgins, because a virgin brought forth Jesus Christ? Why do they not adore mangers and old clothes, because he was laid in a manger and wrapped in swaddling-clothes? Why do they not adore fishing-boats, because he slept in one of them, and from it preached to the multitudes, and caused a net to be cast out, wherewith was caught a miraculous quantity of fish? Let them adore asses, because he entered into Jerusalem upon the foal of an ass; and lambs, because it is written of him—‘Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world.’ But these sorts of men would rather eat live lambs than worship their images! Why do they not worship lions, because he is called ‘the Lion of the tribe of Judah?’ or rocks, since it is said, ‘and that rock was Christ?’ or thorns, because he was crowned with them? or lances, because one of them pierced his side?

“All these things are ridiculous, and rather to be lamented than set forth in writing; but we are compelled to state them in opposition to fools, and to disclaim against those hearts of stone, which the arrows and sentences of the word of God cannot pierce. Come to yourselves again, ye miserable transgressors; why are ye gone astray from the truth, and why, having become vain, are ye fallen in love with vanity? Why do you crucify again the Son of God, and expose him to open shame, and by these means make souls by troops to become the companions of devils; estranging them from their Creator, by the horrible sacrifice of your images and likenesses, and thus precipitating them into everlasting damnation.”⁷

“It is certain,” says Mr. Orchard, “these valleys, at an early period in the Christian era, became an asylum to the worshipers of the Redeemer; who, at the remotest period, were known by the term *Credenti*, believers.⁸ However remote their antiquity, no record exists as to any of these churches being apostolical,⁹ though the fact is beyond all contradiction that early and late dissidents in religion were found in these valleys, and in other provinces, who were never in connection with the church of Rome.¹⁰

“Though we have no document proving the apostolic foundation of these churches, yet it becomes evident that some communities did exist here in the second century, since it is recorded, they practised believers' baptism by immersion.¹ Whether these societies were gathered by the apostles, or their successors, or whether they originated with those emigrants who left the cities under the persecuting edicts of Marcus Aurelius Antonius, we have no means of deciding. We have already observed from Claudius Seyssel, the popish arch-

⁷ Jones' Ch. Hist., pp. 246-255.

⁸ Allix's Ch. of Pied., ch. 1, p. 2.

¹ D. Bethuzar, in Bap. Mag., Vol. I., p. 167.

⁹ Robinson's Res., p. 461.

¹⁰ Robinson's Res., pp. 425, 440, 448

GENERAL REMARKS.—So abundant are the materials for the history of these witnesses for the truth in the darkest and most persecuting ages that christians have ever known, that the most difficult part of my task has been to confine my selections within the limits assigned for this article. I have been obliged to leave out many passages which I had marked for insertion.

The opinions of the catholics of the Waldenses.

The Roman catholics uniformly spoke of them with bitterness and contempt; and whatever they said of them as to their faith and practice, which later writers have construed in their favor, was designed to operate against them. Of all dissenting parties and obnoxious sects, that of the Waldenses was the worst; it had lived the longest, extended the farthest, and had been the most troublesome to the church.

In 1533, Luther confessed that in the days of his popery he had *hated* the Waldenses as persons who were consigned over to perdition; but his views were very different then. This former feeling of Luther run through the whole body of the catholic church. The Waldenses were the protestants of the times, and they branded them with the foulest stigmas, and pursued them with unrelenting severity.

The following sentiments of one of their bitterest opposers embody all that need to be said under this head:—

“Reinerius, an apostate and persecutor of the Waldenses, in the thirteenth century, writes, ‘that amongst all sects none is more pernicious than that of the *Poor of Lyons*, for three reasons: 1st, Because it is the most ancient; some aver their existence from the days of Sylvester—others from the very times of the apostles. 2d, Because it is so universal; for there is scarcely a country into which this sect has not crept. 3d, Because all others render themselves detestable by their blasphemies, but this has a great appearance of godliness; they living a righteous life before men, believing right concerning God, confessing all the articles of the creed, only hating the pope of Rome,’” &c.¹⁰

Different opinions of protestants respecting the Waldenses.

It is a singular fact that all parties have spoken well of them, and have claimed them as their denominational kindred and religious ancestors. This has been done by men of all dogmas and rites, from those of the most simple forms of worship and church building, to the most zealous advocates of presbyterianism and episcopacy. The Calvinists and Armenians, unitarians and orthodox, have all tried to establish their different creeds from the sentiments of this people.

At the time of the reformation, the catholics were continually pressing their opponents with the taunting inquiry, “Where was your religion before the days of Luther?” Some answered, In the bible; others with the Waldenses. And as challenges were freely passed from one side to the other, the history of this people and their claims to antiquity were very thoroughly investigated, much to the satisfaction and advantage of the baptist side.

“Little,” says Robinson, “did the old Waldenses think, when they were held in universal abhorrence, and committed everywhere to the flames, that a time would come when the honor of a connection with them would be disputed by different parties of the highest reputation. So it happened at the Reformation, and every reformed church put in its claim.”¹

¹⁰ Milner's Ch. Hist.

¹ Uninterrupted succession was the cause of these different claims, but all attempts to prove such a succession have proved ineffectual.

“Protestants, by the most substantial arguments, have blasted the doctrine of papal succession; and yet these very protestants have undertaken to make proof of an unbroken series of persons of their own sentiments, following one another in due order from the apostles to themselves. The papal succession is a catalogue of names of real and imaginary men, of christians and atheists, blasphemers and saints. The Lutheran succession runs in the papal channel till the reformation, and then in a small stream changes its course. The Calvinist succession, which includes the presbyterians and all sects which originated from Geneva, is a zigzag and it is made up of men of all

but humble and pious pedlars, itinerating merchants, of whom there were many in the middle ages, scattered the truth by carrying some leaves of the Word of Life, or some MSS. tracts beneath their merchandize, which they engaged those whom they found favorably disposed to receive and read."—*Dr. Baird's Italy.*

I might quote from Milner, Mosheim, and a multitude of other writers, very high commendations of the character of the Waldenses, and their strong claims to the sympathy and fellowship of all evangelical christians.

Change in their ecclesiastical affairs.

Mr. Jones has traced the history of the Waldenses from a very early period to the year 1686, when, in his opinion, the ancient churches of Piedmont and other places, commonly designated as Waldenses and Albigenses, ceased to exist, having been utterly dispersed and scattered by the persecutions they had long endured; and that the churches which are now found in these valleys were founded by a new set of men, about a century and a half ago, who gave them somewhat of an episcopal character. The account is too long for insertion in the text;—an epitome of it may be found in the note below.²

Baptismal character of the Waldenses.

Thus far I have paid no special attention to this trait of their character, but have followed their history as zealous and faithful christians, whose labors, successes and sufferings have excited the admiration of all the friends of evangelical religion. Incidental remarks have frequently occurred in the foregoing narratives, which show the opinions of the old catholic writers on this head, and, whether they were right or wrong in their impeachments, it is clear that much of the sufferings of these people came upon them for their reputed heresy on the subject of infant baptism.

In my recapitulation of the history of all the ancient sects, I shall give ample room for this kind of evidence of the prevalence of baptist sentiments among them, and under one head exhibit the statements of a great variety of authors

² It appears that the Rev. Mr. Gilly, a minister of the church of England, in 1823, published a narrative of an excursion to the mountains of Piedmont, and of researches among the churches of the Vaudois or Waldenses, &c.; and that he found among them infant baptism, church liturgies, and a much more lax system of theology than was generally ascribed to the old Waldenses.

In answer to all arguments of this kind, Mr. Jones admits the leading facts of the narrative so far as the present churches are concerned, but shows, by historical evidence, that, at the time above referred to, a new set of men took possession of the valleys, and remodeled the churches to the present plan. His language is as follows: "Does not the page of history record that, in the year 1689, about eight or nine hundred men proceeded from the neighborhood of Geneva, *equipped with arms and ammunition*, re-entered their own country, drove away the new inhabitants, and after many contests with their enemies, obtained a reinstatement in their former possessions? Certainly; there is no disposition to deny the fact; but I beg leave to ask Mr. Gilly, and those who dwell upon it, of what description of persons did this new race of the Waldenses consist—and are they prepared to show us a number of new churches formed by them, bearing any resemblance to those of the ancient Waldenses, which were dispersed by the armies of Louis XIV. and the duke of Savoy? We are quite content to rest the issue of this inquiry on the testimony which is borne to the present state of the Vaudois, by our author and other members of the established church, compared with the accounts which have been transmitted us by friends and foes concerning their ancestors. * * * * In fact, had he properly understood the character of the ancient Waldensian churches, we can have no conception that he would have entertained any wish to become their advocate; and as it may probably save others from falling into similar blunders, I shall close this preface with laying before the reader a brief sketch of what they were."¹

If no such extraordinary event had happened to the Waldenses, but they had been left to the common course of events, it would have been nothing strange if they had departed far from the original platform. Many other churches, in much less time, have done the same. Conformity, as I shall show in another place, is the natural course of mankind in all departments, in religion, politics and manners, especially when motives of interest and popularity bear sway.

Mr. Jones is confident that the churches of the Waldenses had maintained their original model—the 1260 years mentioned in Revelations; and, as a proof that these were the witnesses intended in that prophecy, he quotes the names of bishops Lloyd, Newton, Hurd, &c., with Messrs. Whiston, Faber, Gauntlet, and others.

¹ See Mr. Jones' closing remarks above.

Poland and on the Rhine ; anabaptists in Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland ; Lollards and Wickliffites in England, besides a great many names of a more general character, as cathari, gossellers, leonists or poor men of Lyons, bible men, fraticelli, &c.

Outward circumstances of these people.

The great mass of them were generally among the industrious poor ; they were mechanics and husbandmen ; they were never in squalid wretchedness or beggarly destitution, when they were left to enjoy the fruits of their industry ; multitudes of them, both male and female, became inmates of the households of the opulent, in the capacity of nurses and servants, and were preferred on account of their industry, sobriety, and faithfulness. Others settled on the outskirts of the neglected domains of the nobility, where they soon converted the barren wastes into productive fields ; in this way new and flourishing settlements would arise, to the admiration of the landlords whose profitable tenants they became.

I have thought, from all the accounts I have seen, that the Albigenses in France, previous to their terrible slaughter and overthrow in the beginning of the thirteenth century, came the nearest of any party of this people, in any age or region, of being the bone and sinew of the country, and having a large amount of worldly possessions. One million of lives were sacrificed in the course of about twenty years, and the destruction of property was immense, both public and private, beyond anything we read of in any other scene of papal persecution in that age.⁶

Destruction of Beziers.—The catholics destroy their own men.

It is a singular fact, and that which shows in a striking manner the furious zeal of these blood-thirsty men, that, when this stronghold of the Albigenses was about to be destroyed by an army of crusaders, the catholic part of the inhabitants besought the commander to spare the lives of his own friends ; but he was under the influence of the spiritual leaders, who decided that all, without distinction, must promise to live according to the laws of the Roman church. This was the ultimate stipulation. As the catholics, who, of course, were willing to submit to it, were in the minority, they used every entreaty with the Albigenses to comply and save them all. But this they could not do consistently with their views of principle and duty. The catholic bishop next appeared to the pope's legate to entreat him not to comprehend in the punishment of the Albigenses those who had always been uniform in their adherence to the church of Rome. But, at the end of the parley, the stern command was given, "kill them all—the Lord knoweth them that are his." So three-and-twenty thousand were instantly massacred, and the city itself was destroyed by fire.⁷

⁶ "The Albigensian church was now drowned in blood ; their race for the present disappeared ; their opinions ceased to influence society. Hundreds of villages had seen all their inhabitants massacred with a blind fury, and without the crusaders giving themselves the trouble to examine whether they contained a single heretic!!! It is impossible to ascertain the number who, from frenzied zeal, engaged in this war of extirpation ; but we know armies arrived for seven or eight successive years, more numerous than were employed in other wars. These considered it their right to live at the expense of the country ; and therefore, with a rapacious hand, seized all the harvests of the peasants and merchandise of the citizens. No calculations can ascertain the quantity of wealth dissipated, or the destruction of human life, which resulted from these crusades." "The visible assemblies of the Paulicians or Albigensians," says Gibbon, "were extirpated by fire and sword ; and the bleeding remnant escaped by flight, concealment, or catholic conformity. But the invincible spirit which they had kindled still lived and breathed in the western world. In the state, in the church, and even in the cloister, a latent succession was preserved of the disciples of Paul (Paulicians), who protested against the tyranny of Rome, embraced the bible as a rule of faith, and purified their creed from all the visions of a false theology."—*Orchard*, pp. 210, 211. *Gibbon's Rom. Hist.*, ch. 64, v. X., 170, as quoted by *Orchard*.

⁷ "When the city of Beziers was taken, even the priests and monks who came out of the St. Nazari with banners, crosses, holy water, &c., singing Te Deum for joy that the town was taken, were put to death by the incensed besiegers.—*Sim's Historical Defense of the Waldenses and Vaudois*, p. 198.

⁸ *Jones' Church History*, p. 377.

Princes were often friendly to the Waldenses, and shielded them from harm.

Raymond, count of Toulouse, Roger, count of Alba, the earl of Beziers, and many others of the French nobility, and governors of the departments where these people were located; the dukes of Savoy, whose jurisdiction extended over the valleys of Piedmont, the government of Calabria, in Italy, where a company of the Waldenses lived in quietness two hundred years, and many princes and noblemen in different parts of Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, &c., were well pleased with these peaceable and industrious people, whom they found good and profitable subjects, and would have continued to favor and protect them had they not been urged or driven into measures of proscription and persecution by the intolerant bigotry, the insatiable avarice, or the infernal malignity of the pope, and his contemptible instruments of cruelty and death.

"During the whole course of this century," (the thirteenth,) says Mosheim, "the Roman pontiffs carried on the most barbarous and inhuman persecutions against those whom they branded with the denomination of *heretics*, i. e. against all those who called their pretended authority and jurisdiction in question, or taught doctrines different from those which were adopted and propagated by the church of Rome. For the sects of the *Catharists*, *Waldenses*, *Petrusians*, &c., gathered strength from day to day, spread imperceptibly throughout all Europe, assembled numerous congregations in Italy, France, Spain and Germany, and formed, by degrees, such a powerful party as rendered them formidable to the Roman pontiffs, and menaced the papal jurisdiction with a fatal revolution. To the ancient sects new factions were added, which, though they differed from each other in various respects, yet were all unanimously agreed in this one point, viz. 'That the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstition; and that the dominion which the popes had usurped over christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical.' Such were the notions propagated by the sectaries, who refuted the superstitions and impostures of the times by arguments drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and whose declamations against the power, the opulence, and the vices of the pontiffs and clergy were extremely agreeable to many princes and civil magistrates, who groaned under the usurpations of the sacred order. The pontiffs, therefore, considered themselves as obliged to have recourse to new and extraordinary methods of defeating and subduing enemies, who, both by their number and their rank, were every way proper to fill them with terror."⁹

Confraternities or communities of goods.

This subject often comes up in the history of this people in many ages and countries. I have had a particular view to it in all the works I have consulted, and have arrived at the conclusion that this system was sometimes adopted in particular countries, but was by no means their general economy. It is difficult for us to conceive what harm there could have been in this mode of life, had they seen fit generally to pursue it, but the keen-eyed catholics, in whose view the heretics could do nothing right, often complained of them on this account, and this led Allix and others to pay more attention to this part of their history than they might otherwise have done.

The Moravians followed this custom generally after their settlement at Hernhut, as they had, no doubt, done for many ages before, and to a greater or less extent, I am inclined to think it prevailed among the wide-spread people whose general affairs we have now under review.

The history of the Moravians, and especially their settlement on the estate of Nicholas Lewis, count of Zinzendorf, in Upper Lusatia, in 1722, is a fair specimen of what very often took place among the Waldenses.¹⁰ But the ever meddling and malicious priesthood would as soon as possible set some mischief agoing to drive them into conformity or exile.

It was not uncommon for flourishing schools to be established in the villages

⁹ Eccl. Hist., Vol. III., p. 259.

¹⁰ The whole story is told in my work on "All Religions," in "Hannah Adams," and all similar productions. There is no doubt, in my mind, that the Moravians descended from the old Waldenses, and from that branch of them which came from the Paulicians, as they trace their origin to some Greek dissenters in the ninth century.

formed by these communities, where the children of the citizens of other persuasions, and some of the higher classes, were accustomed to repair. This custom also the Moravians have copied from their remote progenitors.

Confessions of Faith by the Waldenses.

Mr. Jones has given the substance of three of these documents, the first of which bears date from 1120; also of a treatise concerning antichrist, purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the sacraments.

The Noble Lesson, often referred to in the history of this people, is found in Allix's History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont. This bears date from 1100.¹

These documents are all uniform in their sentiments, and all exhibit the spirit of evangelical religion.²

Friendly interposition of England and other countries in favor of the Waldenses.

In 1655 a new and most appalling scene of persecution burst upon the people of the valleys of Piedmont from the papal powers, the news of which excited the sympathy of the protestant kingdoms of Europe. Cromwell was then in the office of Protector of the British realm, and when the account reached England, this singular man "arose like a lion out of his place," and by the most pathetic appeals to the protestant princes upon the continent, awoke the whole christian world, exciting their hearts to pity and commiseration. The providence of God had so disposed events, that our great poet Milton filled the office of Latin secretary to Oliver Cromwell at this critical juncture. Never was there a more decided enemy to persecution on account of religion than Milton. He appears to have been the first of our countrymen who understood the principles of toleration; and his prose writings abound with the most enlightened and liberal sentiments. The sufferings of the Waldenses touched his heart, and drew from his pen the following exquisite sonnet.³

On the late massacre in Piedmont.

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold;
E'en them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshiped stocks and stones,
Forget not: In thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The tripled tyrant;—that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who, having learned thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian wo."

By Cromwell's direction letters were written by Milton to the king of France, the Duke of Savoy, the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, the prince of Transylvania, and the senators of Geneva.⁴ A collection was ordered in all parts of England, which soon amounted to about forty thousand pounds sterling, two thousand of which were given by the Protector from his own private purse; and Sir Samuel Morland was soon dispatched as an agent for the double purpose of superintending the distribution

¹ This was nearly half a century before the time of Peter Waldo, and about the period when Peter De Bruys was discharging his ministry in France. The treatise has indeed been attributed, and not without probability, to the pen of De Bruys.—*Jones' Ch. Hist.*, pp. 322-336.

² *Jones' Ch. Hist.*, p. 332.

³ *Jones' Ch. Hist.*, p. 307.

⁴ These letters are all published in *Jones' History of the Waldenses*. They at first were written in Latin, which Milton could do with elegance and ease. In *Jones' work* they appear in English.

preferred the women of the valleys above all others, to nurse their children. Calumny, however, prevailed at length; and such a number of accusations against them appeared, charging them with crimes of the most monstrous nature, that the civil power permitted the papal to indulge its thirst for blood. Dreadful cruelties were inflicted on the people of God; and these, by their constancy, revived the memory of the primitive martyrs. Among them Cateclin Girard was distinguished, who, standing on the block on which he was to be burned, at Revel, in the marquisate of Saluces, requested his executioners to give him two stones: which request being with difficulty obtained, the martyr, holding them in his hands, said, When I have eaten these stones, then you shall see an end of that religion for which ye put me to death, and then he cast the stones on the ground."⁷

It was customary for these people to construct caves of great capacity in the sides of the mountains, beyond, as they supposed, the reach of their adversaries, where they could repair on the approach of danger. But on a certain occasion, notwithstanding all their precautions, their retreats were discovered; vast quantities of combustible matter were placed at the entrance of their caves and set on fire. The consequence of this inhuman conduct was, that four hundred children were found suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their dead mothers, while multitudes to avoid death by suffocation, or being committed to the flames, precipitated themselves headlong from their caverns upon the rocks below, where they were dashed to pieces;—if any escaped death by the fall, they were immediately slaughtered by the brutal soldiers. More than three thousand perished on this occasion in the valley of Loyse.⁸ This was about the close of the fifteenth century.

The boy and the priest.

A monk was exhorting the people to purchase heaven by the merit of good works. A boy who was present exclaimed, "That's blasphemy! for the bible tells us that Christ purchased heaven by his sufferings and death, and bestows it on us freely by his mercy." A dispute of considerable length ensued between the youth and the preacher. Provoked at the pertinent replies of his juvenile opponent, and at the favorable reception which the audience gave them, "Get you gone, you young rascal!" exclaimed the monk; "you are just come from the cradle, and will you take it upon you to judge of sacred things, which the most learned cannot explain?" "Did you never read these words, 'Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings God perfects praise?'" rejoined the youth. Upon which the preacher quitted the pulpit in wrathful confusion, breathing out threatenings against the poor boy, who was instantly thrown into prison, "where he still lies," says the writer, Dec. 31, 1544.⁹

Bartholomew Copin.

This man suffered death in 1601, at Ast, a city in Piedmont, and the only crime that was laid to his charge was an occasional remark one evening at the table against the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was a merchant, and the fatal expression was made in the company of men of his own vocation. But some spy carried the tale to the bishop; a long and tedious prosecution was commenced against him; he was thrown into prison, where it was supposed he was strangled, and afterwards his dead body was committed to the flames.¹⁰

Robinson's singular description of the progress of the Waldenses.

"Greece was the *parent*, Spain and Navarre the *nurses*, France the *step-mother*, and Savoy the *jailor*, of this class of christians, known afterwards by the name of Waldenses. Amidst the diversity of speculative opinions, they all agreed in administering baptism by immersion."¹¹

Greece was the parent.

This carries us back to the origin of the ancient sects in this great empire,

⁷ Milner's Ch. Hist., Vol. III., p. 470.

⁸ Orchard, p. 271.

⁹ McCries' Italy, p. 117, as quoted by Orchard, p. 278.

¹⁰ Jones' Ch. Hist., pp. 489-491.

¹¹ Eccl. Researches, p. 320.

tion ; it was carried out to the letter for many ages. And yet it may truly be said that the dukes of Savoy, whose government extended over the valleys of Piedmont for many centuries, were ever mild and tolerant towards these inoffensive people ; they were not naturally inclined to persecute and destroy them ; and the same may be said of nearly all the governments of Europe, not excepting the present Roman states ; the secular powers were not disposed to identify themselves with the quarrels of the pope and his church, in defense of their monstrous dogmas and abominable corruptions, and were driven to it at last from dire necessity, to save their sceptres and thrones from the grasp of pontifical power, or were allured into their cruel measures by the most detestable falsehoods and the most unrighteous misrepresentations.

SECTION IV.

THE GERMAN ANABAPTISTS.

Their dissent from the Waldenses—their high antiquity—their extensive spread—their severe persecutions—and their general character.

Under this head I shall include the whole family of this people, as described by Mosheim, who will be my principal guide in their history from the *remote depths* of antiquity, and through all the neighboring countries of the Netherlands, Holland, Switzerland, &c.

We have now arrived to a wide, open, and interesting field, so far as the history of the baptists is concerned, where we shall not have to feel our way amidst the obscure and equivocal statements of both friends and foes ; we have now entered the land of the ancient dippers, who may justly claim their descent from the Waldenses, Wickliffites, Hussites, Henricians, Petrobrussians, and other ancient sects ; and to the country where the old and perpetually repudiated name of *anabaptists* was applied to our brethren in early times ; where their sufferings were long and severe ; where their triumphs were distinguished, and from which at different times they have swarmed out in multitudes into all the surrounding nations. These emigrants were often induced to make these removals to avoid the severity of the persecuting laws—but this was not always the case, for we have good reason to believe that these old anabaptist disciples had a large portion of the missionary spirit, and that many of their sufferings and martyrdoms came upon them in consequence of their bold adventures into the strongholds of error and superstition, as itinerant preachers, where they were either apprehended by the vigilance of the Romish priesthood, or fell sacrifices to the lawless fury of an infatuated multitude. The more I study the subject, the deeper are my impressions that among the Waldenses and all the ancient evangelical parties, no inconsiderable portion of the sufferings of their prominent men were inflicted on them while traversing the country in missionary service.

We are now in the birth-place of Menno, and the country of the Mennonites, whose zealous and successful efforts to reform their bigoted and opposing countrymen, more than three centuries since, form a distinguished epoch in their own histories, which have been handed down to the present time. And whatever doubts or uncertainty there may be as to the successors of other sects, there can be none as to the German anabaptists. Their principles, their writings, and their members have spread into all countries where the denomination has since been known.

We are now also come to the plains of Munster, the tumults of Germany and of those politico-religious commotions which like an evil genius have followed the baptists all over the world, and supplied their opponents for the three last centuries with a party capital most opportunely available, to an immense amount. More will be said on this subject in another place.

The geographical description of this mighty assemblage of nations, which

IV. "This sect was soon joined by great numbers, and, as usually happens in sudden revolutions of this nature, by many persons whose characters and capacities were very different, though their views seemed to turn upon the same object. Their progress was rapid; for, in a very short space of time, their discourses, visions and predictions excited commotions in a great part of Europe, and drew into their communion a prodigious multitude, whose ignorance rendered them easy victims to the illusions of enthusiasm. It is, however, to be observed, that as the leaders of this sect had fallen into that erroneous and chimerical notion, that the new kingdom of Christ, which they expected, was to be exempt from every kind of vice, and from the smallest degree of imperfection and corruption, they were not satisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by Luther. They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views, and consequently undertook a more perfect reformation, or, to express more properly their visionary enterprise, they proposed to found a new church entirely spiritual and truly divine.

"It must be carefully observed, that though all these projectors of a new, unspotted, and perfect church were comprehended under the general denomination of anabaptists, on account of their opposing the baptism of infants, and their rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of childhood in other churches, yet they were, from their origin, subdivided into various sects, which differed from each other in points of no small moment."

Under this head the learned author proceeds in the history of the anabaptists, gives some details of the affair at Munster, and of the prodigious sufferings to which this people were exposed in consequence of some who bore the name of anabaptists being implicated in those scenes of tumult and commotion.

"Such of them as had some sparks of reason left, and had reflection enough to reduce their notions into a certain form, maintained, among others, the following points of doctrine: 'That the church of Christ ought to be exempt from all sin; that all things ought to be in common among the faithful; that all usury, tithes and tribute ought to be entirely abolished; that the baptism of infants was an invention of the devil; that every christian was invested with a power to preach the gospel, and consequently, that the church stood in no need of ministers or pastors; that in the kingdom of Christ civil magistrates were absolutely useless; and that God still continued to reveal his will to chosen persons by dreams and visions.'

"The progress of this turbulent sect in almost all the countries of Europe, alarmed all that had any concern for the public good. Kings, princes, and sovereign states exerted themselves to check these rebellious enthusiasts in their career, by issuing out, first, severe edicts to restrain their violence, and employing, at length, capital punishments to conquer their obstinacy. But here a maxim, already verified by repeated experience, received a new degree of confirmation; for the conduct of the *anabaptists*, under the pressure of persecutions, plainly showed the extreme difficulty of correcting or influencing, by the prospect of suffering, or even by the terrors of death, minds that were either deeply tainted with the poison of fanaticism, or firmly bound by the ties of religion. In almost all the countries of Europe, an unspeakable number of these unhappy wretches preferred death in its worst forms to a retraction of their errors. Neither the view of the flames that were kindled to consume them, nor the ignominy of the gibbet, nor the terrors of the sword, could shake their invincible, but ill-placed constancy, or make them abandon tenets that appeared dearer to them than life and all its enjoyments. The Mennonites have preserved voluminous records of the lives, actions, and unhappy fate of those of their sect who suffered death for the crimes of rebellion or heresy, which were imputed to them.* Certain it is, that they were treated with severity; but it is much to be lamented that so little distinction was made between the members of this sect, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them. Why were the innocent and the guilty involved in the same fate? Why were doctrines purely theological, or at worst, fanatical, punished with the same rigors that were shown to crimes inconsistent with the peace and welfare of civil society? Those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and their excluding the unrighteous from the external communion of the church, ought undoubtedly to have met with a milder treatment than what was given to those seditious incendiaries, who were for unhooking all government and destroying all civil authority. Many suffered for errors they had embraced with the most upright intentions, seduced by the eloquence and fervor of their doctors, and persuading themselves that they were contributing to the advancement of true religion. But, as the greatest part of these enthusiasts had communicated to the multitude their visionary notions concerning the new spiritual kingdom that was soon to be erected, and the abolition of magistracy and civil government that was to be the immediate effect of this great revolution, this rendered the very name of *anabaptists* unspeakably odious, and made it always excite the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. It is true, indeed, that many anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged to be *incurable heretics*; for, in this century, the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies."

* See Joach. Christ. Jehring, *Præfat. ad Historiam Mennonitarum*, p. 3, as quoted by Mosheim Vol. IV., p. 435, note.

REMARKS ON THESE VERY IMPORTANT PASSAGES FROM THIS LEARNED HISTORIAN.

I. *On the true origin of the sect of the Anabaptists.*

“Before the rise of Luther and Calvin there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ. And that this kingdom should be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and exempt from all human institutions,”—and infant baptism among the rest.

We see that this main peculiarity of the ancient anabaptists respecting this spiritual kingdom, is twice inserted in the foregoing selections. The author repeats it with emphasis, declares it was the true source of all the peculiarities of this ancient and wide-spread community, and again and again denounces it as a fanatical opinion. This he does with entire self-complacency, as if such an idea had never been thought of before in any part of the world by any but visionaries and enthusiasts. This is not so strange in a doctor of the Lutheran church, which, in the old countries at least, like all other national hierarchies, is made up of a motley mixture, without any such discrimination of character as the baptists have always prescribed.

The extensive spread of this people corroborates the statement made by other writers, that their missionaries could go the whole length of Germany at an early period, and lodge every night with their friends.

II. *The history of the Anabaptists is hid in the remote depths of antiquity, and is, of consequence, extremely difficult to be ascertained.*⁷

Were we not acquainted with the author of this statement, we should think it was made to baptist order, so perfectly does it correspond with the facts of the case,—uttered, too, by a pedobaptist writer who had dug very deep into the history of antiquity, and whose prejudices, moreover, were unusually strong against the community whose affairs he describes.

Many questions have been raised for a number of centuries past, as to the denominational character of “the Waldenses, the Petrobrussians, the Wickliffites, the Hussites, the Henricians,⁸ and other ancient sects;” but here all is made plain, and they are all set over to the baptist side; and this great historian concedes that they are not entirely mistaken when they boast of their descent from these *witnesses of the truth* in times of universal darkness and superstition.

⁷ Mr. Orchard has taken pains to group together, under one head, the names of the different sects, and follows down the dates of the origin or existence of those who are implicated in this statement for 1200 years, from the Picards and Waldenses in 1450, to the Novatianists in 250. Although nearly all the facts and authorities may be found interwoven in the preceding narrative, yet, as the recapitulation will assist the reader to go over the whole at one glance, I have condensed his article, and present it in the following manner:

<i>Names of the Parties.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Authorities.</i>
Waldenses and Picards, - - -	1450 - - -	Wall.
Hussites, - - - - -	1420 - - -	Crosby and Ivey.
Waldo and his followers, - - -	1176 - - -	Jones.
Waldenses and Albigenses, - - -	1150 - - -	Collier.
Arnoldists, - - - - -	1140 - - -	Bellarmino.
Henricians, - - - - -	1135 - - -	Wall.
Petrobrussians, - - - - -	1110 - - -	Wall.
Berengarians, - - - - -	1049 - - -	Mezæray.
Gundulphians, - - - - -	1025 - - -	Jortin.
Paterines, - - - - -	945 - - -	Jones.
Vaudois in France and Spain, - - -	714 - - -	Robinson.
Paulicians, - - - - -	653 - - -	Gibbon, Allix.
Donatists, - - - - -	311 - - -	Mosheim.
Novatianists, - - - - -	250 - - -	Brit. Ency.

This is one line of the baptist succession.—*Foreign Baptists*, p. 336.
⁸ This sect is mentioned in a passage not quoted.

III. *Dr. Mosheim does not practice any concealment or disguise as to the baptismal character of the great body of dissenters "in the remote depths of antiquity, in almost all the countries of Europe."*⁹

We must now go back nearly five hundred years, and give an account of those German anabaptists, as related by Evervinus, an old catholic writer, in a letter from him to the famous St. Barnard, a little before the year 1140.

"There have lately been some heretics discovered among us near Cologne, of whom some have with satisfaction returned again to the church. One that was a bishop among them, and his companions, openly opposed us in the assembly of the clergy and laity, the lord archbishop himself being present, with many of the nobility, maintained their heresy from the words of Christ and his apostles. But finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be fixed upon which they might bring along with them men skilful in their faith, promising to return to the church, provided their teachers were not able to answer their opponents; but that otherwise they would rather die than depart from their judgment. Upon this declaration, having been admonished to repent for three days, *they were seized by the people in their excess of zeal, and burnt to death*; and what is most astonishing, they came to the stake and endured the torments of the flames not only with patience, but even with joy. In this case, O, Holy Father, were I present with you, I should be glad to ask you how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such constancy and courage as is rarely to be found among the most religious in the faith of Christ.

"Their heresy is this:—They say that the church is only among themselves, because they alone follow the ways of Christ, and imitate the apostles, not seeking secular gains, possessing no property, following the pattern of Christ, who was himself perfectly poor, nor permitting his disciples to possess anything.¹⁰

"They do not hold the baptism of infants, alleging that passage of the gospel, "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." They place no confidence in the intercession of saints; and all things observed in the church, which have not been established by Christ himself or his apostles, they call superstitious.

"I must inform you, also, that those of them who have returned to our church, tell us, that *they had great numbers of their persuasion scattered almost everywhere, and that amongst them were many of our clergy and monks*. And as for those who were burnt, they, in the defense they made for themselves, told us that this heresy had been concealed from the time of the martyrs; and that it had existed in Greece and other countries.

"The letter of Evervinus had all the effect upon Barnard that he could desire. * * * * * He is extremely offended with them for deriding the catholics because they baptized infants, and prayed for the dead, and asserted purgatory; condemned their scrupulous refusal to swear at all—which, according to him, was one of their peculiarities—upbraids them with their secrecy in the observance of their religious rites, not considering the necessity which persecution imposed upon them. * * * * *

They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, to the great danger of the church; for their words eat like a canker, and, like a flying leprosy, runs every way, infecting the precious members of Christ. These, in our Germany, we call them Cathari, in Flanders they call them Piphles; in France, Tisserands, from the art of weaving, because numbers of them are of that occupation."

"In 1223," says Mr. Orchard, "an innumerable multitude of heretics were burned alive throughout Germany; this was by the combined operations of the crusades and the inquisition."

Mr. Jones has followed the history of this same kind of people, and finds them numerous, throughout the twelfth century, in the neighborhood of Cologne, and also in Flanders, the south of France, Savoy and Milan.¹

My limits will not permit me to give even detached accounts of the persecutions which they continually endured, and which scattered them abroad into other countries.

About 1510 the German anabaptists passed in shoals into Holland and the Netherlands, and, in the course of time, amalgamated with the Dutch baptists.²

Some farther accounts of the anabaptists, and of all who lay concealed in all

⁹ Ecclesiastical Hist., Vol. IV., pp. 424-436. My quotations are made from the American edition of 1811.

Although the baptists complain of some of the statements of this great writer, yet they cordially approve of his expositions of their origin and general history. His work was published ninety years ago; first in Latin, and afterwards was translated by Rev. A. Maclaine, D. D., a minister of the church of England. Dr. Mosheim professes to have made his statements above quoted, after having examined the conflicting accounts of the anabaptists and their opponents, "with the utmost attention and impartiality."

¹⁰ "We shall see reason hereafter to believe that in this particular Evervinus misrepresented them."—Jones.

¹ Jones' Ch. Hist., pp. 277-280.

² Orchard's Foreign Baptists, p. 330.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES PERTAINING TO THE ANCIENT SECTS—RECAPITULATION—REVIEWS—SUMMARY STATEMENTS.

Recapitulation of the History of the Montanists, Novatianists, Donatists, Paulicians, Paterines, Waldenses and Albigenses, and German Anabaptists.

I HAVE thus given brief historical accounts of some of the principal sects and parties which have existed in the christian world up to the time of the Reformation. A multitude of others are named by old ecclesiastical writers ; but those whose affairs I have related I consider to have comprised the great mass of evangelical dissenters for the period under consideration. They were all dissenters from the great national churches, and heretics, of course, in *their* estimation. As scarcely any fragment of their history remains, all we know of them is from accounts of their enemies, which were always uttered in the style of censure and complaint, and without which we should not have known that millions of them ever existed. It was the settled policy of Rome to obliterate every vestige of opposition to her doctrines and decrees, everything heretical, whether persons or writings, by which the faithful would be liable to be contaminated and led astray. In conformity to this their fixed determination, all books and records of their opposers were hunted up and committed to the flames. Before the art of printing was discovered in the fifteenth century, all books were made with the pen ; the copies, of course, were so few, that their concealment was much more difficult than it would be now ; and, if a few of them escaped the vigilance of the inquisitors, they would soon be worn out and gone. None of them could be admitted and preserved in the public libraries of the catholics, from the ravages of time and of the hands of barbarians, with which all parts of Europe were at different periods overwhelmed.

My first object has been to ascertain among the mass of heretical materials in different ages, a people who were worthy the christian name, and then to see what portion of them, by a fair construction, could be claimed as supporters of the principles which the baptists approve, and which would rank them under that head if they were now alive. This part of my book is professedly compiled from the works of a number of baptist authors, and generally in their own language ; this will account for some repetition which I knew not how to avoid, without remodeling and rewriting their narratives, which I was unwilling to do. They have studied deeply this part of ecclesiastical history ; had access to extensive libraries,⁴ have taken unwearied pains to bring to light all matters of fact pertaining to dissenters in the dark ages of superstition and intolerance, which bear upon their characters as faithful christians, and which identify them with the baptist faith.

I have not been in haste to forestall the question as to the denominational character of all, or, indeed, any of this great mass of dissenters, but have been willing to let the thing come out as it would at the end of the narratives. I have not used the word baptist, where the case was doubtful, in what I have

⁴ Mr. Robinson resided at Cambridge, Eng., and had access to the extensive libraries of the famous University there. Mr. Orchard informs us that he had free admission to the extensive libraries of Earl Spencer and the Duke of Bedford. Mr. Jones has all his lifetime been engaged in historical studies.

tional character; their name is their voucher for their dipping propensities, which runs back to a period so remote that the profoundest researches into antiquity cannot ascertain their origin.

The other parties, of which some accounts will be given, viz. the followers of Peter de Bruis, Henry, Huss, Wickliffe, &c., as well as of Waldo, all held to the same principles as those of an earlier date.

Thus we see the different companies lapped over each other, and covered the whole ground; and notwithstanding all the persecutions, gibbets and flames, to which they were exposed,—the interdicts, banishments and exile, which were their never-ceasing portion, they continued in great numbers up to the time of the Reformation.

Accounts of eminent Reformers and evangelical parties of which but very brief sketches can be given.

Berengarius arose in France in 1050; he was a person of great learning and talents, and advanced in honors in the church of Rome until he became an archbishop. His first attack on the corruptions of this church was against the doctrine of transubstantiation, or as it was called, the *real presence*. His contest with the pope was long and severe. He recanted and burned his books, and then returned to his former course. He begun the work of reformation when young. He was at different periods denounced and caressed by the Roman pontiffs, but in the end died in peace, at the age of 80, after having been a preacher 50 years. In the language of Mosheim, notwithstanding his versatility of mind, he left behind him in the midst of the people a deep impression of his extraordinary sanctity; and his followers were as numerous as his fame was illustrious. They were called Gospellers for one hundred years, and many of them suffered death for their opinions.

Bellarmino says, "the Berengarians admitted only adults to baptism, which error the anabaptists embraced;" and Mezeray declares Berengarius to have been the head of the sacramentarians or anabaptists.⁶

Peter de Bruis and the Petrobrussians.—The famous man from whom this party took its name arose in the south of France, about 1110. Some account of them has already been given. These people are ranked by Mosheim among the anabaptists.⁷

Henry of Toulouse and the Henricians.—Henry appears as a reformer, about 1116. He is said to have been a disciple of Peter de Bruis. He had been a monk and a hermit. He began his evangelical career in Switzerland, and died in prison at Rheims, in 1158. "All we know of him," says Jones, "is that he rejected infant baptism; censured with severity the licentious manner of the clergy," &c.

Arnold of Brescia and the Arnoldists.—This man appears as a reformer about 1137. Mr. Jones has some hesitation about adding him to the list of reformers, on account of the great political changes which historians have generally ascribed to him in the heart of Rome. His countrymen regarded him as the apostle of religious liberty, and all except catholics agree in ascribing to him a good character and sound principles. He fell a victim to the Roman power in 1155.⁸

Leonists, or poor men of Lyons.—This is but another name for the Waldenses, and was given to them from the city of Lyons, from which Waldo originated. This name very often occurs among old catholic writers, and always with severe denunciations and bitter complaints. This is the party which one of them asserted could trace their history till near or quite to the apostolic age.

Cathari, or Puritans.—The first is from the Greek, and conveys the same

⁶ Facts opposed to Fiction, and French Hist. as quoted by Orchard, pp. 175, 176.

⁷ Ecclesiastical History, Vol. IV., p. 423.

⁸ Orchard's For. Bapt., p. 147.

ever the Greek religion is known in all its branches and subdivisions, and so far is a standing witness in favor of the baptist mode of baptism, yet, in all other respects, this church is as far removed from what we consider the purity and simplicity of the gospel, as the church of Rome.

Within the bounds of this great church a number of the early sects arose, whose general principles were similar to our own, and especially the extensive and long-lived one of the Paulicians, of whom an extended account has already been given.

The Roman empire.—Great changes have also taken place in this former mistress of the world, and its temporal dominion is now confined within a small territory in Italy, under the immediate control of the papal power.

Under other heads, we shall find the places of early dissenters, whose destinies, for good or evil, were for many centuries regulated by Roman laws.

Africa.—A brief description of that part of this great continent may be found in a note on p. 10. The baptists claim to have had a multitude of their denomination in this country among the Montanists, Donatists and others, in early times; but at present they are confined to a few missionary stations, where colonization societies have planted their emigrants.

Italy.—This country was full of dissenters as early as 250, and it afterwards became famous for the Novatianists, the Paterines and others, who continued until the papal power acquired sufficient strength to extirpate every vestige of non-conformity, and bring all to bow to the mandates of the holy See.

France.—Among the ancient Gauls and Celts, it is supposed the early dissenters, fleeing from the persecutions which were commenced in the seats of opulence and power, found a secure retreat. What is now the mighty kingdom of France, was then an obscure and uncultivated province of the Roman empire. In many places of this kingdom, but more especially in its southern parts, the Waldenses and Albigenses for many ages were very numerous, and in no part of the world, since the persecutions of the early christians under the pagan powers, has been so much suffering and slaughter as was there experienced from the church of Rome.

Savoy—(in which the valleys of Piedmont were included).—A full account of this interesting region has been given under its appropriate head.

Of the following countries but little has yet been said, and but a few sketches of them can I here insert:—

Bohemia and Moravia.—These two countries were formerly under the same political regimen, and were a part of the great German empire; now they are under the dominion of Austria; and in no places on that side of Europe are more evident traces of the early and extensive spread of the pure principles of the gospel.

Bohemia was the kingdom to which Waldo retired from the rage of his persecutors, and here he ended his days in 1179.

All Bohemian writers state that the Picards and Waldenses settled early in this kingdom; and, of course, here Waldo found a people of his own sentiments, which probably he had learnt before he entered into the country.

Bohemia was also the land of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; and here, in addition to the other sects, arose the party of the Hussites, whose name very often occurs under the head of evangelical dissenters, in this and other countries.

In the latter part of Wickliffe's life, Richard II. of England formed an alliance with a Bohemian princess; this led to a free intercourse between the two countries. Wickliffe's books by this means found their way there, and helped forward the cause of the dissenters. Many writers of high standing, not on the baptists' side, agree in their testimony that Bohemia and Moravia for many ages abounded with evangelical christians of different names; and baptist authors claim a portion of them, at least, as professors of their faith. And they are the more confident on this point, as they find the term anabaptists applied to them before, and at the time of the Reformation.

A much more full account of Switzerland, so far as the baptists or anabaptists are concerned, also of the Netherlands and all parts of Germany, will be given when we come to the history of the Mennonites.

Some of the peculiarities of the ancient sects.

1. *Their constant appeal to the Bible*, as the only rule of faith and practice as to the duties of religion; their perpetual, and, as the old catholic writers denominated it, their vehement opposition to all the traditions and inventions of men, with which the great national churches were overwhelmed. And by all accounts from both enemies and friends their knowledge of the scriptures was extensive and familiar.

“There was scarcely a man or woman among them who was not far better read in the bible than the doctors of the church.” This was said of the Waldenses in the 11th century.

“Respecting the Picards, Luther said that although he had formerly been prejudiced against them, yet he had always admired *their aptness in the scriptures.*”

2. *Their views of the gospel ministry.*—They were perpetually accused of being without priests—of permitting all their members, without education, or ordination, or distinction, to officiate as religious teachers, &c. All these complaints must be understood in a catholic sense; the truth of the matter was, that their *modus operandi*, their way of managing this business, was much like the baptists, independents, methodists, and quakers, of the present time. There was great freedom among them in their religious assemblies, and the *liberty of prophesying*, in the language of old bishop Taylor, was carried much farther than many modern churches who claim to be their descendants would approve.

3. *Their treatment of females*, in their religious assemblies. I have kept an eye close to this subject while going over the whole history of these ancient dissenters, to be able if possible to come at just conclusions on the subject. I am not now forming rules of order, but relating sober matters of fact, and whatever we moderns may decide as to the rights of women, it is certain they had great liberty in these ancient churches. No small number of passages on this subject may be found in those portions of the history of the Paterines, Vaudois, Waldenses, and others which are found in the preceding narratives.

“Every person, even *women are allowed to teach,*” are expressions of perpetual occurrence in all the internal affairs of these ancient christians, of all sects and parties. For the most part they come from their opponents, but they so often come from themselves, as reported by their historians, that the most credulous and fastidious reader must admit that there is something more than figure or allegory in the story.

The next question is, whether this teaching was by way of conversation with their own sex, or done in a more public manner.

An old Italian historian, in describing the sentiments of the ancient Vaudois, about the 12th century, very distinctly ascribes to them the doctrine “that women ought to preach.” He gives a long list of articles respecting the liturgy, religious freedom, war, oaths, persecution, the clergy, infant baptism, &c.; and in all other points his statements appear to be very candid and correct, and such as we are willing to ascribe to this people. (The original Latin may be seen in the note below.)⁴

⁴ “Lætaniam nunquam legunt. * * Dicunt quod nullus fit cogendus ad fidem. * * De baptismo dicunt quod catechismus nihil sit. Item, quod oblatio quod datur infantibus nihil prosit. * * Omnem clerum damnant propter otium. dicentes, eos manibus, debere operari sicut apostoli fecerant. * * Dicunt quod omnis laicus et etiam *fœmina* debeat prædicare.”—*Rob. Eccles. Res.*, p. 462.

The liturgy they never read—they say that no one should be compelled as to his faith—that there is no use of a catechumen state, and no profit in infant baptism.—They severely denounce the whole body of the clergy on account of their idle course of life, and say that they ought to labor with their hands, as did the apostles.—They say that every layman, and even *women ought to preach.*

monster, this category of all evils, as all classes of non-conformists in every age have found it, I shall comment on more fully in my general remarks at the close of this work.

6. *The antiquity of their origin as maintained by themselves and confirmed by others.*

Reinerius Saccho says the Leonists, another name for the Waldenses, had at that time flourished above five hundred years. This was said about 1250, which of course would carry us back to 750. He also mentions authors of note of their own, who make their antiquity *remount to the apostolic age.*⁷

This was written about 800 years ago, so that we see it is no new thing for bible reformers to set up such claims.

Theodore Belvedre, another of the monks of Rome, says this heresy was always in the valleys.

Beza, Paul Perrin, Bossuet, Father Gretzer, Limborch, and a multitude of others, give to the Waldenses and kindred sects a very high, and some of them an apostolic, antiquity.

Cardinal Hosius, president of the council of Trent, made the following declaration: "If the truth of religion were to be judged of by the readiness and cheerfulness which a man of any sect shows in suffering, then the opinions and persecutions of no sect can be truer or surer than those of the *anabaptists*, since there have been none for these *twelve hundred years past* that have been more grievously punished."⁸

This statement was made about 1570.

"From the time of Constantine and Sylvester, one the emperor and the other the bishop of Rome, a little after 300, are periods very frequently alluded to as the origin of evangelical dissenters, both by themselves and their opponents.

"The bishop of Meaux highly chargeth Beza for saying, that the Waldenses, time out of mind, had stifiy opposed the abuses of the Romish church, and that they held their doctrine from father to son ever since the year 120, as they had heard and received it from the elders and ancestors. He tells us, that the first disciples of Waldo were content to allege for themselves, that they had separated themselves from the Romish church at the time when, under pope Sylvester, she had accepted of temporal endowments and possessions—a pretension which the bishop of Meaux called ridiculous, as well as the former. The reader, who has perused my observations, will be able to judge whether the Waldenses did falsely boast of their apostolical antiquity."⁹

7. *Their doctrinal sentiments.* This part of their history is very obscure. If the accounts of their enemies were correct, there was no one heresy in the whole catalogue of dangerous and damnable opinions which some portion or other of them did not adopt. At other times they represent them as sound in the faith, with the exception of their opposition to the superstitions of the national church, and the tyranny and profligacy of its pampered priesthood. The errors of Arius and Pelagius were very often ascribed to them; but of no one

⁷ Aliqui dicunt quod Leonistarum secta duraverit a tempore Sylvestri; aliqui a tempore apostolorum.

Some say that the sect of the Leonists has existed from the time of Sylvester; others, from the time of the apostles.

Dicunt quod Romana ecclesia . . . defecerit sub Sylvestro, quando venenum temporellum infusum est in ecclesiam.

They say that the church of Rome fell off from the gospel pattern under bishop Sylvester, when it became infected with the poison of temporal dominion.—*Kob.'s Res.*, p. 461.

It is evident that these old writers spoke in retrospect, as the Leonists, or poor men of Lyons, did not exist under that name until Waldo began his reforming efforts in that city, about 1165.

As to the Vaudois, or Waldenses, or the people of the valleys, their origin is hid in the remote depths of antiquity.

But their descriptions generally applied to principles rather than men; and, in this sense, the statement is no doubt correct.

⁸ Orchard's For. Bapt.

⁹ Allix's Churches of Piedmont, p. 177.

SECTION II.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE ANCIENT SECTS.

The opinion to which I have for a long time been inclined has been strengthened and confirmed by my late investigations into the history of all the dissenters from the Roman hierarchy and other national establishments, viz. : that there was about as much division in their creeds and rites and forms then, as there is at the present time ; and that in this business there is nothing new under the sun. There were no doubt many visionary and ephemeral parties which rested on no solid substratum, and of course had but a short duration. But the societies which I have named were of a very different character : most of them continued for many ages in the most dark and trying times which christians have ever known ; they withstood persecution in all its most cruel and sanguinary forms ; were driven from one country to another in the most barbarous manner, and were exposed to all the slanders of calumny ; to all the curses of a corrupt and bigoted priesthood ; and to the severest laws that were ever enacted against the most vile and wicked of mankind.

If the superincumbent mass of obscurity could be thrown off, and we could ascertain all the facts of the case, we should no doubt find that they all had regular forms of worship, and a settled system of belief ; and if they differed from each other on minor points, yet as thunder storms drive timorous animals of different natures together for mutual protection, so they stood together against a common enemy

Recapitulation of names.

In a chronological order they stand as follows : Euchites, Massalians, Montanists, Novatians, Donatists, Paulicians, Paterines, Vaudois, Waldenses and Albigenses, Leonists, Berengarians, Picards, Arnoldists, Petrobrussians, Henricians, Lollards, Wickliffites, Hussites, and German Anabaptists. A multitude of them were but little known ; but whatever of goodness there was among the dissenters for the long period now under review, was in all probability mostly found in these communities.

The names of some of these sects are of doubtful origin, but the people they describe are well defined as to their locations and general character, both by friends and foes.¹

But most of them may be so clearly traced to persons and places from which they were named, as to preclude all questions of the kind.

A question naturally comes up, were any or all of these names of a general character, like that of dissenters, and nonconformists in England, and applied to all who agreed on some cardinal points, while they differed from each other as to faith and forms. This opinion I am inclined to adopt, and this exposition gives all parties at the present time an equal chance to search among them for their denominational friends. These old dissenters generally called themselves simply christians, believers, disciples, &c. But in the legal enactments which were continually issued against them, it was needful to designate them by some sectarian names, which were often applied in a very loose and indefinite manner. These appellations in their origin were all intended as terms of reproach, like those of puritan, anabaptists, quakers, moravians, methodist, &c., and were adopted in the end by the parties themselves, to avoid circumlocution, and to conform to the current language of the times.

Although some at least of all parties of these ancient dissenters, as we shall

¹ Serious questions have been entertained by very respectable authors whether Waldo gave his name to the party or took it from them. And questions somewhat similar have been raised respecting the Lollards.

But a greater obscurity still rests on the name of the Paterines ; the account which I have given, however, is the most probable I have seen. That such a people existed as I have described, and that they finally fell in with the Waldenses, are facts most clearly proved by Allix and others.

Donatists and other sects; indeed, these titles as well as those of Drs., priests, &c., very often occur in all the descriptions of the dissenters, however illiterate they may have been. But we must bear in mind that old ecclesiastical writers generally make bishops and Drs. of all teachers of distinction. This being the case, I have uniformly followed their language without note or comment, and do not think that the most zealous episcopalian can draw any valid argument from titles so loosely applied to the functionaries of these old communities, of which we have so little information.⁴

Baptist character of ancient dissenters.

I had marked off a large number of passages from many different authors, to be inserted under this head, something in the form of Booth's *Pedobaptism Examined*; but, as no small portion of them were so incorporated in the quotations which I have made from baptist writers in giving the histories of the ancient sects, that they could not well be omitted without interrupting the course of the narratives, I have let them stand.

In this way a considerable portion of the baptistical testimony has been anticipated,—some parts will be repeated; most of it, however, will be new matter, so far as the sketches are concerned.

Messrs. Tombes, Danvers, Gale, Delaune, Gill, Crosby, Stennett, Booth, Robinson, Ivimey, Jones, Orchard, and other baptist writers, have taken pains to select from the old works of catholics and protestants, but mostly from those of the former, a great variety of passages which bear upon this subject, in the dark ages of superstition and oppression; and Mr. Orchard has, with great labor and care, collected them together in his work on *Foreign Baptists*, where he has given an abundance of authorities which were referred to by his predecessors in their fields of labor, or ascertained by his own historical researches.

To these writers, with some others of different denominations, I am indebted for the selections in the next section which indicates, on the part of the old dissenters, a decided propensity to anti-pedobaptist sentiments.⁵

⁴ It is not my intention to enter into any discussion of these contested matters, but will simply observe that the number of bishops among the Donatists was too large to agree with a diocesan character, and leads us to believe that they were only pastors of single churches. When their churches in Africa were four hundred, they had two hundred and seventy-nine bishops, about four times as many as there were in the English episcopal church in all countries to which it was spread, including the archbishops, twenty-five years ago. The number is given in detail in my work on *all Religions*, p. 285.

It is not at all probable that all the bishops of the churches were present at the famous conference with the catholics in 411, when their number was two hundred and eighty-six. But if they were, they had not quite two churches apiece, while many of our baptist bishops at the south and west uniformly have four.

⁵ Old writers pursued a very different course from modern ones in this business; they spake out with great plainness, without omission, paraphrase, or concealment of the rejecters of infant baptism; they were open and undisguised, and were not so sensitive and cautious as Milner and many others have been. This was the case with the catholic authors in a remarkable degree. They had no concern about the proof of the infant cause, and no fear of publishing to the world how many had thrown it aside, for if it was not found in the bible,—it was in the Council of Trent and other authorities in abundance, which, with them, were of equal validity with a Scripture command.

For more than a thousand years their complaints run high on this head against the Donatists, Paulicians, the followers of Waldo, Arnold, Henry, De Bruis, Berenger, Huss, Wickliffe, Lollard, and all the prominent seceding parties. And it is well for the baptists that this testimony is placed beyond the reach of modern writers, and where it cannot be garbled, mutilated and suppressed. Much of it has been brought to light by the researches of the baptists for about two centuries past, and more of it will no doubt be discovered.

The old writers of the Lutheran and English, and some of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches, were very candid in their admissions on this point.

But a more modern set of pedobaptist writers have shown an entirely different disposition; their efforts have been assiduous and perpetual to deprive the baptists of all testimony from antiquity, and to settle the matter beyond all contradiction, that they arose in Germany about three hundred years since, under circumstances of ignominy and disgrace. As to all matters of fact about the baptists, no small portion of them have been men of one idea, and the caricature of a late English poet is by no means too severe.

"The rapid traveller could not call
Where any baptists lived at all—
From Jordan's banks to Munster's plain,
Where German ranters fixed a stain."

Salopian Zealot; or, the good vicar in a bad mood, p. 36.

64 INFANT BAPTISM NOT ORDAINED BY CHRIST OR THE APOSTLES.

possible in a chronological order, it will be necessary to repeat the list of names of the different sects.

As all in early times baptized by immersion, single or trine, as has already been stated, and as infant baptism was not introduced until about the time of Tertullian, the first dissenters had no disputes with the dominant party upon what has since been denominated the baptismal question.⁸ On this account I shall pass by the earliest dissenters of the Greek church, and begin with the followers of Novatian and Donatus; and their first operations had not much respect to baptism either as to the subject or mode, so much did they and the old church, both in Africa and Rome, resemble each other. All parties were then *anabaptists*, as they *re*-baptized all who came over to them from their opponents, and none of them thought of any mode but dipping.

The Novatianists and Donatists. According to Mr. Jones, these two parties very nearly resembled each other in their doctrine and discipline, and they both rebaptized those who joined them from the national church.⁹

Robinson says of both sects, that they were trinitarian-baptists, or *anabaptists*, as he calls the Donatists.¹⁰

Augustine was requested by the Donatists to state what good the sacrament of Christ's baptism does to children.

Long says of the Donatists, they did not only rebaptize adults who came over to them, but they refused to baptize children, contrary to the practice of the catholic church.¹

"That the followers of Donatus were all one with the *anabaptists*, denying baptism

⁸ That this statement may not rest on baptist authority, I will make a few quotations from pedo-baptist authors:—

"The general introduction of the rite of infant baptism has so far changed the regulations of the church concerning the qualifications of candidates and their admission, that what was formerly the rule in this respect, has become the exception. The institutions of the church during the first five centuries concerning the requisite preparations for baptism, and all the laws and rules that existed during that period relating to the acceptance or rejection of candidates, necessarily fell into disuse when the baptism of infants began not only to be permitted, but enjoined as a duty; and almost universally observed. The old rule which prescribed caution in the admission of candidates, and a careful preparation for the rite, was, after the sixth century, applicable, for the most part, only to Jewish, heathen, and other proselytes. The discipline which was formerly requisite, preparatory to baptism, now followed this rite as a needful qualification for communion." * * *

For the gratification of the common reader, the views of some of the learned German scholars on this vexed question in theology are given below.

"Baumgarten-Cruelius supposes that infant baptism was not inconsistent with the views of the primitive church. But he finds no satisfactory evidence of the practice of the rite in the first two centuries. He admits that it was practised in the time of Cyprian and of Tertullian, and that in the fourth century it had become general."—*Dogmengeschichte II., Th. III., Abschn. s. 1208-9. Coleman's Ch. Ant., pp. 258-260.*

Professor Stuart, while he is true to his cause, is very kind and candid towards the baptists, as the following quotations will show. They are found towards the close of his treatise on the mode of baptism:—

"On the subject of *infant baptism* I have said nothing. The present occasion did not call for it; and I have no wish or intention to enter into the controversy respecting it. I have only to say that I believe in both the propriety and expediency of the rite thus administered, and therefore accede to it *ex animo*. Commands, or plain and certain examples, in the New Testament relative to it, I do not find. Nor, with my views of it, do I need them. * * * * It is my full purpose not to dispute on this point. The sentiments of the baptists in relation to this subject are no obstacle to my kind feelings towards them. If their views are erroneous, still they are much better than the views of those who practice this rite promiscuously without any regard to the character of those who offer children in baptism."—*Biblical Repository, Vol. III., p. 385.*

"It is certain that Christ did not ordain infant baptism; he left, indeed, much, which was not needful for salvation, to the free development of the christian spirit, without here appointing binding laws. We cannot prove that the apostles ordained infant baptism from those places where the baptism of a whole family is mentioned, as in Acts xvi., 33; 1 Cor. i., 16; we can draw no such conclusion, because the inquiry is still to be made, whether there were any children in these families of such an age, that they were not capable of any intelligent reception of christianity,—for this is the only point on which the case turns."—*Neander's Ch. Hist., p. 198.*

⁹ Jones' Ch. Hist., p. 225.

¹⁰ Hist. of Baptism, p. 200.

¹ Long was a minister of the church of England; he died in 1700. He was the author of the *history of the Donatists.*

The Arnoldists.—According to Dr. Wall, Arnold was condemned by the Lateran council of 1139 for rejecting infant baptism.

Jones, in his Lectures, says he denied that baptism should be administered to infants. Bernard accuses his followers of mocking at infant baptism.

Evervinus says, they do not believe in infant baptism, alleging that place of the gospel—whosoever shall believe and be baptized shall be saved.

He was unsound in his judgment about the sacraments of the altar and infant baptism. In other words, says Jones, he rejected the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the baptism of infants.⁴

The Wickliffites.—It is pretty clear, says Dr. Hurd, from the writings of many learned men, that Dr. John Wickliffe, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism as unlawful, or at least not necessary, and he denied that sin was taken away by baptism. Some of Wickliffe's followers maintained that the children of believers are not to be sacramentally baptized, &c.⁵

Thomas Arundal, archbishop of Canterbury, held a council in London in 1396, in which he condemned eighteen propositions drawn out of Wickliffe's works.

The 2d was concerning baptism: that the children of the righteous may be saved without baptism; 4th, concerning orders: that there ought to be but two orders in the church, that of priests and deacons.⁶

“It is clear from many authors that Wickliffe rejected infant baptism, and that on this doctrine his followers agreed with the modern baptists.”⁷

“It is impossible for us, after a lapse of four or five centuries, to decide the question whether the great English reformer did or did not oppose the baptism of infants. It is a fact, however, which admits of no dispute, that he maintained and propagated those principles, which, when carried out into their legitimate consequences, are wholly subversive of the practice in question; and if Wickliffe himself did not pursue the consequence of his own doctrines so far, yet many of his followers did, and were made baptists by it.”⁸

Thomas Walden and Joseph Vicecomes, who had access to his writings, have charged him with denying pedobaptism, and they brought their charge at a time when it might have been easily contradicted if it had not been true.⁹

Walsingham says, “it was in the year 1381 that that damnable heretic, John Wickliffe, re-assumed the cursed opinions of Berengarius, of which it is certain that denying infant baptism was one.”

Thomas Walden, before mentioned, calls Wickliffe one of the seven heads that came out of the bottomless pit, for denying infant baptism, that heresy of the Lollards, of whom he was so great a ringleader.¹⁰

Lollards.—The Lollards are generally represented in close affinity with Wickliffe and his doctrines. They rejected infant baptism, as a needless ceremony.¹

That these people opposed the baptism of infants, is corroborated by the Dutch Martyrology, or bloody theatre, which says from Walsingham, that one Sir Lewis Clifford, who had been a friend of Wickliffe, did discover to the archbishop of Canterbury, that “*the Lollards would not baptize their newborn children.*”²

After writing the above I obtained D'Anvers and the Martyrology, which I had not at that time. By this story, Lewis or Ludwig of Clifford, as the Martyrology styles him, was an apostate Lollard who had turned against them, and sought the favor of the archbishop by preferring against them this impeachment.

⁴ Præter hæc sacramento alteris et baptismo parvulorum non sane dicitur sensisse. Jones, Ch. Hist., p. 286.

⁵ All Religions, p. 718.

⁶ Id., p. 315.

⁷ Hist. of Religions, published in London in 1764, in 4 vols. octavo.

⁸ Supplement to Neal's Hist. Puritans, p. 353, American ed.

⁹ Ivimey's Hist. English Bapt., Vol. I., p. 72. ¹⁰ Danvers, p. 287.

From all these statements, it is not strange that Mosheim should place the Wickliffites among the anabaptists.

¹ London Encyclop., Art. Loll.; Collier's Eccl. Hist., Vol. I., p. 619, as quoted by Orchard.

² Danvers, p. 303, as quoted by Ivimey, Vol. I., p. 71.

Alanus Magnus states, that they denied the ordinance to children. He disputes their views and refutes their opinions.⁴

The Poor of Lyons, for denying the sacraments and practising otherwise in baptism than the church of Rome, were called by Baronius anabaptists.⁵

Dr. Wall records that the Leonists, or followers of Waldo, say, that the washing given to children does no good. They condemn all the sacraments of the catholic church.⁶

Favin the historian says, "The Albigois do esteem the baptizing of infants superstitious."⁷

Izam, the troubadour, a dominican persecutor, says, "they admitted another baptism to what the church did—that is believers' baptism."⁸

Chassanian says, "I cannot deny that the Albigois for the greater part were opposed to infant baptism; the truth is, they did not reject the sacrament as useless, but only as necessary to infants."⁹

This testimony of Chassanian I consider one of the strongest proofs which I have met with as to the general spread of baptist sentiments among the great body of the Albi-Waldenses, as the Dutch Martyrology styles them, at the time in which he describes them, viz. about the 13th and 14th centuries. The passage was quoted by Joseph Stennet in his answer to Russen about a century and a half ago, and has been repeated by many baptist writers since. Chassanian was a Frenchman and a catholic, not however in the priesthood. He died in the 16th century. Like many others in his day, he so far surmounted the prejudices of his church, that he made deep researches into the history of this people, and published them in his work entitled *The History of the Albigenses*. He was accused by his more bigoted brethren of being too favorable towards this obnoxious community. By his own profession he had maturely weighed the subject, and canvassed the conflicting statements of different authors, &c. "Some writers," says he, "affirm that the Albigenses approved not the baptism of infants. * * The same may be said of the Waldenses, though some affirm that they have always baptized their children. This difference of authors kept me some time in suspense." But in the end he says, "I cannot deny but the Albigenses were for the greatest part on the anti-pedobaptist side."

Mezeray says, "in baptism in the 12th century, they plunged the candidate in the sacred fount, to show them what operation that sacrament hath on the soul."¹⁰

These statements generally were made in or before the 12th century.

Reiner Sacco, who lived among the Waldenses seventeen years, and afterwards acted as an inquisitor against them, held the following language respecting them or the Leonists, whose sentiments were the same. "Among all the sects which have existed, none were more pernicious to the church of Rome, for its *duration*, *extension*, and its show of *devotion*. Some of them say that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot believe—others are very indifferent to the ordinance.

Father Gretzer, who edited Sacco's works in 1613, on the margin opposite the account of the Waldenses' way of teaching, has this striking comment: "This is a true practice of the heretics of our age, particularly of the anabaptists."¹¹

Claudius Scisselius, who was archbishop of Turin but a little while before the Reformation, who lived among them, and wrote a treatise against them, among many other complaints against this people, has the following: "They receive only what is written in the Old and New Testaments; * * they deny holy water because neither Christ nor his apostles made it or commanded it; as if we ought to say or do nothing but what we read was done by them."¹²

⁴ Allix's Ch. Albig., p. 145, as quoted by Orch. ⁷ D'Anvers on Bapt., p. 252.

⁵ D'Anvers on B. pt., p. 253.

⁸ Rob. Eccl. Res., p. 463.

⁶ Jones' Lect., Vol. II., p. 436.

⁹ Facts opposed to Fict., p. 48.

¹⁰ History of France, 12th cent., p. 298.

¹¹ Vera effigies hereticorum nostræ ætatis, præsertim anabaptistorum.—*Jones' Ch. Hist.* p. 352.

¹² This prelate ingenuously confesses that the Waldenses had the better of the argument on the

Remarks on these testimonies, especially those of Dr. Allix.

A considerable portion of the writers who are quoted as authorities in the foregoing list, were Roman catholics—men high in office in that church, and justly renowned for their intellectual powers and literary attainments. Another part of these writers were episcopal protestants, but men of great candor and fairness in their historical statements. As both these classes of men make much reliance on tradition and custom for the defense of their forms and ceremonies, and are not at all embarrassed with the absence of a plain scripture command for the rites of their respective churches, it is not strange that they should be open and unreserved in their details of facts, and in the freedom of their comments on ancient affairs, which are calculated to favor the baptist side. But with Dr. Allix's case was materially different, as he belonged to a party which repudiated the idea of arguments from any source but the scriptures for infant baptism and other parts of their system, and who have taken unusual pains to date the origin of baptist sentiments as late as possible. Since I began this article I have, with much attention as well as interest, gone over this work, which is so often referred to in the preceding sketches: it is entitled, "Remarks on the ancient churches of Piedmont,"¹⁰ in which he takes unusual pains to vindicate the character of the Waldenses from the aspersions of catholic writers, and to show their high antiquity and their strong affinity for the principles of the reformation. Indeed, his great object seems to have been to show that through the Waldenses, Albigenses, Vaudois, Paterines, and kindred sects, we may travel down to apostolic times, without any dependence on the Roman succession—a thing much sought for by old protestant writers, not only of the Reformed, but also by some of the Episcopal church.

The various passages in which these ancient people are reported to have adopted baptist sentiments, with respect to infant baptism, church discipline, &c., are all quoted from catholic writers, and always without note or comment. As a pedobaptist we may well suppose that his private feelings would be averse to the idea of so much opposition to the infant rite, but with noble magnanimity he travels on with his narrative, brings forward the mighty mass of his erudition, and exerts his ponderous powers of argument to show that these numerous churches of former protestants, however they might have differed from each other as to faith and forms, were the nurseries of true religion, and were worthy of the fellowship and friendship of all evangelical christians. And he bestows much labor in his attempts to exculpate them from the numerous charges which the catholics brought against them, and shows by irrefragable proofs that a multitude of them were both false and foolish; but in no case does he attempt to rebut those which had respect to their denial of infant baptism. It is evident from his representations that he considered a portion of them to have agreed with modern pedobaptists of the protestant class; and knowing that I was following a writer of these sentiments, I have expected all along some words of caution on this subject, such as modern writers are accustomed to give, to guard their readers from baptist errors: but in this I have been agreeably disappointed, and for all that appears in the statements of this very learned and candid author, all the impeachments of the old catholic writers against some, at least, of the Waldenses and kindred sects, on the score of infant baptism, for many centuries, were well founded, and that we are justly entitled to the full avails of this sort of testimony.¹

⁹ Rev. Peter Allix, D.D., was a French protestant of the presbyterian class. On the revocation of the edict of Nantz he went to England, and died in London, 1717, in the 76th year of his age. His works were many, and are well spoken of for their piety and erudition.—*Lempriere's U. Biography*.

¹⁰ This is a 4to vol. of 331 pp. It was published in 1689. It was dedicated to William II. of England, and shows a vast amount of historical labor and research.

¹ A few of the passages above referred to read as follows:—

"Because a strange will, a strange faith, and a strange confession do not seem to belong to, or be of any advantage to a little child, who neither wills nor runs, who knows nothing of faith, and

"The various representations given of the Waldenses by different writers, may be easily accounted for if we remember that perfect liberty of conscience was cherished amongst them,—that they worshiped not the idol of uniformity, and that they furnished a shelter, as far as they could, for all dissenters who were persecuted by the established church. Their opponents not only followed them with menaces and groundless calumnies, but distorted the confessions which they made under the influence of intimidation. But the most learned historians of Europe are setting this point in a clearer light; and touching it, I quote a name of high authority when I mention that of Starck, court preacher at Darmstadt, who says, in his history of baptism, that, 'If instead of looking only at particular confessions, we follow out their general mode of thinking, we find that they not only rejected infant baptism, but rebaptized those who passed from the catholic church to them, and that, although the anabaptists held a connection with Munzer Starck, Grebel, Stubner and Keller, the *Waldenses were their predecessors.*'"⁵

I have lately quoted from Mr. Orchard the sentiment, that in former times dissenters from the church of Rome and other national churches, "were found in every degree of distance from those establishments," to which I fully assent. My reasons are as follows:

1. If we take the Waldenses under all their variety of names, it was certainly the largest and most important branch of all dissenters and protestants in the dark ages; there is no question that they were divided among themselves somewhat like the present dissenters in England. The more this matter is looked into, the more fully, I am confident, the truth of this statement will appear. And it is equally unwise for either baptist, or pedobaptist, to claim them all. The same may be said of most other large parties. That some of them rejected infant baptism, and that others held on to the system, is as clear to my mind as that they were all persecuted by the church of Rome. This view of the case agrees with all the accounts of the old catholic writers, to whom we are indebted for nearly all the scanty information we have of any of them. Nothing but the blindness of bigotry will induce any man, who has paid but a moderate share of attention to the people now under consideration, to deny that the complaints against them for the denial of infant baptism were widespread and long-continued; and they were accompanied with such comments and reasons as can leave no doubt that the whole system was repudiated as an unscriptural thing, and that believers only were regarded as the proper subjects of the rite. In the language of Davye, "this point is as clear as the sun," respecting many of them. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the old writers above referred to in many cases use the terms *some, a part*, and such like expressions of limitation, in making their complaints, which indicate that they did not accuse them all of the monstrous heresy into which a portion of them had fallen.⁶

2. The infant system is about the last thing that is given up by those who withdraw from the old corrupt establishments, and they recede from it with slow, reluctant steps, one after another, as they find the evidence for its support from the scriptures fails them, and the superior advantages of the gospel plan come up to their view in its practical operations.

Such have been the matters of fact in all cases where we have certain knowledge, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that it may have been so in the dark ages beyond our sight.

3. All reformations are apt to be partial and imperfect in their outset, and the currents of reform, like those of natural streams, which have long been pent up in impure reservoirs, are generally turbulent and muddy in their be-

⁵ Starck's Hist. Bapt., p. 115, 118, Leipsic, 1789, as quoted by Hague in his Historical Discourse, p. 82.

⁶ In all my statements on this subject, I wish to pursue a course which will not only be approved by my own side, but which cannot be disproved by the other, and to come as near as possible to the real facts of the case; also, to observe myself that rule of Dr. Wall, which I would recommend to others, viz. "Not to refuse to an adversary what can certainly be proved." The baptists have made good progress in establishing their claims when it is considered that every disadvantage for investigation has been on their side, and I have full confidence that the farther we go into the history of the old dissenters, the stronger they will appear.

Mr. Bracht, the author of the Martyrology, and D'Anvers, in his Treatise on Baptism, being staunch advocates for baptist principles, have entered very fully into the history of the Waldenses, and make it out a clear case, that baptist sentiments very generally prevailed among this people up to about the 15th century. Some brief extracts from these authors must suffice for this place. I will begin with the Martyrology.

"Of the Waldenses, who entertained views exactly similar with those of the baptists.

"S. Frank informs us, in *Der Chronik von der Ord. und Sect. der Rom.*, and *Fol. 153, Col. 3*, that the Waldenses were divided into two, or, as some say, three sects, one of which held the very same tenets with the baptists. For they have all things in common,—they reject infant baptism, and differ from all in regard to the Lord's body in the sacrament.

"The Waldenses called baptists by the catholics themselves.

"This fact is attested by Jacob Mehrning in several places, inasmuch as he informs us upon the testimony of the ancients, that they were named after those who were formerly called anabaptists. From Berengarius, says he, they were called Berengarians; from Peter Bruce, Petrobrussians; from Henry, Henricians; from the apostles, Apostolics, &c., from Peter Waldus, Waldenses, and so on.

* * * * * "According to this testimony, the ancient Waldenses held the same tenets not only with the men above-named, but also with the present Mennonites or baptists, who were always stigmatized by the remainder of the so-named christendom, with the contemptuous title, anabaptists, as their former brethren, the above adduced Waldenses, were styled by those from whom they separated. These Waldenses were, at different times, called anabaptists, and we are informed that they resided in Poland, Bohemia and France long before the time of John Huss.

* * * * * "Though we might with propriety break off here, as we have already demonstrated that the ancient Waldenses were the same people with the present baptists, yet, since this proposition is very much opposed, we will, to establish it more firmly, produce some additional evidence from papistic writers."⁹

Here the author refers to Peter, Abbot of Clugny, Reinerius, and other catholic writers who have already been often named.

I will add a few more testimonies from Mehrning, Twisck, and D'Anvers, all baptist writers, which give some new views of the history of the Waldenses, as to their baptist character.

"Mehrning (p. 733) informs us, on the authority of Cassianus, that the Waldenses and Albigenses rejected infant baptism, saying, 'Baptism had neither efficacy nor power.' This they meant of infant baptism, for the Waldenses highly esteemed the baptism which is administered according to the ordinance of Christ.

"P. I. Twisck, in his account of the Waldenses for the year 1100, calls them brethren, and says that they opposed infant baptism, &c. His words are as follows:—'We conjecture, from writers, that the Waldenses and Albigenses brethren existed at and immediately after this date; they were opposed to papistic errors and infant baptism.' *Chronik, &c.*—This is confirmed by the writers of the "*Introduction to the Martyr's Mirror*,"¹⁰ who assert, on the authority of Baronius, that their doctrine embraced this among other things, That infant baptism is not essential to salvation, &c.

We at length come to the testimony of John Paul Perrin Lyonnois, which, according to the translation of B. Lydius, establishes the above, though the translator, Lydius, as well

the Waldensian churches. His work is in French, and was published in 1826, by Rev. Thomas Sims, of the Church of England, under the title of an "Historical Defense of the Waldenses and Vaudois."

Mr. Peyran, in a letter to Cardinal Bacca, has assumed a number of very important positions, four of which only I will add:—

I. That the Vaudois and the Albigenses are not two societies, but one society under two different names.

II. That the faith of these people was the same as the protestants.

III. That to find their origin, it is necessary not only to go beyond the time of Peter Waldo, but still to go on to the first ages of the christian church.

IV. That the first pastor of the Waldenses was Claude, of Turin;—and so he follows on with Berengarius, Peter de Bruis, Henry of Toulouse, Arnold of Breacia, Peter Waldo and Wickliffe. These seven men, according to this modern Waldensian writer, acted as superintendents of the great Waldensian community from the ninth to the fourteenth century. All these seven distinguished men are claimed by the baptists as having theorized at least in their favor; and Peter, Henry, Arnold and Waldo, as having been, not only in theory but also in practice, on their side. The first position settles the question, so far as Mr. Peyran's authority goes, of the identity of the two parties of Waldenses and Albigenses.

⁹ *Martyr's Mirror*, p. 223.

¹⁰ *Id.*, p. 225.

Almanac, and the prime instrument that, as before, had defiled them herein) better have said nothing at all, than so much to so little purpose: yea, so much against himself.

"Thus you have all these objections answered, and the truth of the former assertions vindicated, that do maintain that the old Waldenses were defenders of believers, and impugn-ers of infant baptism, as, by their old confessions of faith and practice, their eminent suffer-ings for the same, in so many ages and countries, is by great authority confirmed to us.

"And as for these quotations out of Perrin, they amount only to thus much, viz. That in the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were some confessions that did own infant bap-tism, but nothing (no, not one word that I can meet with) of any elder date. About which time also, as it is manifest, they made a great defection from their former principles and in-tegrities, and have too much gendered since into the formalities of the Huguenots.

"Neither would I be thought to assert such a universal harmony amongst the Waldenses in this thing, but that it is possible there might be some difference amongst some of them even in this particular,—as there were many differences betwixt the Calvinists and Luther-ans; but I profess to you ingenuously, amongst all my search, excepting these two passages of so late a date, I find none.

"And, I must confess, I cannot think it reasonable that any of them that lived up to their principles, could embrace such a thing; for they were so zealously exact, none more for the letter of the scriptures, founding all thereon, and rejecting whatever they found not contained therein; whereas this practice by confession of all sides is not to be found in the letter of the scriptures, and none more severe rejectors of traditions, especially popish traditions, whereof this is such a principal one.

"Thus we have gone through the Waldensian story and witness; evidencing a concur-ring testimony to this great truth from first to last."³

An abundance of this kind of testimony is found in the old *Martyrology* rel-ative to the baptist character of the Waldenses, and those who according to this writer bore the compound name of Albi-Waldenses; they might also be continued to an indefinite extent from other writers, but I shall forbear for the present, and close this section with some reflections on the

Changes in the denominational character of the Waldenses which have taken place at different times.

Since I have adopted the plan of dividing the history of this great commu-nity, which spread over all Europe for many centuries, into periods of a num-ber of centuries each, I can more easily reconcile the perplexing discrepancies of historians, relative to their faith and forms. For the first few centuries after we get a distinct view of them, their baptist character is very fully devel-oped. In so many cases are they accused by old historians of the rejection of infant baptism; so many were the laws made against them on this account, by all kinds of legislative bodies, civil and ecclesiastical, and so much did they suffer for this "intolerable and flagitious heresy," as it was then esteemed, that the baptists have good ground for claiming a large portion of them on their side. And the more their history is fairly and faithfully disclosed the more fully and firmly I am satisfied will this claim be established. But when we come down to later periods, appearances in our favor are less clear, and for more than two centuries past, the remnant of this people have been subject to the conflicting claims of the presbyterians and episcopalians.

For about three centuries from the eleventh, these ancient witnesses were much distinguished for suffering and success on the continent, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth in England, under the name of Lollards, Wickliffites, &c.

Again we must distinguish between them in various locations, as well as at different periods; they were the puritans and non-conformists of the times, or as Robinson denominates them, the ante-Lutheran protestants; they all dissented from the church of Rome, but it is as certain that they differed from each other in faith and forms, as that the old church persecuted them all. In some places baptist principles prevailed among them much more than others, and continued longer to maintain their ascendancy. But the severity of penal sta-tutes on the one hand, and a spirit of conformity, lukewarmness and indiffer-ence on the other, in the end subverted their ancient faith, and prepared them for a union with established churches.

³ D'Anvers on Baptism, pp. 319-321.

and in the end, that portion of them which still survived in the ancient valleys, adopted in substance the episcopal form of church government.⁵

Before leaving the history of the Waldenses, I wish to call the attention of my readers to a few of the foregoing positions and distinctions, which ought to be particularly borne in mind.

1. *Their name of Vaudois, or the People of the Valleys*, by which they are generally known by old writers, both civil and ecclesiastical, see p. 21.
2. The division of their history into long periods, see p. 76.
3. The changes in their denominational character, and where this character was lost, see p. 76.
4. The oldest periods most favorable to the baptists, see p. 74.
5. When they fell in with the Reformers, and gave up anabaptism, see p. 83.
6. Mistakes of both parties now, see p. 77.
- 7 Miscellaneous remarks.

I have said that from very early times up to the fifteenth century, the baptist, or at least the anti-pedobaptist character, of a multitude of that great community which passed under the general name of Waldenses and Albigenses, is very strongly developed; it is indicated by the canons, decrees, and anathemas of so many councils; by the statutes of so many States and governments; and the impeachments and complaints of so many old writers on the pedobaptist side, that a man of but a moderate share of ecclesiastical knowledge, must make a judy of himself to deny it, or prove himself an unfair historian if he attempts to conceal it.

Dr. Wall says, of the ancient mode of immersion, that the fact is sustained "by an infinite number of passages," in old writers. This remark will apply here, without much abatement.

The more modern writers in defense of the Waldenses, whether of their own community or others, have most egregiously overproved their positions.

While Perrin, Leger, Morland, Peyran, Gilley, Faber and Sims and others have done them good service on some points, they, on the other hand, have dressed them up so much in modern style, that they have made a picture in ludicrous contrast with the original.

These old people would not know themselves were they to come again.

Bishop Hughes, in his dispute with Dr. Breckenridge, has given a palpable hit at the attempt to *make* protestants out of the Waldenses. Vol. 1, p. 289.

Limborch, about 1570, gave it as his honest opinion, that the Waldenses bore the nearest resemblance to the Dutch baptists of any other party. See p. 69.

Gilley, Faber, Sims and others, plead the cause of the Waldenses as Episcopalians; the Presbyterians must go farther back to find their forms; and beyond them all the baptists take a wide sweep into the remote depths of antiquity.

⁵ John Rodolphe Peyran, in the work edited by Rev. Mr. Sims, which has already been referred to, says, That under Peter Waldo, who, according to his statement, was the sixth general pastor or superintendent of this people, the seven orders were reduced to three, viz. bishops, priests and deacons. Whether this is a matter of fact, or *post factum* testimony, I shall leave for the presbyterians and episcopalians to settle among themselves.

historical veracity obliges me to record the following decrees of a protestant legislature, which I will do in the language of Mr. Bracht.

“Of a certain edict issued by the people of Zurich, against the baptists, A. D. 1525.

“This year, not only the papists, but also the so-named Zuinglian Reformed, in Zurich, laid their hands upon the innocent and defenseless lambs of Christ; yet, as far as we know, they did not inflict any capital punishment upon them, or deprive them of their life by the executioner, but kept them in close confinement till death was the consequence, as may be supposed. But in order to give notice how they should conduct themselves for the present and the future, the magistrates of the city ordained the following :

“We therefore ordain and require, that hereafter all men, women, boys and girls forsake *re-baptism*, and shall not make use of it hereafter, and they shall let infants be baptized; whosoever shall act contrary to this public edict, shall be fined for every offence, one mark; and if any be disobedient and stubborn, they shall be treated with severity; for, the obedient we will protect; the disobedient we will punish according to his deserts, without fail; by this all are to conduct themselves. All this we confirm by this public document, stamped with the seal of our city, and given on St. Andrew's day, A. D. 1525.”³

“When this edict was drawn up, the Zuinglian church had existed about five years, and were themselves the subjects of the hatred and persecution of the papists; in truth a lamentable case, that people who had just a short time before purified themselves, in many respects, from the leaven of popery, and were opposed to the tyranny of the pope, still maintained this, in common with the papists, that they persecuted those who differed from them in faith. But it would have been well had it stopped with this edict, for when an infant was not permitted to be baptized, reparation could be made by a silver mark, &c., but it did not continue at this; for some years subsequently, and particularly A. D. 1530, having taken courage, they decreed that the anabaptists should be punished with death. This will be treated of in its place.”

The second edict issued at Zurich, threatening all the so-called Anabaptists with death, A. D. 1530.

“A certain writer says, that the Zuinglian church, from its beginning, had a particular hatred and antipathy against the anabaptists, or more properly speaking, against those that were baptized according to Christ, as historians tell us; therefore they commenced very early to tyrannize over them, and according to our opinion, the Zuinglian church had not existed more than ten years when this abuse commenced.

“But they did not abide with this, but they went on with their tyranny till there was an edict issued, A. D. 1530, which equalled the bloody decrees of the Roman emperor. In it was written :

“We, therefore determinately command all the citizens of this land, and all those who are any the least connected therewith, namely the chief and under officers, town councils, judges, church deacons and deaconesses, that if they meet with any anabaptists that they will report them to us, according to their oath, not to suffer them anywhere, nor let them increase, but to imprison them and to deliver them to us; for we will, according to law, punish with death all the anabaptists and those that adhere to them; and we will also punish those without mercy who aid them, who will not report or disperse them, or do not surrender them to us to be imprisoned; we will punish them all according to their demerits, as such as have violated the oath which they swore to the magistracy.” This is literally taken from the edict as Bullinger compiled it.”

We are now prepared to make the selections proposed. *Hans Koch* and *Leonhard Meister* were put to death at Augsburg, A. D. 1524, just in the opening scene of the Reformation. These men were reputed to have been descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Waldenses. They are placed at the head of the long catalogue of martyrs, by this old anabaptist historian.

³ Martyr's Mirror, p. 343.

Sattler answered, Judica. The clerk admonished the judges, saying, He will not conclude this talk to-day; the honorable judges will therefore please to proceed with the sentence; I will submit everything to the laws.

The judge asked Sattler whether he also was willing to submit it to the laws. He replied, You ministers of God, I am not sent to judge concerning the word of God: we are sent to bear witness of it; we can therefore assent to no law, for we have received no such commandment from God; but if we cannot dispense with the laws, we are prepared to suffer everything for the word of God, which is or may be imposed upon us for the sake of the faith in Jesus Christ our Saviour, as long as breath remains, unless convinced by the scriptures.

The clerk observed, The executioner will convince you completely; he will dispute with you, you arch heretic.

Michael.—I appeal to the scriptures.

The judges now retired to another apartment, and, in the course of an hour and a half, agreed upon the sentence of death.

"In the meantime some individuals in the room behaved very unmercifully towards Sattler; reviling him. One of them observed, 'What were your intentions towards yourselves and others, that you thus misled them?' He also took up a sword that lay on the table, saying, 'See here; with this they will dispute with you!' Michael made no reply to the personal allusion, but endured it all willingly. One of the prisoners said, 'We must not cast pearls before swine.' Michael, being asked why he did not remain a lord in the convent, answered, 'I was a lord according to the flesh, but it is better thus.' This is the whole of his conversation; he spake with perfect self-possession.

"The judges having returned to the room, the sentence of death was read as follows:—'His imperial majesty, the stadtholder, announces to Michael Sattler, that the said Michael Sattler shall be delivered to the executioner, who shall conduct him to the place of execution, and cut out his tongue, then chain him on a wagon, and tear his body twice with red-hot pincers; he shall afterwards bring him before the city gate, and there likewise give him five pinches.' This done, he was burnt to ashes as a heretic, his brethren were slain with a sword, and his sisters drowned; his wife, after having to listen to entreaties, exhortations and threatenings, was also drowned, after several days, displaying great constancy. Done the 21st day of May, A.D., 1527."⁴

A long epistle to the church in Horb, by this faithful witness, is preserved, which abounds with sound sense and ardent piety.

Leonhard Kaiser, who had been a mass priest, was burnt in Bavaria in the same year. No detailed account of his trial had been preserved. He suffered death in the second year of his ministry after his secession from the church of Rome.

In this same year also about seventy others of the same community were executed in Holland, among whom were Thomas Hermanus, a minister, and a widow lady by the name of Weyenken. In most cases women were closed up in a sack and drowned, but this heroic female, on account of her inflexible obstinacy, or in other words her unshaken attachment to the gospel, was committed to the flames. She had long conferences with her ecclesiastical tormentors; great efforts were made by her relatives and friends to persuade her to recant and thereby to save her from the horrible doom which awaited her. There were sad misgivings on the part of a number of the officials, and of the chief inquisitor, who in the end retired from the council declaring he did not assent to her death, but the law was inflexible, and the executioner was commanded to do his office. She was first strangled, and then the faggots were set on fire.

Leonhard Schoener was among the sufferers at this period; he was originally a bare-footed monk for six years, but becoming disgusted with the intolerable hypocrisy and wantonness of the monastic orders, he left those abodes of impurity, became an anabaptist under the ministry of Balthazar Huebmer, at that time a very distinguished preacher of this community. Previous to this he had learnt the tailor's trade, and after his conversion and call to the ministry, he traveled about in the double capacity of mechanic and minister. And although the anabaptist teachers were generally men of but small attainments in literature, yet this reformed monk was a thorough scholar, and offered to dis-

⁴ *Martyr's Mirror*, pp. 344-346.

Luther addressed a letter of consolation to Michael Sattler and Leonhard Kaiser, although they differed from him on the point of infant baptism.—*Mehring's Hist. of Bapt.*, p. 784, as quoted in the *Martyr's Mirror*, p. 279. We also find that Sattler was a member of the congregation of Hans Koch and Leonhard Meister, who descended from the old Bohemian and Moravian Waldenses, as has already been stated.

and had to go about in misery, he came there to one of his friends with whom he stayed; thence he came to Schwartz, where, by and for the will of God, he was taken prisoner. As to the evil seed of which they spake, he knew nothing, he had nothing evil, but rather the simple divine truth.

“He left to his brethren in Christ, the following admonition and thanksgiving:—

“O God! I entreat thee for thy grace that thou wilt not impute to me my sins; since Christ made satisfaction for them before I was born. I was thy enemy, and thou lovedst me, acceptedst me in grace, and hast given for my redemption the innocent blood of thy beloved Son, although I am frequently tempted by the besetting sins of the flesh. For when I would do good, evil is present with me. On this account I am troubled, and may well sigh and exclaim with the apostle Paul, ‘Ah, miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?’ and I must answer to myself, and say, ‘I thank my God, who hast given me the victory through Christ. Thou art my consolation; for, since I believed from my heart, I cannot be damned. The spirit is willing and prepared, but the flesh is weak, so that it cannot satisfy the law till Christ strengthens me with his spirit. Where human laws reign on earth, there will miserable minds be misled; nay, where Christ is not the ruler, builder and overseer, there is no building, but all is torn and broken. Though other things are highly esteemed by the world, yet they are rejected by God; all of us, therefore, young and old, great and small, beseech thee, O God! to have compassion upon us, and send us poor children faithful shepherds to dispense thy gifts, that all human doctrines may be extirpated; for it is high time men would repent, and cease from evil; for the judgment of God is at hand. Let us, therefore, fly for refuge to the chastening of our Father, and submit in obedience to him, that he may chasten us as his children. * * * * *

“It cannot, in truth, be otherwise, than that judgment must begin at the house of God. Thus are the holy scriptures fulfilled; hence the punishment to be visited upon the world is at hand; let none, therefore, be negligent; for the sword is whet, the bow is bent, the arrow is prepared, aim is taken. I do not mean that we should endeavor to escape, but to accept the Father’s chastening, by which he refines us for that whereunto he has sealed us, that we may be assured of the unchangeable kingdom, and possess it with him in everlasting life; to this may God strengthen us all. *Amen.*”⁶

Here we have a full view of the interior state of things among the German anabaptists, in the very midst of the famous commotions which have all been ascribed to the native influence of baptist principles. And here we have a specimen of the kind of men who were prominent leaders among this people. Well may Mosheim lament that “so little distinction was made between the innocent and the guilty, when the sword of justice was unsheathed against them.” Here also we see a full development of the strange notion of the ruling powers, both in church and state, that the simple act of re-baptising was a signal for outrage and rebellion.

They required of him what design lay concealed under this re-baptism, since they had combined to excite a new uproar and apostacy. This inquiry was made by the grave functionaries of the law, who seemed really to give full credit to the popular delusion on this subject; for through the whole of Germany, and in all the surrounding countries, anabaptist and rebel were synonymous terms; and it seemed next to impossible to erase this impression from the minds of the rulers, both civil and ecclesiastical. And to this may be ascribed the ardent zeal which was everywhere displayed towards them. Pensioned emissaries were lurking at every corner, to catch every accent which might lead to the discovery of any member, or even friend of this obnoxious people; and dogs were trained to track them in the forests, and sound the alarm when their hiding places were detected.

I will now pass over a period of about ten years, during which time multitudes were put to death in various ways, for no other crime than their firm adherence to the obnoxious principles of the anabaptists. The author of the work which is my present guide, has given the doings of each year in detail, so far as the facts could be collected, and as the scenes here described were in the midst of the rustic war, and a number of years before the taking of the city of Munster, and the establishment of the new kingdom there, it is plain to be seen

⁶ *Martyr’s Mirror*, p. 353.

that other causes operated for the awful havoc of a people, who would neither fight for the government nor themselves.

In 1528 the number of martyrs was very great. Seventy are mentioned at one time, and for many years after the victims continued to increase.

In 1529 three hundred and fifty were put to death in Altsey; they were confined in prison, and were literally dealt out by the executioner, like sheep to the slaughter, as fast as he could dispatch them, till the magistrate at length inquired what shall I do? the more I kill the more they increase. This same man soon after died a sudden and miserable death as he was rising from his table.

Menno Simon and Tiaert Keynerts, 1539.—This is the first time that the name of this famous man appears in the history of the German anabaptists, among whom he afterwards became a distinguished leader; but as yet he was not known in that capacity, having been a minister of their community but a short time.

Menno's name is but incidentally mentioned at this time, in the following manner: he had taken refuge in the house of his friend and brother, Tiaert Keynerts, who lived near Harlingen, in Friesland; and although he escaped the vengeance of his pursuers, who had tracked him there, yet this simple act of hospitality cost this good Keynert his life, for by the laws of the times, to shelter, or in any way afford comfort to a heretic, was as capital an offence as the rejection of infant baptism, consubstantiation, or any other article of the catholic creed. This kind host was admitted by his adversaries to have been a very pious man. He was apprehended and brought to Leewarden, where he was cruelly tortured to make him disclose the place where Menno was concealed, but he chose to sacrifice his own life, rather than that of his friend.

As a specimen of the bloodthirsty disposition of the persecutors of the anabaptists at this time, they not only put a price upon the heads of the most distinguished ministers, "but pictured them off, and had their likenesses publicly posted up, and offered large sums of money if any one would apprehend them, and place them in the hands of the executioner. It is said that Menno gave an account of the death of his friend Keynerts, in a work which he published against Gallius Faber."⁷

As the name of Menno frequently occurs in the old martyrology, which has something to say of the sufferings of the anabaptists, through the whole of his ministering, and for more than a century after, I shall leave the farther details of the life of this eminent man until I come to the close of this article, with a view of putting all the facts which can be gleaned respecting him, under one head.

Balthazar Hubmer.—This was a very distinguished man among the anabaptists, from the commencement of the reformation. His disputes with the reformers on infant baptism will be noticed in another place, and a fuller account of his character and sufferings will also be related. At present, I will insert the following extracts from the book of the anabaptist martyrs.

"At the time of Zuinglius, there was a person by the name of Balthazar Hubmer, of Friedburg, a learned and eloquent man, styled by the papists, a doctor of divinity. He was originally a teacher and preacher at Ingoldstadt, and came subsequently to Beyhnsburg, where he preached powerfully against the Jews, and their usury, and was led by the light of the Holy Spirit to perceive the abominations of popery; in consequence of this, he separated from it according to the council of God, and subsequently rejected, besides other errors, their self-invented infant baptism, and taught with great energy the baptism of believers as instituted by Christ. But as this benighted world cannot bear that the pure light of the gospel should illuminate them, and that any one should testify against their false faith and evil work; so this man, besides many others, was hated and persecuted by the world. After manifold tempta-

⁷ Martyr's Mirror, p. 382.

tions, banishments and imprisonments, he came to Nicolasburg, in Moravia, where he and his wife were taken prisoners, and carried to Vienna, Austria, where, after numerous temptations and a long confinement, he was burnt, and his wife drowned in great steadfastness. Thus they both remained constant to the faith received from God, even unto death."

"*Balthazar Hubmer*^b published a small book, in which he complains of Zuinglius and his followers, thus:—'They have carried it so far as to imprison, at one time, in a dark tower, twenty persons, consisting of men, pregnant women, widows and young girls; and to pass on them the following sentence:—'That they shall never see the light of the sun, nor of the moon, and shall finish their lives on bread and water. For this purpose, they shall all remain in a dark tower, the living having to endure the noisome stench of the dead, till there be no more of them remaining.'

"Some ate nothing for three days, that the rest might have something to eat, &c. 'O, God! continues he, 'what a severe and rigorous doom for pious christians, to whose charge no offence could be laid, only that they had received re-baptism, according to the commandments of Christ. O, distressing deformation we say, of the reformers so called! The Lord forgive them, and be merciful to their souls in their blind zeal.'"

Elizabeth.—(No other name is given), suffered martyrdom by being drowned in a sack, March 27, 1549. The inquisitors were truly no respectors of persons; but females of all ages and conditions, and in the most delicate and trying circumstances, were the victims of their vulgar scoffs, and excruciating tortures. Elizabeth was a single woman, although her persecutors supposed when they apprehended her, that she was the wife of Menno Simon. A few extracts from the long conferences which she had with her tormentors will give a sample of what these suffering people had to endure.

Lords.—What are your views of infant baptism, as you have been re-baptized?

Eliz.—No, my lords, I have not been re-baptized; I have been baptized once on my faith; for it is written that baptism belongs to believers.

Lords.—Are our infants damned then, because they are baptized?

Eliz.—No, be it far from me, my lords, that I should judge the infants.

Lords.—Do you not seek your salvation in baptism.

Eliz.—No, my lords, all the water in the sea cannot save me; but my salvation is in Christ, who has commanded me to love the Lord my God above all things, and my neighbor as myself.

Lords.—Have the priests also power to forgive sins.

Eliz.—No, my lords, how could I believe that? I aver that Christ is the only priest that can forgive sins.

Lords.—You say that you believe everything is in accordance with the Scriptures; do you not believe the words of James?

Eliz.—Yes, my lords, why should I not believe it?

Lords.—Does he not say: Call for the elders of the church and let them pray over you, and anoint you with oil?

Eliz.—Yes, my lords, but would you say that you are of that church?

Lords.—The Holy Ghost has sanctified you all; you need neither confession nor sacrament.

Eliz.—No, my lords, I know that I have violated the ordinances of the pope, as established by imperial edicts; but show me one article in which I have sinned against the Lord my God, and I will break forth in lamentations and mourning.—The preceding is the first confession.

"She was again brought before the council and taken into the place of torture, where Hans the executioner was. The lords then declared: We have long dealt mildly with you; if you will not confess, we will proceed to harsh measures. Anwald replied: Master Hans, seize hold of her. Hans replied: O no, my lords, she will voluntarily confess. But as she would not confess voluntarily, they applied thumb-irons to her thumbs and fore-fingers, till they forced the blood out of the ends of her fingers. Elizabeth exclaimed: O, I cannot endure it any longer. The lords replied: Confess and we will diminish your torture. But she called on the Lord her God: Help me, O Lord! thy poor servant, for thou art a helper in distress. The lords all exclaimed: Confess, and we will lighten your pain; for we told you to confess, not to call on the Lord. But she remained steadfast, and the Lord alleviated her pain so much, that she told the lords: Interrogate me now; I feel no more pain like I did.

^a This name is spelt in many different ways. Mosheim has it Hubmeyer; others Hubmeirus; but, as the one adopted here is the most simple, I shall use it whenever this famous man is referred to.

^b Martyr's Mirror, p. 393.

C.—I know but one baptism.

P.—Your sponsors know that you were baptized once; you can ask them concerning it.

C.—I also know that it was done without faith; for it is written, Rom. xiv. 23; For whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

P.—Your sponsors were believers.

C.—I do not know that the apostles baptized any person, unless he himself believed and confessed his faith. What did I confess when I was baptized in my infancy?

P.—Ask your sponsors. What think you of our father the pope, and his kingdom?

C.—The pope, with all his flummery, is of no avail. You sell masses to the people by tens and scores; they are wholly useless, and you give them to the people as good and true; is not this deception? You preach that people shall not drink to excess, and you go about the streets like drunken swine. You preach that we shall not be avaricious, and who is more avaricious than the priests and monks? You teach that we shall not be idle; but where is more idleness than among you? You would rather go with a basket or bag from door to door, begging, than work, as is evident. The priest got angry, rose up, and said; The first thing you teach one another is to find fault with your neighbors.

C.—Why should we not regard the creed which God has given us, when he says: Ye shall know the tree by its fruits.

P.—This is to be spiritually understood—and he went out of the room.—The president asked me if I would recant my second baptism and all that I had said. I told him: No, my lord, I will by no means deny what was done to me in the name of the Lord. On hearing this the president rose up, when they all got up and began to go out. I thanked them for their trouble. The president turned round and asked again whether I would recant or await my doom. I rejoiced to tell him, and the other members of the council, that they should take care what they said: My lords, I know my fate, according to the emperor's command; but there are two commands, the one of the King above, the other of the mortal emperor; the two run counter to each other: the one says, Let the tares grow with the wheat. The other says, Root up the tares. Therefore, my lords, I pray you, caution the judges that they consider what they are doing; for you have not received the sword to scourge the innocent. I told him much more, as the Lord gave me utterance. He stood with his cap in his hand and remained silent, as did all the rest; at last they prayed God that he would grant me that which would redound to my salvation, and left the room.¹

Jacques D'Auchy was a merchant, and appears to have been a man of large property and business; he was betrayed into the hands of the inquisitors by an alderman of Harlengin, whose name and title was lord Van der Baal.² This cruel act, which cost the good man his life, was performed in the following manner:—The alderman professed a good deal of friendship for Jacques, and by his strong importunity the unsuspecting anabaptist made free to visit his house, and brought there a lot of his goods, which his betrayer pretended he wanted to purchase. While in free conversation, Jacques let slip some words against the Roman church, which proved his ruin.

He was soon hurried to prison, the goods on hand were immediately seized by an officer in waiting, and in the end, all his estate was confiscated, and his family reduced to beggary and want.

The controversies which this man was compelled to maintain with his accuse and tormentors were long and severe; one examination lasted more than two hours. There is enough in the old book before me about him to make a large pamphlet, but a small portion of which will my limits permit me to insert; but I shall give enough to show that Jacques was a man of very considerable talents, and was well acquainted with all the affairs of the corrupt and tyrannical church which was thirsting for his blood, and grasping for his effects.

" Confession of Jacques D'Auchy, made before the commissary and the inquisitor.

" My first trial came on ten weeks after I was committed to prison. On the 3d January, A. D., 1558, the jailer came to me and notified me to appear before the commissary, in order to be tried respecting my faith. I was glad, soon got ready, and went with the jailer, and having entered the chamber where he sat, I saluted him with due deference; he returned the salutation, saying: Jacques, is your name Jacques D'Auchy?

Jacques.—Yes, my lord.

¹ *Martyr's Mirror*, pp. 481-484.

² So great was the indignation of the people, that they pelted him with stones from Leewarda, and being seized with the leprosy, he died in misery and contempt. Such instances of popular displeasure were by no means unfrequent where they could be displayed without endangering the lives of the disaffected.—*Martyr's Mirror*, p. 483.

the anabaptists of that day, although in chains, spoke of the clergy of the established church, and how hard the inquisitor was pushed to name but one clergyman of a blameless life, among the multitudes of that great establishment.

This confession of Jacques D'Auchy was first written in French, and was afterwards translated into the Dutch and German. He suffered death at Leewarden, the capital of Friesland, in 1559.³

Passing over nearly two hundred pages which are full of narratives of the same kind as those I have related—some of them as long, most of them, however, much shorter—I shall proceed to give somewhat extended accounts of a few more discussions of a very interesting nature, and close the extracts with a brief recapitulation of the whole history of the German anabaptists or Mennonites up to the latter half of the seventeenth century.

SECTION III.

JUDICIAL TRIALS OF JACOB DE ROORE, HERMAN VLECKWYK, JANS HENDRICKS, AND OTHERS—SKETCHES OF MENNO SIMON.

A Discussion between Jacob de Roore (sometimes called Jacob Kerzen Giezer), and M. brother Cornelius, preacher of the order of Grey Friars, in presence of M. Jan. Van Damme, notary, and M. Michael Houwaart, clerk of the criminal court, May 9th, A.D. 1569.

Brother Cornelius.—Well, I've come to see whether I can't convert you, (is not your name Jacob?) from the false and pernicious faith wherein you have erred; and whether I cannot bring you back to the catholic faith, our mother, the holy Roman church, from which you have fallen away to the accursed anabaptists. What say you to this?

Jacob.—That I have a false pernicious faith, with your permission I say, no; but that I have fallen away by the grace of God, from your Babylonish mother, the Roman church, to the members of the true church of Christ, I confess, and thank God for it, who hath said: Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. Rev. xviii. 4.

Corn.—Can it be possible? do you really call our mother, the holy catholic church, the whore of Babylon? and do you call the infernal diabolical sect of anabaptists the members of the true church of Christ? Just listen to this brave fellow! What devil has taught you this, hey? Your cursed Menno Simon, I suppose; yes, go away, and be still. Mind you now!

Jacob.—With permission that you speak so pervertedly; it was certainly not necessary for Menno Simon to teach us something new, that the whore of Babylon represents your mother, the Roman church; for John teaches that sufficiently in Revelations xiv. xvi. xvii. xviii.

Corn.—What knowledge have you of St. John's Revelation? in what seminary did you study? at the loom, I suppose, for I have been informed, you were only a poor weaver, and tallow chandler, before you went about preaching and re-baptizing, out in the Gritz-haus forest; but I was a long time at the seminary at Leuven, and studied divinity a great while, and yet I by no means understand the Revelations of St. John; this is a fact.

Jacob.—Therefore, Christ thanks his heavenly Father, because he revealed these things to the simple and hid them from the wise men of this world. Matt. xi. 15.

Corn.—O yes, God has revealed these things to weavers at the loom, cobblers at their bench, bellows' patchers, lantern tinkers, razor grinders, broom makers, thatchers, together with all sorts of ragamuffins, and poor-looking vagabonds; but he has concealed it from us spiritual monastics, who have studied day and night from our youth. Just see how we are vexed; you anabaptists are certainly the right kind of fellows to understand the scriptures; for before you are re-baptized you don't know A from B; but as soon as you are baptized you can read and write. Now if the devil and his mother are not playing with you I know nothing about it.

Jacob.—I perceive truly, that you are ignorant of our mode of acting; for the grace which the Lord God bestows upon our simple, newly baptized members, when we teach them to read, you ascribe to the devil.

³ While going over these details I have felt a curiosity to know who was that one cardinal or catholic bishop in the whole realm of England, in the middle of the sixteenth century, whose life was conformable to the gospel pattern. Cardinal Woolsey died a little before this time, but even a Roman inquisitor would hardly appeal to him as a pattern of piety.

The character might be intended for Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, or for Cardinal Pole, the relative of Queen Mary. This discussion was had in 1558, the same year which the bloody Mary died; and it was probably one of her bishops, whom the inquisitor reputed such a holy man.

have seen in the trial of Jacob, and as we shall also see in that of Herman, which immediately followed.

Bro. Cornelius.—I ought to say good morning, Herman, but I am still angry from yesterday, at your cursed and execrable hedge-preacher, or teacher, who, in that scandalous Gritz-haus forest, has so hostilely misled, deceived, and bewitched you and the rest of the anabaptists, and made you crazy and devilish with his damned, infernal anabaptist heresies. Therefore, I have now come here to try to get you off again from your anabaptism, and convert you to our catholic christian faith.

Herman.—It appears to me from your discourse, that you *are* angry, and if you had not advised me of it, I would have thought that you intended to frighten me. But why are you so enraged and excited at that amiable and friendly man, who, I believe, did not give you any cross word?

Corn.—He papisted me once or twice, but I do not care a fig for that; but I am angry because he would not be converted from his cursed anabaptism, and all other damnable heresies, though I took so much unavailing pains. Yes, the greatest vexation of all is, that I clearly proved to him his base, pernicious, false and heretical faith, and convinced him of it as these kind lords heard, and yet all was of no avail, though he precipitates himself into difficulties.

Herm.—I suppose he proved to you with the holy scriptures, that he believes on Jesus Christ, the son of the living God. How could you evince to him that his faith is wicked, base, false and heretical, as you affirm?

Corn.—Ah, you cursed anabaptists! Tell me then, why God the Father would not know us who are his priests. For we daily offer to him in the mass, his Son, Jesus Christ, flesh and blood. Whom then should they both know better than us their priests? What will you say to this now?

Herm.—How should I reveal to you the mystery of the mass, when I am entirely unacquainted with the mystery of the mass? but you understand it very well.

Corn.—Is it true you do not understand the mystery of the mass? how comes it then that you heretics dare describe such a cursed death-bed of the mass? Wherein it is written, that, as it were, the mass lay sick of the imposthume on her canon, of which she had to die? Then are you cursed heretics ignorant of the mystery of the mass, as you call it? but the devil confound you, together with the death-bed of the mass, you damned anabaptist you.

Herm.—We neither composed nor wrote the pamphlet concerning the death-bed of the mass; and why do you take it so ill, that I speak of the mystery of the mass? It is a common proverb among the papists, when they are asked anything, that they wish to keep quiet, 'I dare not disclose the mystery of the mass.'

Corn.—Yes, the devil and his mother have spread this proverb among the people of the world. I wish that all who say it would sink through the earth into the pit of hell. Yes, this I do wish!

Notary.—O, father Cornelius, the people mean no harm by this expression; I have occasionally heard priests use it, and, in fact, I have often made use of it myself, without harm or reflection.

Corn.—Very well, enough of this; but you anabaptists, tell me, whether you believe that the real flesh and blood of Christ Jesus is offered up by us priests in the mass? let us hear.

Herm.—You ought surely to ask me concerning things contained in the holy scriptures, for I have never studied your faith and religion.

Corn.—Is it possible, you ignorant, infernal anabaptists? would you be interrogated only in relation to things clearly noticed in the holy scriptures? but now I will ask you rightly about things that are expressed in the scriptures. I have been told that you have large children running about at home that are not baptized, though Christ says to Nicodemus (John iii.) 'Verily, verily, I say unto you: Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' Now is not this a case that is presented in the holy scriptures?

Herm.—When the apostles, after receiving the command of Christ (Matt. xxviii.) went forth and taught all nations to believe on Jesus Christ, before they baptized them, did not those that received instruction in the faith, run about unbaptized prior to their being instructed?"

Herman proceeds to give a very clear and evangelical exposition of the Spirit's influence in the work of conversion, and to refute the gross ideas of brother Cornelius on this subject, and also the assertion of the monk that he built his faith on the arch-heretic, Menno Simon.

Corn.—Heigh, heigh! how do you speak this way again; what thousand devils (God bless us) thus impel you. It seems he will neither trust in Menno Simon or any other man. For when I kindly and affectionately admonished him to abandon anabaptism, and to get his children baptized in the catholic church, he turns his back to me; is not that fine? If you will not turn and have your unbaptized children baptized in our church, after the catholic manner, they can easily burn you alive at the stake; just consider.

Herm.—You papists could still do that even if I was to apostatize, and get my children baptized in your church.

mother of Jesus Christ, the mother of God; which neither the apostles nor the evangelists dare call the mother of the Son of God.

Corn.—Ah, you damned, infernal anabaptist; you hellish trinitarian, sacramentarian, and sworn enemy of the blessed mother of God! We will call her the mother of God, in spite of your teeth; and she is the mother of God, too: yes, indeed, is she the mother of God.

Herm.—You have said, yourself, that there are three persons in the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and that these three persons are but one true God. Now if Mary is the mother of this true God, she is as well the mother of the Father, and of the Holy Ghost, as of the Son.

Corn.—May hell fire consume you, you wicked, vile, dissolute, treacherous, thorough-going trinitarian! The devil speaks with your mouth. Yes, you would torment a hundred thousand divines, with your foolish, distracted raving. Oh Jesus, Jesus! blessed mother of God! how you are blasphemed, reviled, and despised by this chicken of the devilish hell-hounds! But how will you call her then? Mary, the carpenter's wife, as you call her in your devilish infernal sermons, in the Gritz-haus forest?

Herm.—We call her the mother of Jesus, as she is called in the scriptures. How can you say then that we slander, revile, and despise her?

Corn.—Ah, you cursed anabaptist! I will not mind now that you would not call her the mother of God; but does not your arch-heretic, Menno Simon, slander, despise, and revile most shamefully, when he writes that Christ did not receive the sinful, earthly nature from Mary, but that he descended from heaven, flesh and blood, hide and hair, into Mary, and thus became man, and that he only passed through her body, like water through a sieve or pipe. Would not this be called blaspheming, despising and reviling God?

Herm.—You do not understand the writings of Menno Simon; for your quotation is not found in his writings; but he proves by the scriptures, that the word became flesh, as John writes, Chap. 1; and not the seed of Mary.

Corn.—But when you anabaptists assemble in Gritz-haus forest, you can prove and defend this and many other matters, which are far more horrible and abominable; for I have a good account of the whole.

Herm.—We are frequently belied, even as yourself, standing in the pulpit, preach just as you please concerning us.

Corn.—Ah, indeed! do you anabaptists ever come to hear me preach?

Herm.—Though we do not hear you preach ourselves, yet we are informed that you preach from the pulpit that the Calvinists and anabaptists teach and preach that Mary the mother of Christ was a filthy whore, which you have been told by learned men, who wrote to you— is a lie against us.

Corn.—Shame on you, you infamous anabaptist; away with you, and your nasty, dirty, filthy caltails;⁵ for such letters I don't care a fig: do you understand? But have you nothing else to say? Ah! you make me no reply on the community of women: yes, you anabaptists have acted completely in this that you have women and girls in common, for by this means you collect so great a number of adherents. But just show me once from the scriptures that women and girls ought to be kept in common, as you anabaptists do in your supper of devils: let us hear now, whether you can bring proof?

Herm.—By no means; for I can no more prove this, than you can prove from the holy scriptures, that women and girls ought to be whipped, like you do in your secret penance discipline, or whipping of women and girls finely; by this means you have so great a train of confession-daughters.

Corn.—I would rather see you wallowing in the mire, than reply to all your twattle. But answer my question and away with you.

Herm.—It is not worth while to reply to all such barefaced lies, as that we have women and girls in common.

Corn.—Ah! is it a barefaced lie, that you anabaptists have women and girls in common? how does it come that the whole world say it? and why is it printed in so many books,⁶ which we catholics publish against you, and which I read daily? Fie upon you, you adulterers and violators of the marriage institution.

At this point Cornelius repeats the charges which he had made against the anabaptists the day before in his dispute with Jacob, and how Jacob met them.

Herm.—All they that are of the world will lie; therefore we cannot believe you nor your catholics.

Corn.—Ah! am I the world indeed? No, I am not, you cursed, bewitched and infernal anabaptist you. Oh, you ignorant brute! do you not see that I am spiritual? But you show forth the works of the world, when you make all women common; but I have vowed chastity; do you understand, you violator of marriage you?

⁵ The term caltails Cornelius frequently uses, and uniformly applies it to the Calvinists or Reformers, for what reason I have not learnt.

⁶ The books here referred to were doubtless those which supplied materials for writers against the German anabaptists in after times, both Catholic and Protestant, who, if not so vulgar and profane as the monk Cornelius, have yet been as determined in their resolutions, that the earliest stereotyped edition of the story should be propagated and maintained.

On June 10, 1569, just one month after these debates were held, these two martyrs were burnt to ashes in the city of Brugge, in Flanders.

They had suffered a long imprisonment and much torture to make them disclose the names of their brethren, and the places of their abode.

Although but a small portion of these debates are copied, yet for the purpose of giving the reader a fair view of the state of things among our brethren in the German empire three centuries ago, I have gone more in detail than I shall be able to do in any other case.³

Jan Hendricks. A very long account is given of this man, whose vocation was that of a pilot. He was burnt at Delft, in Holland, in 1572. I have been surprised in this, as well as many other cases, to see how men in the common walks of life, would maintain their ground in argument with the subtle and learned inquisitors, and also with what calmness and decision they contested every inch of ground, from which their persecutors by all possible means, fair or foul, sought to drive them.

Jan Hendricks and Martin Jans were apprehended and burnt together. Of Martin's trial we have no information, but of the other much was preserved by his friends, not only of his conferences with the inquisitors, but of his communications to his family and brethren during his long confinement in prison. The controversy between Hendricks and his examiners turned principally on infant baptism, re-baptism, &c., and was managed much like those which have lately been related. I will quote but one passage relating to baptism, and one to the Munster affair.

One of the examiners was a burgomaster, and not being much skilled on the baptismal controversy, committed himself badly with the honest anabaptist pilot, and placed himself much in the same predicament that Dr. Wall did with Dr. Gale, in admitting that in the *beginning* they baptized believers *only*, and afterwards infants were brought in.

Hendricks.—Now I want you to prove to me that they baptized *one infant*, and changed adult baptism into infant baptism; for you say then it was necessary to baptize adults, but now *infants!* If the apostles had any desire to change baptism, they would have had ample time to do so; or even desired that it should have been done after them, they would have given intimations of it. For Paul expressly declares, Acts xx., 27: '*For I have not shunned to declare unto you ALL THE COUNCIL OF GOD.*' But they could not prove anything. One of the older judges replied, '*This shall be proved to you.*' But they proved nothing!!!

The Munster affair—the Magistrate's power, &c.

The Priest replied, it is written that the magistracy shall not bear the sword in vain; nay, to punish the wicked, and protect the good.

Hendricks.—I inquired, what wickedness have I done.

The Priest said I had adhered to a false doctrine, and attended meetings which were opposed to the Roman religion; which the king will not endure, because he is determined to protect his country. For it is well known what those of Munster have done, who had determined to take possession of the towns, to deprive the king of his country.

Hea.—Those of Munster did wrong; did you ever hear the like of me? I never *knew* those of Munster! No, those of Munster were among *yourselves*. If you had heard the like of me you would have apprehended me before now; for we have no right to burn any one unless he has done evil; but not for the sake of another. However, the priest strongly defended the magistracy in their cruel course, that they might burn one for his faith's sake. I

³ Of the monk and inquisitor Cornelius, I have no information besides what appears in connection with the above narrative. By his own account of what the people said of him as "a lousy, crack-brained fool," &c., he was a laughing-stock among his own party; and the presiding officers of the court were evidently much dissatisfied with the rude and profane manner in which he treated the prisoners at the bar. But whatever may be said of this zealous defender of infant baptism, his bold effrontery in repeating his slanderous stories against the German anabaptists, in opposition to all their remonstrances and denials, was but a model for thousands who have come after him. And if such a profane and reckless bigot could substantiate his charges with no better proof than he has here produced immediately after the event, and near to the place, what must be said of the multitudes who, in endless succession, for party purposes, have given them currency on no better authority than the bare assertion of such unprincipled declaimers. "I will stake my life," says Cornelius, "that I have myself preached more than a hundred times that you anabaptists have women and girls in common; and that I daily read books which we catholics publish against you, which maintain that you are adulterers and violators of the marriage institution." *Ergo*, it must be true.

is had to the works of Yoris and Philips as famous anabaptist authors, all of whose publications were extremely offensive to the dominant party. We have before seen, that the monk Cornelius denominated Menno an arch-heretic, and denounced his books as cursed and damnable, which the anabaptists had rather read than the writings of the catholics.

The following incident in the life of Menno, I will give in the language of Mr. Bracht. "A traitor had agreed for a specified sum of money to deliver him into the hands of his enemies; he first sought to apprehend him at a meeting, in which however he failed of success, and Menno escaped in a wonderful manner. Soon after this, the traitor, in company with an officer, passed him in a small boat on the canal. But the traitor kept quiet till Menno had passed them to some distance, and had leaped ashore in order to escape with less danger. Then the traitor observed: 'Behold the bird has escaped us.' The officer chastised him—called him a villain, and asked him why he did not tell it in time; but the traitor replied, 'I could not speak, for my tongue was bound.' The lords were so displeased at this that they punished the traitor severely—a warning and lesson to all bloodthirsty traitors."

The only item of biography of any importance which I have found of this anabaptist reformer, in the whole of this ancient work, is the following: "Although everywhere denounced and pursued, yet none of his adversaries dared to meet him in public discussion, which they were often challenged to do; he was declared an outlaw—a price was put upon his head; yet God preserved him amidst all the perils to which he was continually exposed, and he died a natural death near Lubeck, in the open field, January 13, 1559, aged sixty-six.¹

One thing more; it is said "he died in the open field, near Lubeck." By this mode of expression, we are probably to understand, that he closed his earthly course in an humble hamlet, formed by a confraternity of anabaptists, in an open space which had been assigned them on the great estate of their friendly landlord.

As Oldesloe and Lubeck, both on the river Trave, in the duchy of Holstein, are but 15 miles apart, the seeming difficulty of having these two places named *near* to which he died, may be easily reconciled in a country where magnificent distances were but little thought of.

The following additional items pertaining to the history of Menno Simon, whose birth I shall fix in 1493, are taken principally from the writings of Morgan Edwards and Dr. Mosheim.

"Menno," says Morgan Edwards, "was a man of parts and learning, and carried the reformation one step farther than Luther and Calvin did, and would, no doubt, have ranked with the chief reformers, had there not been some cross-grained fatality attending the laudable deeds of baptists, to prevent their having in this world the praise they deserve."

"From the commencement of his ministry among the German anabaptists," says Mosheim, "to the end of his days, that is, during the space of twenty-five years, he traveled from one country to another, with his wife and children,

¹ Martyr's Mirror, pp. 382, 383.

This account places the birth of Menno in 1493 instead of 1505, the time fixed upon by most writers.

There is also some apparent discrepancy between this and other accounts as to the place where Menno died.

Mosheim says it was at the country-seat of a certain nobleman, not far from the city of Oldesloe, in the duchy of Holstein. That this generous patron, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection, and gave him an asylum.—*Ecc. Hist.*, Vol. IV., *Article Mennonites, Note.*

Count Linzendorf did the same to the persecuted Moravians, almost two centuries after. This generous treatment was often pursued towards different branches of the Waldenses, by kind-hearted landholders, many centuries before the time of Menno. They would give them permission to settle as tenants on vacant lands on their wide domains, where the warrants of the inquisitors could not enter. This will be more fully explained in another place.

But little is said by our author, of the doings of any class of the protestants for about half a century from this period. Martyrdoms are occasionally reported, particularly in the city of Berne, but from the disposition everywhere shown towards the obnoxious opposers of infant baptism, and particularly by the followers of Zuinglius and Calvin, we have too much reason to believe that the number of victims were by no means small.

In 1577, a severe persecution broke out at Mittelberg, in Zealand, under the influence of the Calvinists, the effects of which were counteracted by the friendly efforts of the Prince of Orange, in favor of the oppressed anabaptists.

I will insert below the proclamation of this noble advocate for religious freedom, as it shows the good principles of the prince on the one hand, and the unrighteous, vexatious, and cruel policy of the continental Puritans on the other.*

This severe onset upon this defenseless people, was the more calamitous and destructive, as they were entirely off their guard, having reposed a full reliance on the safety which had lately been proclaimed to all religious parties in the new republic in which they resided, and under this impression, a large number of their members had collected here from other regions.

In the 17th century, the persecutions of the Reformers were pursued with increased severity, and so continued for a long course of years.

The brief account of the persecutions inflicted on the people under consideration, from 1600 and onward, is thus introduced by the author of the work now under review.

"This century's account will be brief, not extending much beyond fifty years; the sufferings, moreover, are not so severe as in the preceding centuries. Decapitation, and death from hunger and prisons, are the severest punishments endured by the following witnesses of the Lord. Moreover, though in this short

* *The prince of Orange, duke of Nassau, lord and baron of Breda, Diest, &c., to the noble, puissant, honorable, wise, &c.*

"Whereas, certain lodgers, who reside there, and are as baptists, as it is said, have, in several complaints made known to us that you daily oppress them, and deprive them of an opportunity of making a living for themselves and family, in that you have prohibited them from opening their workshops under a pretext that they refuse to make oath in the form used by other citizens, all which we have maturely considered; and whereas the aforementioned people offer to bear all burdens honestly along with the other citizens, (yet, as regards the bearing of arms, which chiefly induces them so to act, they shall pay a fine according as you, or they who shall give orders in the matter, shall find expedient, according to the rules of justice and equity,) therefore it seems to us that you do very wrong in not permitting them to live in peace and quietness, according to the dictates of their mind and conscience, agreeably to the letter which we granted them on a former occasion, with the approval of the governor and council, and which they laid before you as they declare. As we perceive that you have been unwilling hitherto to regard it, and also our foregoing letter, therefore we are under the necessity, for the last time, to draw up this ordinance, in which we publicly declare to you that it does not pertain to you to oppress the conscience of any man when there is nothing done that would tend to the prejudice of any one; in which case we do not wish to respect and tolerate any man: Therefore, we command and expressly enjoin upon you, that you hereafter cease from oppressing the aforesaid people, namely the baptists, or hinder them from pursuing their trades and business in order to make a living for wife and children; but that you permit them to open their shops and work at their trades as they formerly did, till such times, at least, as it shall be otherwise ordained by the States-general, to whom it appertains:—Therefore see that you undertake nothing contrary thereto, and contrary to the ordinance which we have granted them; and take no fines from them for the above-mentioned reasons, as long as they undertake nothing that tends to the prejudice of any man, and besides, bear all civil and lawful burdens along with other citizens, &c. Nobles, puissant, honorable, wise, discreet, peculiar, we commend you to God.

"Written at Antwerp, July 16th, 1578.

"Copied by BAUDEMONT.

"The aforementioned copy was signed by the clerk Baudemont, and was found to agree with it by me.

JACOB MASUREEL,

"Public Clerk of the City of Vere, Nov. 15, 1579.

"Subscribed, J. Masureel, Public Clerk.

"*Remark.*—Notwithstanding the prince, of blessed memory, so strictly commanded liberty of conscience in the worship of God, now the second time, yet the true fruit did not follow, though it was observed for some of the following years; for, after the decease of this good prince, they commenced anew. However, it was prevented by his son, (as shall be related in the sequel,) by a third edict, to the welfare of the church of God."

plied with. Thus all their property was recorded, and afterwards seized. The fifth time, at the aforesaid castles, a pass being granted them. Here they were asked what they had determined to do with respect to the requisition of going to church; whereupon a letter from the high bailiff, by order of the authorities, was read to them, stating, that if they would not go to church, and therein obey the authorities, they should be committed to prison in certain places, and have to look for no mercy. Meanwhile, the aforesaid brethren and sisters asked permission several times to leave the country (taking their property with them), but it was not granted them; but two proposals were made them, either of which they might choose:

1. To go with them to church, or
2. To die in prison.

To the first they would not consent; therefore they had to expect the second."

Upward of twenty years after this, seven teachers and elders of the Mennonite church at Berne, whose names are all given, had the following choice of evils:—1st, to go to the established church; or 2d, to be perpetually consigned to the galleys; or 3d, to die by the hands of the executioners. This was in 1659. The result in regard to the prisoners, says our author, we were unable to ascertain; it is certain, however, that six years after, they were still in prison. The custom of sending these afflicted people to the galleys, was by no means uncommon among the Reformers, as it had been in former times among the catholics.

Most of the anabaptists were indeed poor, but a portion of them had more or less property, and the sacrifice of it by their intolerant oppressors, makes us shudder for the honor of the Protestant cause. A few instances of these unrighteous depredations we will now relate.

In 1637, a minister by the name of Hans Landis, and two of his brethren were imprisoned, and their property was sold by the authorities for seven thousand florins, and applied to their own use. The minister was imprisoned full sixty weeks.

The same year, an anabaptist church was robbed of two thousand six dollars in the following manner:—the treasurer and his wife were both in prison; they brought the woman into the rack room, brought in the executioner, and menaced her with severe torture, unless she would tell them where the money could be found. The poor woman, overwhelmed with terror, soon made the dangerous disclosure, and the church was suddenly stripped of all their supplies for the suffering poor. Another church was soon after deprived of nearly a thousand dollars in the same way.

In 1638, an old minister by the name of Hans Meyli, had all his property, both personal and real, taken from him, amounting to fourteen thousand florins. Two of the Reformed ministers are said to have assisted in this transaction.

The year after, Hans Arter and his wife, after being long harrassed by these sanctimonious defenders of the church, by their prison discipline, in a wonderful manner escaped from their hands, leaving their children and property all behind them. The authorities banished the innocent children, in conformity to their laws, from the country, sold their farm for four thousand florins, and left the family to wander in exile, in a state of destitution and want.

In 1639, Hans Jacob Hess died of a consumption in the prison of the old monastery of Othenback, near Zurich, which became a famous place in the hands of the Reformers for the incarceration of their victims, and his estate, amounting to four thousand florins, was confiscated. This man was also a minister.

Nine thousand six dollars were taken from Peter Bruback in 1640. Two large farms were taken from another of the members, the same year. And thus they went on in the work of imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation, now and then taking off their heads, or in other ways putting them to death, until they had driven most of these opposers of infant baptism and religious

The sum and substance of their impeachment against the anabaptists consisted in the two following things:—

1. "That they had departed from the true principles of the Reformation, which they, the Reformers, had scrupulously maintained.

2. "That they, in continuing the practice of re-baptising, and in maintaining a separate church organization, 'had withdrawn from the obedience which they owed to the christian church.'"

The manner in which the brethren retorted on their accusers, will be related after the next document is noticed.

This effort on the part of the Reformers was loudly called for to wipe off the disgrace which had come upon them in the eyes of the world, in consequence of the maltreatment of the baptists in Switzerland. "And as the city of Zurich had in a measure taken the lead in the ungodly work of persecution," the rulers of the church and state there were the first in the field in attempts to exculpate the whole party.

But twenty years after, the authorities of Berne, another stronghold of the presbyterian party in Switzerland, came out in a very different style. They published in 1659, an edict exceedingly severe against the Anabaptists.

The article is a very long one, and its enactments, and its syllogisms were much like those employed by the persecuting Puritans of this country, about the same time. In their way of reasoning, they made it out to a demonstration, that their victims deserved all the punishments they inflicted on them, for remaining so obstinate, and so very unaccommodating, as not to see the beauty of their church discipline, feel the force of their arguments, and become converted to their system.

The following passage is a fair specimen of the whole document: * * *

"The anabaptists act contrary to necessary and beneficial regulations of the government, and transgress in the following ways:

"1. They preach without the calling and ratification of the magistracy.

"2. They baptize in their churches without the calling and command of the authorities.

"3. They pervert the church discipline, or have other church ordinances, contrary to the public ordinances or authorities.

"4. They attend no meetings of the church that are held on Sundays or fast days; therefore, as they will not submit as faithful subjects, to such ordinances and regulations as are in conformity to the word of God, but hold them in contempt, they are, therefore, not worthy of a residence in the country.

"For these multifarious and vitally important reasons, we have unanimously resolved, and it is our earnest wish, that all should reflect upon this, that they constantly and without delay, practice said banishment and penalties thereunto pertaining, against all who belong to this corrupted and extremely dangerous and wicked sect, that they make no further progress, much less acquire increase; but that they much rather be expelled at once, by all possible means, and the country be freed from them—upon which in grace we rely."

The rules were very minutely laid down how their officers should labor for the conversion of these wicked heretics; and how their preachers should address them after they had been admitted within the pale of their church. Whipping, branding with a red-hot iron, perpetual banishment, confiscation of property, and other appliances of the kind, were very strongly recommended. But the work of conversion after all went but slowly on.

We will now make some extracts from the reply of the anabaptists to the lords of Zurich.

This is a very important document for the baptists, and confirms the positions assumed by our most able writers on the baptismal controversy, viz.: That many very prominent men among the Reformers were strongly inclined to the baptist side, and taught correctly at first as to baptism, the supper, &c.

Zuinglius himself, in his conference with Dr. Balthazar Hubmor, held at

Various Remonstrances from Holland against the Persecutions of the Anabaptists in Switzerland.

The edict of Berne, to which we have lately referred, which operated with so much severity, and to such a wide extent against the people whom it was destined to exterminate from the country, was promulgated in Aug., 1659. As fugitives were soon flying in every direction into all the surrounding countries; the Protestant prisons were soon filled to overflowing with the victims of oppression, and the gloomy tidings of distress and misery were everywhere spread abroad, there was a general burst of sympathy in favor of these persecuted people, and six months after, by previous concert, a large delegation of their brethren from Dortrecht, Hærlém, Leyden, Amsterdam, Goude, and Rotterdam, assembled at the Hague, and speedily prepared an humble petition to the court of Holland, then in session, in favor of their afflicted brethren. These noble advocates for religious freedom, took immediate cognizance of the matter, and interposed their friendly and paternal efforts in the case. They had no jurisdiction in the country where the persecutions prevailed, but as the church of Holland and Switzerland were of the same religious faith, and both of the presbyterian order, they appealed to the persecutors as their own brethren, and besought them to cease from oppressing a community whom they could cordially recommend as good citizens and subjects; and whose religious peculiarities were in no way detrimental to the State. "Three letters were immediately written by order of their excellencies. The first to the lords of Berne for the liberation of the prisoners, &c. The second to those of Zurich, in reference to the restoration of the property of the imprisoned, deceased and exiled baptists, (noticed in this book,) which had been confiscated during the period from 1635, &c. The third was a passport for Adolf de Vrede, who was to go to Berne and Zurich in Switzerland, in the name of the baptists, or properly of those who had drawn up the aforesaid petition, and obtain the letter of intercession from their excellencies, and deliver the first two letters to the lords of those places for the purpose above mentioned. True copies of these letters have been forwarded to us; we will present them to the kind reader as far as regards the special circumstances of the case, and assign them a place in this book, in grateful remembrance of what the States-general of these happy United Netherlands did in this matter."

* *The States-General, &c., to the city of Berne in Switzerland.—Noble, honorable, wise and provident lords, friends and neighbors.*

"We have learned from the complaint of several individuals, delegates from their churches, called in this country Mennonites, citizens and residents of Dortrecht, Hærlém, Leyden, Amsterdam, Goude, and Rotterdam, cities of Holland, that their brethren called anabaptists suffer great persecution at Berne and its vicinity, by reason of rigorous edicts issued against them, wherein they are not only forbidden to reside in the country, but are not permitted to remove with their families and property, though they cannot be charged with any crime or misdemeanor; likewise, that some of the aforesaid denomination have been closely confined in said city, all which has moved us to christian compassion; wherefore we could not pass the matter by, but, on the contrary, have deemed it proper hereby, friendly, neighborly and earnestly to request you, that you would not only not practice, nor suffer to be practised, any improper treatment towards the petitioner's associate members who are found in your department or dominion, under the name of anabaptists; but that much rather, after the good example of

at Wittenberg, in 1520, some passages of which are quoted, in which the Saxon reformer reasons precisely as all thorough peace men have always done. "In short, it is evident that, for a considerable time, Luther opposed resistance or defense, both orally and in his writings, till at last he was seduced from the orthodox faith, as is shown by Sleidanus, book 8, page 561, oldest edition."

The work of Carlstadt's to which reference is made, was printed at Zurich in 1524. Although this man afterwards became a semi-anabaptist, yet at this time, he acted in full fellowship with the Reformers. He thus reasons on the subject in question:—We must not be misled by the replication, that war is a divine punishment; therefore, there must always be some one to wage war against others. Again: "men under the old testament dispensation carried on war," &c. In answer to the first, hear what Christ says, Matt. xviii.: it must needs be that offences come; but wo to that man by whom the offence cometh! &c. Thus some meriting the inclemency of God, he punishes them with war; but wo to him who wages war against them; for He (God) punishes the wicked through the instrumentality of the wicked," &c.

ly considered by your excellencies, your lordships will either repeal the onerous decree against the Mennonites, or at least, after the example of those of Schaffhausen, a canton of Switzerland, and that of the Roman catholic prince of Neuburg, grant to the poor wanderers sufficient time to make their preparations, and procure residences in other places. When this is effected, your lordships will have accomplished a measure well pleasing to God, advantageous to the name of the Reformed, salutary to the wanderers, and gratifying to us, who are connected with your lordships by the close tie of religion, and will serve as an influential example to all those who strive under the glorious name of the meek Saviour. We entreat Almighty God that he would shed the light of his truth upon your lordships, and upon the commonwealth, and grant you long prosperity.

"Your lordships' humble friends,

"The burgomasters and regents of Rotterdam.

"ROTTERDAM, February 14th, 1660."

All these benevolent efforts, however, had but little effect, so deeply were the principles of intolerance implanted in the breasts of these merciless Reformers.

Eleven years after the event above described, was the great persecution in which many lost their lives, and about seven hundred, old and young, were driven into exile.¹⁰

This is a mere epitome of the persecutions which were inflicted on the anabaptists or Mennonites in Switzerland, by that branch of the protestants who took the name of the *Reformed church*.¹

I have given the naked facts, without note or comment, as I have felt such an ineffable horror and disgust at the conduct of a set of men who had lately abjured all the bad principles of the church of Rome, and many of whose brethren were still suffering under the Roman yoke, that I was afraid to give utterance to the almost irrepressible indignation which continually arose in my breast.

I shall refer to the conduct of these men in my remarks on the evils of national hierarchies and ecclesiastical establishments.²

The various confessions of faith, and documents of different kinds, which exhibit the religious sentiments of the Mennonites, are published in the Dutch Martyrology. The same may be said of those of the Waldenses, Wickliff, and a number of other old reformers and martyrs.³

¹⁰ A number of letters which were preserved in this old book, give gloomy accounts of the condition of this afflicted people in 1671, and many touching incidents are related of their punishments of various kinds, one of which we will briefly relate. "They also whipped a minister of the word, took him out into the country as far as Burgundy, who there marked him with a branding iron, and let him go among the French; but as he could not speak their language, he had to wander three days before he could get his wound dressed, and obtain any refreshment; so that when they stripped him in order to bind up his burn, the matter ran down over his back, as was related to me by a brother who assisted in dressing the wound. Thus they act with great violence, and will not relinquish their design till they have driven this harmless people entirely from the country. It appears, moreover, that nothing can be effected in favor of the oppressed brethren—for, not only the friends at Amsterdam and elsewhere have labored for several years in this cause, so that petitions have been presented by the lords of Holland, and particularly those of Amsterdam, and by other respectable persons to the authorities here; but, moreover, Adolf de Vrede, was sent here as an express in the year 1660, but he accomplished but very little for the advantage of our friends. Hence, I cannot see that we can effect anything that would tend to the relief of our oppressed brethren. We will have to wait in patience for the issue which the Lord our God may grant them.—*Martyrs' Mirror*, p. 1022.

¹ These various accounts of the protestant persecutions are contained in the Dutch Martyrology, pp. 1000-1030.

² One of the most specious pretexts of these Reformers, for their unrighteous treatment of the Mennonites, was a perverted view of their peculiar doctrine relative to civil magistrates and civil officers in general. Their opponents continually asserted that they set them aside altogether. They, on the other hand, most explicitly denied the charge, and maintained that they had respect only to their own church members, whom they assiduously dissuaded from sustaining offices in the State. I am not deciding on the correctness of this position; this people were no doubt led to it by seeing the monstrous abuses everywhere practised by men in power. And how often have I thought how much the appointing powers in our own country would be obliged to all church members, if they would adopt the Mennonite creed. Enough would still be left to fill all vacancies which might occur.

³ Two of the Mennonite confessions are very long; the one published in 1660 stands in the old book, pp. 290-332; that of 1632, pp. 8-27.

To this confession, which was first published at Amsterdam in 1627, and afterwards at Dordrecht,

everything odious and hurtful. Not only the administrator, but all who had been re-baptized, were, *ipso facto*, doomed to death, whether male or female, old or young. And under this law vast multitudes, who were guilty of no other crime than having been baptized on their own faith, were torn from their families and homes, and tortured and mangled and slain, in all the various modes of execution then in use.

Although the judges of the criminal courts had no discretionary power as to questions of life or death, yet they were at liberty to vary the modes of punishment, which were generally by drowning, burning, or beheading. Females were generally drowned; sometimes, however, they were led to the stake; and in rare instances they suffered by decollation.

Those who were doomed to death by submersion, were generally put into sacks, and thrown from the bridges, or wherever sufficient water could be found.

It was not uncommon to tie a number of the convicts together, and after fastening weights to each, to conduct the foremost into water beyond their depth, that they might draw each other into destruction, as they had into the errors for which they were condemned.

In a few cases, the victims were put into baths filled with water, in the prisons or their own houses, sewed up in sacks and loaded with weights, so as to make their destruction sure. This drowning policy appears to have been adopted for the double purpose of avoiding the odium which was attached to the awful death at the stake, and of making the punishment correspond with the offence.

A person once convicted of having been re-baptized, could not escape death by recantation and apostacy; the act itself sealed their doom; and many were the cases of sad disappointment on this head. As one of the brethren told the inquisitor, no one could escape from their hands without the loss of body or soul. There was no way of release but by uttering all the maledictions of the catholic vocabulary against the cursed anabaptists, and giving in a full adhesion to the church of Rome. And after this, a long imprisonment, and painful penances must be endured. The neglect of having their children baptized was equally criminal.

It was in vain for the poor sufferers to protest, as they often did, that they were not *anabaptists*, and had not been *re-baptized*; that they believed in *one Lord, one faith, and one baptism*; and all that had been done for them in a state of unconscious infancy, and by ungodly priests, was of no avail. This kind of reasoning would excite the inquisitors to a keener scrutiny, till by some means or other, fair or foul, they would elicit facts enough to secure their conviction; then, it was only to arrange the mode, and fix on the time for their execution.

2. *Different dispositions of men in office.*

For the most part they were cruel and revengeful, and in many cases, excessively so: and those high in office were disposed to take every advantage of the honest simplicity of the victims of the persecuting laws, and make the poor defenseless creatures give evidence against themselves. The whole range of under officials, down to the spies and informers, beadles and turnkeys, and all classes of office-holders, seemed stung with rage against these innocent, but basely calumniated people. They were ready to tear them in pieces, without the forms of law, and multitudes were no doubt dispatched in prisons, or privately slain, of whom no account is given.

In addition to the zeal which blind bigotry inspires among ignorant devotees, all were looking out for worldly gain. All informers had a large share of confiscated property. By the laws of Charles V., they were entitled to one-third; other laws gave them one-half; and then the fees of office and the favors expected from men in power, all operated as powerful incentives on these men, and urged them forward to outrageous violations of all the rules of justice and decorum.⁶

⁶ Maeyken Wauters, an amiable young lady, begged the executioner to allow her a few moments

5. *They had no connection with the Munster affair.*

This was continually laid to their charge, but the position which the baptists have always maintained is fully corroborated by the details of this old history; and the exculpation of this harmless and pious people by discussions on the spot, and at the time, between their accusers and themselves, is much more clear and full than I had ever expected to read from an authentic source. I am also much gratified to see that some of the paraphrases of Dr. Mosheim on the history of the German anabaptists are completely neutralized and nullified. This learned historian would make us believe, that they adopted their views of war as the result of sober second thoughts, after the terrible disasters in which the rash measures of the Munster affair had involved them. But nothing of this kind appears in the details before us. Their peace principles, and those on oaths, capital punishment, &c., were the same before the rustic war, as afterwards; and may be traced down through the history of the Waldenses and other evangelical parties, "to the remote depths of antiquity." Menno was indeed a distinguished teacher among the anabaptists during the whole of his ministry, but Mosheim's account of his gathering up the fragments of the society after their dispersion, and re-organizing them upon new and better principles, is not at all sustained by anything that appears in their own relations. They were the same people in policy and practice before Menno came among them as afterwards.

We see them almost daily on trial in the criminal courts, and never were a people so uniform, and I may say so dauntless in their religious professions, as were the German anabaptists, for the century and a half now under review. The charges against them seemed to have been stereotyped by the inquisitors, and their answers were uniform as to matters of fact, and always mild and explicit; and as to the men of Munster or Amsterdam—for the scenes at both places were often referred to—they uniformly answered: "*These were not our brethren—we have no fellowship with such men. The men of Munster were among yourselves,*" or of your party. *They did not admit or even intimate that they went off from them, or were ever in their connection.* But they bitterly complained of having to suffer for the faults of others that they knew nothing about, *because some of them agreed with them in rejecting infant baptism.* They treated the whole story much as the baptists would at the present day, in any remote part of the country, if anything which had happened among the Mormons should be laid to their charge; for the Mormons would certainly have been called anabaptists, had they existed at that time.

Adrian Pan, who with his wife suffered martyrdom at Antwerp, in 1559, while in prison wrote to his friends in the following terms: "They accused us much concerning those of Munster and Amsterdam, but I told them that I had nothing to do with them, but that we suffered for the truth's sake, and that I am not thirty years old; and how could I have possibly taken part with them? Some blasphemed; others sympathized with us." Poor Adrian was not born at the time; but no matter for that, he had been re-baptized, and for this most flagitious offence he was beheaded, and his wife as soon as possible, after giving birth to a child, was drowned.

As we have accounts of the trial of these people at the very time, and on the very spot,¹⁰ they are certainly entitled to much more credit than the *post factum* narratives of a set of historians who were deeply prejudiced against them.

⁹ Martyr's Mirror, p. 544.

¹⁰ In 1535, which according to this author was the very year that Munster was besieged, three brethren, one of whom was named Steven Benedict, and two sisters were condemned and executed at Floom, in West Friesland, but 15 miles from Amsterdam. The men were beheaded, and the women were drowned, having large stones tied to their necks. Reports were afterwards circulated "that they died on account of some uproar and misdeeds;" but the records of the criminal court, which condemned them, show that it "was for being re-baptized, contrary to the written commands of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the commands of his Imperial Majesty our most gracious lord."—*Martyrs' Mirror*, p. 370. This may serve as a specimen for thousands of other cases.

Many of the catholic party were accused of acting this wicked and contemptible part, and all who did it were under their influence and pay. They would put on the semblance of piety and contrition, and keep among them long enough to find out their names, their places of abode, and where their small assemblies were usually held, and furthermore learn the signs by which they recognized each other, and then go off to their horrid vocation for which they had been preparing.

Others who did not go to such lengths would still by a variety of artful manœuvres entrap these honest and open-hearted people, before they were aware of their mischievous designs. They would give them liberty to go in and converse with the prisoners; if they did so, this was considered *prima facie* evidence, of their heretical character, and to their surprise they would find the doors closed against them, and the awful ordeal which was to end in death would soon commence.

8. *Singular methods of detecting the heretics.* The priests would sometimes carry a crucifix through the market, or wherever there was a concourse of people, and all who did not pay it reverence were marked as victims to be apprehended and examined; if a woman was heard singing a pious hymn, or a man was observed to ask a blessing at his meals at the inns or elsewhere where he might stop on a journey, or on business—in short, any indications of piety above the catholic standard, which was at that time extremely low, would excite suspicion and alarm. Informers would run with the news to the minions of the hierarchy. In this way multitudes were arrested, and if they declined to swear themselves clear, their trials would go on. As these brethren were conscientiously opposed to oaths of all kinds, deplorable indeed was their condition. Again, if any one showed any kindness or sympathy towards the suffering martyrs in the prisons, the courts, or at the stake, they would run the risk of their liberty and life.

9. *The great sufferings of the Martyrs previous to being put to death.*

Their imprisonments were generally long and distressing; they were often thrust into the most wretched and filthy places that could be selected, among vile malefactors, in doleful dungeons, deprived of every comfort, and exposed to every thing degrading and painful. But all these things were the beginning of their sorrows; but few of them escaped torture of all the painful varieties which the cruel inquisitors well knew how to inflict. They were racked upon the wheel, suspended with cords, with heavy weights fastened to their limbs, screws and lashes, and all the tormenting contrivances of persecuting vengeance, with savage barbarity and in quick succession were dealt out to the poor defenseless anabaptists, without distinction of age or sex. Multitudes were thus crippled for life, had they been permitted to live. And all these excruciating and agonizing pains were inflicted upon them, not to extort from them their religious faith, for this they freely confessed in the outset, but to make them disclose the names of their brethren—their places of abode—who baptized them—who were present at the time—where their meetings were held, &c.* And in addition to all the rest of their protracted trials, was the annoyance which they experienced from the never ending officiousness of the priests and monks, who came to them with their drivelling mummery in favor of the catholic faith, with an earnest solicitude for the salvation of their souls. The very faulty character of these men was generally well understood

* This torturing machinery was set in motion by a set of under officials of the most unprincipled and unfeeling character. Females nearly denuded were often treated with gross indecency and insult, and were loaded with scornful imprecations if they complained. Men high in office often attended these painful scenes, and encouraged their obsequious minions in their infernal employment. In one instance these tormentors set down at cards while a poor sufferer was left suspended by the hands with a heavy weight fastened to his feet. In the distraction of anguish the victims would sometimes make disclosures,—this, however, was but seldom done. One man sent word to his friends to flee for their lives, that their street, number, &c. had been named. And although his brother had made some mistakes, yet the whole section of the town would be soon explored.

very numerous, and exceedingly troublesome to the supporters of the national religion.⁴

This brings us to the close of the reign of James the *first*, in 1625; and during most of that of his successor, the arbitrary and unfortunate Charles the *first*, I find no account of any new work in defense of the baptist cause. This was a stormy time for the nation, and one of great trial and suffering for dissenters of all descriptions, and especially the ill-fated baptists. Archbishop Laud was at the helm of all affairs in church and state, and tyranny and oppression everywhere prevailed.

The long contest between Charles I. and his parliament; the struggles for domination and control among the royalists, the presbyterians, and the independents, the three great parties which then divided the nation, and all the scenes of the civil wars, and the commonwealth, for about twenty years, produced an entire change in the condition of the dissenters. The national church was prostrated, and the principles of freedom were everywhere diffused.

The presbyterians were now the most decided opponents of the baptists. Bailie, Baxter, Edwards, Marshall, and others of their strongest men, took up their pens against them. The baptists' champions, on the other side, met them with much decision, and books on both sides were greatly multiplied. There was a temporary check for a few years after the restoration of Charles II., but soon the principles of toleration were established, and for two centuries past, the sentiments of our people have been defended by the British baptists, with boldness and ability.

From 1640 to 1700.

I shall here insert a list of the names of our controversial writers on the baptismal question, as nearly as convenient in a chronological order, and then give such details of their various productions as my information will permit, or my limits allow.

Rev. Edward Barber. A treatise of baptism, or dipping, wherein is clearly shown, that our Lord Christ ordained dipping, and that sprinkling of children is not according to Christ's institution; and also the invalidity of those arguments which are commonly brought to justify that practice. This was a small piece, the number of pages are not given by Ivimey. 1641.

A. R. In 1642, says Ivimey, another work was printed in London, entitled, *The Vanity of Childish Baptism*; wherein is proved that baptism is dipping; and dipping is baptism. The writer signs himself A. R.; who he was, we are not informed, but his work is frequently quoted by Dr. Featley.

This work is also referred to in Booth's *Pedobaptism Examined*.

In Teasdale's *Historical Discourse on the Rise and Progress of the First Baptist Church, New Haven, Con.*, the same work is named, as being the chief cause of unsettling the mind of Mrs. Eaton, the wife of the first Governor of that State, and inclining her to the baptist side. This was in 1644. This was no doubt the work of a learned author, and was extensively circulated with good effect.

Rev. Henry Denne. 1. "The Foundation of Children's Baptism Discovered and Razed;" an answer to Dr. Featley and Mr. Marshall. 4to. 1645.

2. "A Contention for the Truth, in two public disputations, at St. Clement's church, between Dr. Gunning and Henry Denne, concerning infant baptism." 4to. 1658.

Rev. Samuel Richardson. A reply to Dr. Featley's violent work against the baptists. This consists of 18 quarto pages, and is entitled "Some Brief Considerations on Dr. Featley's Book entitled 'The Dippers Dipt,' wherein in some measure, is discovered his many great and false accusations of divers persons commonly called anabaptists, with an answer to them, and some brief

⁴ Crosby's *History of the English Baptists*, Vol. I., p. 139.

ANTI-PEDOBAPTISM,

OR THE

THIRD PART :

BEING

A full Review of the Dispute concerning Infant Baptism.

IN WHICH

The Arguments for Infant Baptism from the Covenant and Initial Seal, Infants' visible Church-membership, and Antiquity of Infant Baptism are refuted.

AND

The Writings of Mr. Stephen Marshall, Mr. Richard Baxter, Mr. John Geree, Mr. Thomas Blake, Mr. Thomas Cobbet, Dr. Nathaniel Homes, Mr. John Drew, Mr. Josiah Church, Mr. William Lyford, Dr. Daniel Featley, Mr. John Brinsley, Mr. Cutbert Sidenham, Mr. William Carter, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. John Crag, Dr. Henry Hammond, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Thomas Fuller, Mr. John Stalham, Mr. Thomas Hall, and others, are examined; and many points about the Covenant, and Seals, and other truths of weight are handled :

 BY JOHN TOMBES, B. D.

Isa., 5. 20.

Wo unto them that call evil good, and good evil, that put darkness for light, and light for darkness, that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter.

London : Printed by E. Aisop, over against the Upper Pump
in Grub Street. 1657.

This work was dedicated to Parliament.

The long list of names on the title page shows that the baptists had enough to do to work on the defensive, as they have always done. This great work, instead of chapters, is divided into sections, which amount to just one hundred. Mr. Tombes does not enter so much into historical details of ancient times, as D'Anvers and some later writers have done. His labors were directed mainly against the more modern arguments of pedobaptists in defense of their cause, as Abraham's Covenant, federal holiness, proselyte baptism, the promise is unto you and your children, &c., Christ's commission, and other passages of a kindred character. The covenant of circumcision was then, as it has been for three centuries past, the main dependence of all pedobaptists who do not rely on tradition and church authority. This was the last stronghold that was relinquished by Mr. Tombes, when he came over from the established church to the baptist side.

At the close of this article I shall give a complete list of the works of Mr. Tombes, on the baptismal controversy. Although this volume comes in late among his publications, yet I have placed it at the head, because it is the largest, comprising 932 closely-printed 12 mo. pages, and contains the substance of his former publications. Although Mr. Tombes was not the earliest in the field in the public defense of baptist sentiments among the English Baptists, yet no one in that age entered it with more ability and zeal; on this account I give him a prominent place.

rite and the new ; in the business of circumcision, the law was so positive and express that there could be no doubt nor scruple as to who should be the subjects ; “ but it is far otherwise in baptism, where all the designations of persons fit to be partakers, for aught I know, is, *only such as believe* ; for this is the qualification which, with exactest search, I find the scripture requires in persons to be baptized, and this it seems to require in all such persons : now how infants can be properly said to believe, I am not yet fully resolved.”³

On the mode of baptism our author is very full and explicit ; a great portion of his learned authorities may be found in Booth’s *Pedobaptism Examined*, and later writers on the baptist side, as he was more than a century in advance of that distinguished advocate for the principles of the baptists.

In the chapter on the mischiefs, absurdities and contradictions, that are justly to be charged on the practice of infant baptism, and its nullity and insignificance, Mr. D’Anvers has many spicy and sensible remarks ; a few only of which will my limits allow me to insert.

As practised among protestants, “ it inverts the order and manner from dipping the whole man, into sprinkling, or pouring a little water upon the head or face, contrary to the sense of the word, nature of the ordinance, and constant usage of the primitive times, as confessed by parties themselves, obliging thereby the administrator to tell a lie, in the name of the Lord, saying he doth baptize when he doth but rantize.”

“ It confounds the world and the church together, which Christ hath separated, bringing the world into the church, and turning the church into the world.”

“ They (the protestants) separate from Rome, as the false church, and yet own her baptism, which is the foundation-stone of the building.”

“ They own the doctrine of perseverance, and disown falling from grace ; yet they baptize all the children of believers, because they conclude them in the covenant of grace, yet afterwards teach them conversion, and in case of unbelief reject them as reprobates.”

In the language of his favorite, Dr. Taylor, he concludes the long catalogue of these pedobaptist inconsistencies : “ And therefore whosoever will pertinaciously persist in this opinion of the pedobaptists, and practice it accordingly, they pollute the blood of the everlasting covenant—they dishonor and make a pageantry of the sacrament—they ineffectually represent a sepulchre into the death of Christ, and please themselves in a sign without effect, making baptism like the fig-tree in the gospel, full of leaves, but no fruit ; and they invoke the Holy Ghost in vain, as if one should call upon him to illuminate a stone or a tree.”⁴

A large portion of the latter part of the work is occupied in accounts of eminent witnesses against infant baptism in all ages from the time of its introduction. He begins with Tertullian, and goes on to the Donatists, the ancient Britons, the Waldenses, &c. Many important passages under this head have been already quoted in the *History of Foreign Baptists*.

A few historical sketches of this eminent defender of the baptist cause, from Ivimey and Wilson, I shall now insert.

“ Henry D’Anvers,” says Ivimey, “ was a person of great note among the baptists, having descended from very reputable parents, and being of considerable learning, and of great piety, and extensive usefulness. He appears to have been a colonel in the Parliament army, as also governor of Strafford, and justice of the peace, some time before the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell. We are told he was well beloved among the people, being noted for not taking any bribes. It was while he was governor of Strafford that he embraced the principles of the baptists, and it is supposed was baptized by Henry Hagger, who was the minister there at that period. It is said that he was of the fifth

³ Lord Brooks in his *Treatise of Episcopacy*, p. 100, as quoted by D’Anvers.

⁴ *Lib. Pro.*, p. 240, as quoted by D’Anvers, pp. 214-245.

Mr. Baxter's comments on this provoking freedom with his writings, may be seen in the note below.⁷

3. Gold refined ; or, baptism in its primitive purity. 1689.
4. Pedobaptism ; being an answer to the Athenian Society. 1691.
5. The Rector rectified and corrected, in answer to the Rev. Mr. Burkitt's work on baptism.⁸ 1692.
6. The axe laid at the root ; or one more blow at the foundation of infant baptism and church membership. Part 1. 1693.
7. The axe laid at the root ; wherein the Rev. Messrs. Flavel, Rotchwell, and Exell's arguments are answered. Part 2. 1693.
8. A counter antidote ; or an answer to Shute's antidote to prevent the prevalency of anabaptism.⁹ 1694.

Rev. Edward Hutchinson. A treatise concerning the covenant and baptism. The dedication is addressed to the spiritual seed of Abraham, especially those of the baptized congregations. 1676.

In this piece are some sensible remarks on the reformations of Luther, of England, and the Presbyterians, by the aid of princes, parliament, &c., all of which were in hostile array against the baptist cause, and yet it flourished and increased.

Rev. St. John Nicholas. The history of baptism ; or one faith, one baptism. 1678.

Rev. Thomas Grantham. This famous minister of the General Baptists, with whose history, says Ivimey, almost all the events in relation to the baptists in England are connected, published two works on the subject under consideration.

1. An apology for the baptized believers. 1678.
2. Truth and peace, or the last and most final debate concerning infant baptism. Being a brief answer to a late book entitled, the case of infant baptism, written by a Dr. of the Church of England. In this work Mr. Grantham shows that the covenant of circumcision was not the covenant of grace, and that it was no gospel ordinance ; that proselyte baptism is a fable against the cross in baptism, &c.¹⁰ pp. 91. 1689.

⁷ This work had a very extensive circulation, but Mr. Baxter complains of this as a very bad case, that Baxter against Baxter should be employed to undermine his favorite theory of infant baptism.

"As I am writing (says he) the hawkers are crying under my window, *Mr. Baxter's arguments for believers' baptism*. The man that cites authors at this rate, cites me against myself with the like confidence, because I have proved in my treatise on *Confirmation*, the necessity of personal profession of *adults*, and he will think that such dealing as this doth need an answer, that if the *adult* will make an intelligent profession, infants must not be baptized, let him be aggrieved, for I have no time to satisfy him."

This zealous presbyterian and pedobaptist, in his contest with the episcopallians, very properly plead faith before confirmation ; in doing this he has gone over on to baptist ground, and adopted precisely their mode of reasoning respecting the subjects of baptism. Mr. Ivimey well observes that Mr. Baxter ought not to complain of a mode of reasoning which he himself had employed against his opponents.

⁸ This was the well known author of the exposition of the New Testament. The good man had become exceedingly vexed at the prevalence of the baptists in his neighborhood, and had treated them with much severity. Mr. Keach, at their request, published the work above referred to.

⁹ Wilson's Dissenting Churches, p. 248. This writer has enumerated forty-three of Mr. Keach's works, some of them large.

¹⁰ For a portion of the information respecting the writings of Messrs. Grantham, Burroughs and Tasker, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Woolsey, of Norwalk, Conn. He has some of them in his possession.

Since writing the above, in Mr. Taylor's History of the General Baptists, I have found the following narrative of a written debate on baptism, which was never published, which, in points of kindness and courtesy among disputants on so exciting a subject as this was, at that time, exceeds anything of the kind I have seen.

Mr. Grantham's opponent was Rev. John Connould, vicar of St. Stephen's Church in the city of Norwich. As some of the good vicar's flock had gone over to the baptist meeting, he, in a polite note to Mr. Grantham, inquired of him respecting his opposition to infant baptism, his separate meeting, &c. From this an epistolary correspondence was commenced, which lasted several months, and was extended to thirty letters on each side. Both parties exerted themselves to the utmost in defense of their opposing views, and the churchman frankly acknowledged at the close, that he did not think that so much could have been said on either side. The whole correspondence was conducted in the most friendly and handsome manner : the clergyman inviting the bap-

pear by scripture authority, in about forty texts, with notes on every text. To which is added, How infant sprinkling came in fashion. The evil tendencies of infant sprinkling. Difference between believers' baptism and infant sprinkling, with several other things. 6th edition. 1702.

This brings us to the close of the 17th century.

In addition to the writers contained in this list, I find in Crosby and Ivimey the names of Morton, Spillsbury, Blackwell, Lamb, sen. and jun., Writers, Benjamin Coxe, Dyke, Dell, William Smith and Thomas Marson, who were much engaged in the baptist controversy, most of whom probably wrote a book on the subject, but I have not gained sufficient information to give the titles of their works. And respecting some of them, we are indebted to the fact of their participation in these contests from the statements of their opponents.

We have now arrived at a milder dispensation of the British government, when the old persecuting laws were either abolished, or had become a dead letter; when a domineering priesthood had relinquished their efforts to maintain a uniformity of worship, or in other words to bind all the nation to their own interest, and when nearly the same condition of freedom to dissenters from the national church as they now enjoy was established. I shall pursue the same course in this century as in the former, in giving a list of the writers on the baptismal question.

From 1700 to 1800.

Rev. Samuel Ewer. A reply to Edward Hitchins' work, entitled, The infant cause pleaded, cleared, and vindicated. 1704.

We would willingly, says Ivimey,⁶ give large extracts from this masterly performance, but content ourselves by giving the opinion of Mr. Thomas Davye, of Leicester, in his treatise on baptism. Speaking of the pedobaptist arguments derived from circumcision, he says, "Those who would wish to see more of what is said upon this argument, I refer to Mr. Ewer's answer to Mr. Hitchins' book, which argument is everlastingly shattered and refuted, and I must confess is done the best that I have seen of late in this kind, and our dissenting brethren can never possibly get over it."⁷

Joseph Stennett on baptism. An answer to David Russen's book, entitled Fundamentals without a foundation, or a true picture of the anabaptists, &c., together with some brief remarks on Mr. James Broome's letter annexed to that treatise, pp. 254. 1704.⁸

This work was published 143 years ago. This was but a little before the famous controversy between Wall, Gale, and other writers, in the early part of the 18th century. Mr. Stennett was the second of a distinguished line of ministers, four in number, all of them *seventh-day* baptists.

He was a man of learning and talents, and in this work shows no small amount of research into historical matters pertaining to the baptismal controversy. A considerable number of his quotations from ancient authors which favor the baptist side, have been referred to by, and have rendered essential aid to, succeeding writers, and his mild and decorous bearing in his discussions of this exciting subject, and especially towards an opponent whose ill-natured and

⁶ Vol. II., p. 182.

⁷ This work was translated into the Welsh language by the Rev. Joshua Thomas, of Leominster, who wrote a preface to it, highly extolling and warmly recommending it. The occasion of its translation was, that Mr. Hitchins' book had been published in the Welsh language. The translators, in their address to the reader, having said that till this was done Welsh pedobaptists had no arguments by which to oppose their opponents, Mr. Thomas shrewdly replied, that this declaration was a tacit acknowledgment that they were convinced the New Testament was not sufficient for the purpose.

⁸ This was one year before Dr. Wall's first volume was published. The Dr. often refers to Mr. Stennett in very kind and respectful terms.

Mr. Russen was a member, but not a minister of the church of England. I have not seen his book, but from the quotations made from it, I should judge that he went somewhat beyond even that age, in his severe and contemptuous remarks on the baptists, and was not much behind Dr. Featley in calumny and detraction.

infant children.' And so bishop Taylor, in his liberty of prophecy, p. 233, saith, 'By children there is meant the posterity of the Jews. And what's all this to infant baptism?'

Suffer little children, &c. "Dr. Taylor himself says, 'From the action of Christ's blessing infants, to infer they are to be baptized, proves nothing so much as that there is a want of a better argument; for the conclusion would with more probability be derived thus: Christ blessed infants and so dismissed them, but baptized them not; therefore, infants are not to be baptized. That he did not baptize them, is an argument sufficient that he has other ways to bring them to heaven than by baptism.'⁴

Early fathers. "For the first hundred and fifty or two hundred years after Christ, there are no footsteps of infant baptism; nothing of it to be found in the writings of St. Barnabas, Clemens, Romanus, Ignatius, Polycarp, Ireneus, Justin Martyr, or Theophilus Antiochenus. In Tertullian's time, about the latter end of the second century, it began to appear, with its Gossips, Oil, Chrism, &c. But Tertullian opposed it with its sponsors and *fide jussors*. And by his writings, it plainly appears that it was his settled judgment and opinion, that infants ought not, or needed not to be baptized.

The apostles did not baptize infants. "The learned Dr. Jeremy Taylor, in his dissuasive against popery, says, 'That there is no pretence of tradition that the church in all ages did baptize all the infants of christian parents; it is more certain they did not do it, than that they did in the first ages. St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Austin, were born of christian parents, and yet not baptized till the full age of a man. And more, that the apostles did baptize any children is not at all reported by any credible tradition.'⁵

"I do believe and know that there is neither precept nor example in scripture for pedobaptism, nor any just evidence for it for above two hundred years after Christ; that Tertullian condemns it as an unwarrantable custom; and Nazianzen, a good while after him, dislikes it too. Sure I am, that in the primitive times they were Catechumeni, then Illuminati, or Baptizati, viz.: taught or catechized, then illuminated or baptized; and that not only pagans, and children of pagans converted, but children of christian parents.'⁶

Waldenses. "That many of them denied infant baptism is as clear as the sun; for in a very ancient confession of faith of theirs, recited by Morland, and the same by bishop Usher, speaking of baptism; the words are such as do not include infants, but believers only.

German Anabaptists. "But if we descend to the time of the Reformation in King Henry the Eighth's reign, we shall find abundance of those people in Germany, as was instanced before from the authors of the Atlas Geographus. They appeared at the first dawning of the Reformation: and how is it credible there should be such multitudes of them in Germany, Holland and the low countries at the beginning of the Reformation, if they had been extinct just before Luther's time? It is plain there was a seed of them, though obscure, poor, and persecuted all along, and in the 15th or beginning of the 16th century increased into great numbers, at and after Luther's declension; and that they were the followers of the Berengarians."

John Gill, D. D. This eminent divine, whose extensive productions acquired him the title of Dr. Voluminous, for nearly half a century stood a firm and able advocate of the baptist cause. His writings, however, on the baptismal controversy, bear but a small proportion to his other works; they were generally small treatises which were called out by the solicitations of his friends, in answer to various pedobaptist authors. They were issued at intervals for the space of more than fifty years.

⁴ Taylor on Prophecy, p. 230.

⁵ Sec. 3, p. 117, printed 1667.

⁶ Dr. Barlow's Letter to Mr. Tombes, as quoted by Davye, p. 62.

though all these ceremonies are not used, yet some of them are used in *Protestant pedobaptist* churches; as sureties, the interrogations made to them, and their answers in the name of the infant; the renunciation of the devil and all his works, and signing with the sign of the cross. And since these and the others of them all claim apostolic authority, and most, if not all of them, have as good and as early claim to it as *infant baptism* itself, those who admit it upon this foot, ought to admit these ceremonies also.

"But it is not only a part of popery, and so serves to strengthen it, as a part does the whole; but it is a pillar of it—what serves greatly to support it; and which furnishes the *papists* with one of the strongest arguments against the Protestants in favor of their traditions, on which, as we have seen, the essentials of *popery* are founded, and of the authority of the church to alter the rites of divine worship. They sadly embarrass *pedobaptist protestants* with the affair of infant baptism, and urge them either to prove it by scripture, both with respect to mode and subjects, or allow of unscriptural traditions and the authority of the church, or give it up; and if they can allow of unwritten traditions and the custom and practice of the church, as of authority in one point, why not in others? This way of arguing, as Mr. Stennett observes,⁸ is used by cardinal *Du Perron* in his reply to the answer to king *James* the first, and by *Mr. John Ainsworth*, against *Mr. Henry Ainsworth*, in the dispute between them, and by *Fisher*, the *Jesuit*, against archbishop *Laud*; a late instance of this kind, he adds, we have in the controversy between *Monsieur Bossuet*, bishop of *Meaux*, and a learned anonymous writer, said to be *Monsieur de la Roque*, late pastor of the Reformed church at *Rosny*, in *Normandy*. The bishop, in order to defend the withholding the cup in the Lord's supper from the laity, according to the authority of the church, urged that infant baptism, both as to mode and subject, was unscriptural, and solely by the authority of tradition and custom, with which the pretended *Reformed* complied, and therefore why not in the other case? Which produces this ingenious confession from his antagonist, 'that to baptize by *sprinkling* was certainly an abuse derived from the *Romish* church, without due examination, as well as many other things which he and his brethren were resolved to correct, and thanked the bishop for undeceiving them, and freely confessed that as to the baptism of infants, there is nothing formal or express in the gospel to justify the necessity of it; and that the passages produced do at most only prove that it is permitted, or rather, that it is not forbidden to baptize them.'

"Once more, the baneful influence spread by anti-Christ over the nations by infant baptism, is that poisonous notion infused by him that sacraments, particularly baptism, confer grace *ex opere operato*, by the work done; and that it takes away sin, regenerates men, and saves their souls; this is charged upon him, and complained of by the ancient *Waldenses* in a tract⁹ of theirs, written in the year 1120. Where speaking of the works of anti-Christ, they say, 'the third work of anti-Christ consists in this, that he attributes the regeneration of the Holy Spirit unto the dead outward work, baptizing children in that faith, and teaching that thereby baptism and regeneration must be had,—and therein he confers and bestows orders and other sacraments, and groundeth therein all his christianity, which is against the Holy Spirit.' And which popish notion is argued against, and exposed by *Robert Smith*, the martyr;¹⁰ on Bonner's saying, if they (infants) die before they are baptized, they be damned, he asked the question, 'I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?' To which *Bonner* replied, 'by both;' then, said *Smith*, 'the water died for our sins, and so must you say that the water hath life, and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour; this, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?' And this pernicious notion still continues, this old leaven yet remains even in some *protestant* churches, who have retained it from *Rome*; hence a child, when baptized, is declared to be regenerate, and thanks are returned to God that it is regenerate; and it is taught, when capable of being catechised, to say that in its baptism it was made a child of God, a member of Christ, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven; which has a tendency to take off all concern in persons when grown up, about an inward work of grace in regeneration and sanctification, as a meetness for heaven, and to encourage a presumption in them, notwithstanding their apparent want of grace, that they are members of Christ, and shall never perish; are children and heirs of God, and shall inherit eternal life. Wherefore *Dr. Owen* rightly observes,¹ 'That the father of lies himself could not easily have devised a doctrine more pernicious, or what proposes a more present and effectual poison to the minds of sinners, to be drank in by them.'

"The *Independents* would indeed separate the church from the world, according to their principles, but cannot do it, being fettered and hampered with infant church-membership and baptism, about which they are at a loss, and disagreed on what to place it; some place it on infants' interest in the covenant of grace; and here they sadly contradict themselves and one another; at one time, they say, it is the interest in the covenant of grace gives infants a right to baptism, and at another time, that it is by baptism they are brought and entered into the covenant; and sometimes it is not in the inward part of the covenant they are interested, only in the external part of it, where hypocrites and graceless persons may be, and what that external part is, no person can tell. Others, not being satisfied that their infant-seed, as such, are all interested in the covenant of grace, say it is not that, but the church covenant, that godly parents enter into, which give their children, with them, a right to church-member-

⁸ Answer to Russen, p. 173, &c.

⁹ Apud Morland's History of the Churches of Piedmont, p. 148.

¹⁰ Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. III., p. 400. ¹ Theologoumena, I. vi., c. III., p. 477.

infant baptisms having obtained in Africa about the middle of the third century. I proceed therefore now

“*Secondly*, to give you, as was proposed, a probable account of the source whence this innovation originated, and the manner in which it was introduced.

“I say *probable* account, because this is all that can be reasonably expected of us in a matter of this nature. For surely it is absurd to insist that unless we can fix with certainty the exact time when the first infant was baptized, point out with unquestionable precision the true motives and causes leading to it, and trace this practice through its gradual progress to the period when it generally obtained in the church; that unless we can do all this, it is to be presumed, from its having prevailed in the third century, that it is no innovation, but of divine origin.

“To show the mistake of this reasoning, let us for a moment apply it to the other case, of the admission of children to the Lord’s supper.

“Suppose then, an advocate for infant communion was to say to Mr. A., unless you can fix with certainty the exact time when the first infant was admitted to the eucharist; unless you can point out with precision the causes leading to this practice; and unless you can trace this practice through its gradual progress to the period in which it became general; unless you can do all this, it is to be presumed, from its having prevailed in the third century, that it is no innovation, but of divine origin. What would be Mr. A.’s reply? He would not hesitate a moment. There is no authority for it, he would say, in scripture. And as to what you require of me, it is unreasonable; all you can expect is, a probable account of the rise of this corruption; and that I am ready to give you. In like manner I reply to Mr. A. upon the matter before us. There is no authority for infant baptism in the scripture. All you can reasonably expect from me is, a probable account of the source whence this innovation originated, and the manner in which it was introduced; and this I am ready to give you. Yea, and I will go further and add, that perhaps we may be able to intersperse some historical notes which will render our account more than probable, and I had almost said certain.

“How this corruption, from its thus springing up in Africa, might in a course of time spread yet further, till it became general in the christian church, is easy to be imagined. I shall not therefore tire you, sir, with following Mr. A. through his testimonies from the fourth and fifth centuries, &c., but leave him in the quiet possession of those authorities. To show you, however, that I am not singular in my conjectures concerning the rite of infant baptism, it may be proper to give you here the opinion of some learned men, and pedobaptists too, upon the question.

“Rigaltius, in his notes on the epistle of Cyprian to Fidus, says, ‘as faith springs from assent, it is not discerned in man till he arrives at years capable of understanding and wisdom. And therefore we read in the Acts of the apostles, that men and women were baptized, when they had believed Philip preaching the gospel, but no mention is made of infants. So that from the age of the apostles to the time of Tertullian, the matter remained doubtful. And there were those who took occasion from that word of our Lord, *suffer little children to come unto me* (to whom yet our Lord commanded not water to be administered), to baptize even new-born infants. And, as if some secular business were transacted with God, they offered sponsors to Christ, or persons who should become sureties for them, that when adults they should not depart from the christian faith; which indeed displeased Tertullian.

“Curcellæus acknowledges, ‘infant baptism was unknown the two first ages after Christ; in the third and fourth it was approved by a few, till at length in the fifth and following ages it began to obtain in divers places; and, therefore, this rite is indeed observed by us as an ancient custom, but not as an apostolical tradition.’⁶ And in another place, he says, ‘that the custom of baptizing

⁶ “Pedobaptismus qui duobus primis a Christo nato seculis fuit incognitus, in tertio vero et quarto

Dr. Doddridge. Those are called positive institutions or precepts, which are not founded upon any reasons known to those whom they are given to, or discoverable by them, but which are observed merely because some superior has commanded them.—*Lectures.*

Bishop Burnet. Sacraments are positive precepts, which are to be measured ONLY by the institution in which there is not room left for us to carry them any farther.—*Ex. 39 Articles.*

CHAPTER II.—Concerning the signification of the terms baptize and baptism.

The list of names under this head :—

Witsius,	Roell,	Anonymous,	Gerhardus,
Salmasius,	Trapp,	Vossius,	Alstedius,
Gurtlerus,	Limborch,	De Courcey,	Wilson,
Danaeus,	Altingius,	Turretinus,	Bailey,
Gomarus,	Hospinianus,	Dr. Owen,	Leigh,
Buddeus,	Casaubonus	Faber,	Schoettgenius
Bentley,	Diodati,	Schmidius,	Parkhurst,
Bp. Reynolds,	Calmet,	D. Rogers,	Schrevelius,
Calvin,	Luther,	Dr. Hammond,	Pasor,
Beza,	Schelhornius,	Ikenius,	Tromminus.
Meisnerus,	Selden,	Deylingius,	Mintert,
Danish Catechism,	Keckermannus,	Le Clerc,	Scapula,
Spanhemius,	Towerson,	Danzius,	Hedericus,
Vitringa,	Dan Grade,	Reiskius,	Constantinus,
Beckmanus,	Clignetus,	Heideggerus,	Robertson,
Bucanus,	Dan Scott,	Wetstenius,	Young,
Bishop Patrick,	Bossuet,	Dr. Doddridge,	Stockius,
Zanchius,	Luicerus,	Zepperus,	Stephanus,
Hoornbeekius,	Venema,	Poole,	Schwarzius,
Stapferus,	Magdeburg Cen-	Walaenus,	Articles of Smalcald.
Burmennus,	turiators,	Anonymous,	

This list of names embraces men of much learning and distinction in their day, in all pedobaptist churches, but mostly among the catholics and Lutherans. Selections from them are made by Mr. Booth directly in favor of baptist views, of which the following may serve as a specimen :—

Calvin. The word baptize signifies to immerse, and the rite of immersion was observed by the ancient church.—*Institut. Christ. Religion.*

Luther. The term baptism is a Greek word. It may be rendered a dipping when we dip something in water, that it may be entirely covered with water. And though that custom be quite abolished among the generality (for neither do they entirely dip children, but only sprinkle them with a little water), nevertheless, they ought to be wholly immersed, and presently to be drawn out again; for the etymology of the word seems to require it.—*Com. on Acts viii. 28.*

Mr. Shelden. In England, of late years, I ever thought the parson baptized his own fingers rather than the child.—*Works.*

Bossuet. To baptize, signifies to plunge, as is granted by all the world.—*In Mr. Stennett against Mr. Russen, p. 174.*

Dr. Doddridge. I have, indeed, a most dreadful baptism to be baptized with, and know that I shall shortly be bathed, as it were, in blood, and plunged in the most overwhelming distress.—*Paraphrase on Luke xii. 50.*

Poole's Continuators. To be baptized, is to be dipped in water: metaphorically, to be plunged in affliction. I am, saith Christ, to be baptized with blood, overwhelmed with sufferings and afflictions.—*Annotations on Matt., xx. 22.*

“It will be allowed, I think, by every competent and impartial judge, that many of the authors from whose writings these quotations are made, may be justly numbered among the most literary characters that any age has produced. Now, as all these concessions, declarations, and reasonings proceeded from persons that practised pouring or sprinkling in the administration of the ordi-

are comprehended in three classes : original, missionary, and ordinary parochial fonts."

Infant baptism, and the various causes which operated to introduce and extend this system, occupy about one third of this large volume. In this portion of the work is found "the story of Fidus, a country bishop of Africa, who wrote to Cyprian, of Carthage, to know whether children might be baptized before they were eight days old, for by his bible he could not tell; nor could Cyprian tell without consulting a council, which was about to be assembled on two important affairs." At the close of this council the question about infant baptism came on. The letter written by Fidus was read, but as it is lost, a judgment of it can only be formed by what Cyprian hath said of it. It is not known who Fidus was. The precise question before the association, was "at what age may infants be baptized?" Fidus thought at eight days, because the law of circumcision prescribed this time. "No," replied the council, "God denies grace to none; Jesus came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them; and we ought to do all we can to save our fellow creatures." "Besides," added they, "God would be a respecter of persons if he denied to infants what he grants to adults. Did not the prophet Elisha lay upon a child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands? Now the spiritual sense of this is that infants are equal to men; but if you refuse to baptize them, you destroy this equality, and are partial." Some will think that the African arguments for infant baptism are as good as any that have been invented since.

Baptism in Africa in the time of Tertullian, with extended comments on the sentiments of this early father, adverse in his opinion to infant baptism, as expressed in his small treatise, *de baptismo, the baptism of babes in the time of Cyprian; the efforts of Augustine to bring in the baptism of babes; reduction of baptism in the east from men to minors, and from minors to babes*, occupy another large portion of this work.

The first ecclesiastical canon in Europe for the baptism of babes, according to Mr. Robinson, was framed in the sixth century. The following extracts give his views on the point. "There is no trace of the baptism of babes among the Spanish catholics till the year five hundred and seventeen. In this year, it is said seven bishops met at Girona, a city in Catalonia, in Spain, and framed and subscribed ten rules of discipline. The fourth is an argument to baptize catechumens only at Easter and Pentecost, except in cases of sickness. In the fifth, the seven subscribers agree in case infants were ill, and would not suck their mothers' milk, if they were offered, to baptize them, even though it were the day they were born.

"As this is the first regulation of the baptism of babes that was made in Europe, it may not be improper apart to examine the legislators, the law itself, and the probable extent of it."

The first civil law in Europe for the baptizing babes, according to this author, was enacted by Charlemagne, in 789.¹

¹ In the reign of this emperor, the law of baptism in his empire was excessively severe. It was death for a man to refuse to be baptized. Public baptisms were administered only at Easter and Whitsuntide, and a heavy fine was levied on the parent who, except he had a license from the priest, omitted to baptize his child within the year. Private baptisms were allowed only in case of necessity, and baptism was defined immersion, single or trine. Alwin, the emperor's prime ecclesiastic, contended warmly for trine immersion; but some bishops practised the Roman mode, and dipped only once. The absolute necessity of dipping in order to a valid baptism, and the indispensable necessity of baptism in order to salvation, were two doctrines which clashed, and the collision kindled up a sort of war between the warm bosoms of parents who had children, and the cold reasoning of monks, who had few sympathies. The doctrine was cruel, and the feelings of humanity revolted against it. Power may give law; but it is more than power can do to make unnatural law sit easy on the minds of men.

The clergy felt the inconvenience of this state of things, for they were obliged to attend any woman in labor at a moment's warning, night or day, in any season, at the remote parts of their parishes, without the power of demanding any fee, whenever a case of necessity required, and if they neglected their duty, they were severely punished.

A great number of expedients were tried to remedy this evil; but for a long season nothing suc-

monks and nuns of infants of seven, five, two, and even one year old ; but this is now everywhere disused.

Anabaptism. "An anabaptist is one who is re-baptized ; but if it is granted that baptism may be administered wrong, what possible reason can be given why it should not be re-administered right? Something certainly is essential to baptism ; if that something be omitted in an administration, the act is not a baptism, but a fiction, and consequently, reason requires that the fiction be superseded by conferring the essence, otherwise it is as if gold were left out of a guinea."

A few detached sentences must close our quotations from this able writer.

"If there be a word in the New Testament of a determinate meaning, it is the word baptism ; yet by a course of sophistry it shall first be made synonymous with *washing*, and then washing shall be proved synonymous with *sprinkling*, and then sprinkling shall be called baptism."³

After giving an account of the cabinet of one of the popes as containing an immense collection of antiquities, relative to John the baptist, he adds, "It is in such collections as these, and not in Garret's essays on Greek prepositions, that the history of baptism is to be studied."⁴

"A learned catholic is not shocked at finding that a ceremony is neither scriptural nor ancient, because an order of the council of Trent is as valid to him as an apostolical canon."⁵

"Dr. Wall observes that all national churches practise infant baptism ; very true, infant baptism, as it was intended, created national churches, and gives them continuance, as it gave them being.

"It was for this reason the learned Dr. Gill called infant baptism the main ground and pillar of popery, and a great number of baptists are of the same opinion."⁶

Closing remarks. Mr. Robinson, in the same learned manner that all his researches are conducted, has shown that the term infant in the writings of ancient authors, applies to all the stages of minority,—that nothing can be fairly deduced from the writings of the fathers in favor of infant baptism ; that mock baptisms among the pagans in derision of the christians, were performed with tubs of water ; that pictures, inscriptions, medals, coins, festivals, and histories of all kinds of the middle ages have some connection, near or remote, with the ancient mode of baptizing. And even punsters and writers of jest books have dipping in baptism for the object of their wit.

Ashdowne on Baptism. New and decisive proofs from scripture and reason that adults only are included in the design of the New Covenant or the gospel dispensation, and were members of the church of Christ in the apostolic age, in reply to Mr. Williams. By William Ashdowne, Svo., Canterbury. pp. 47. 1792.

Richards on Baptism. A serious and plain discourse concerning baptism, in its connection with the first principles and spirit of christianity. By William Richards, L.L.D. Svo. pp. 54. Lynn, Eng. 1793.

This work, which was originally written in the Welsh language, in 1789, like the other writings of the learned author, indicates much thought and research, and a familiar acquaintance with the subtleties of the defenders of pedobaptism. As Dr. Richards was a native of Wales, and was a thorough master of the cambro-british dialect, it may be interesting to the Welsh portion of my readers to peruse some of his criticisms on that ancient language.

"Another proof, that *to immerse* must be the plain and legitimate meaning

³ Some curious syllogisms on this subject may be found in the quotations from Mr. Hague's work on baptism, p. 325.

⁴ Rob. Hist. Bapt., my edition, p. 325.

⁵ P. 371.

⁶ P. 406. These quotations are generally made from my abridgment of this work, which was published in 1817.

Then follows a list of distinguished men on that side, among whom are Luther, Calvin, Erasmus, Baxter, Burnett, &c.

“Dr. Watts seems to have entirely given up the divine authority of infant baptism, when he told his friend Dr. Gibbons that he had not observed any benefit arising from the administration of baptism to infants.—See Dr. Gibbon's letter in Carter's remark on a late publication, p. 94.

“I will close this list of pedobaptist names with those of Bossuet and Courayer, two of the most learned and eminent members of the Romish church; the former of the last, and the latter of the present (17th) century.

“Bossuet expresses himself thus:—Jesus Christ has said, *teach and baptize*; and again, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. But the church, *solely by the authority of tradition and custom*, has so interpreted these words that the instruction and faith which Christ had joined with baptism might be separated from it in case of infants.—*In Sten. ag. Rus.*, p. 179.

“Courayer's words are as follows:—The baptism of infants (says he) is of great antiquity in the church. It is even, perhaps, the antiquity of this practice that gave rise to the idea of original sin, taken in the sense of the theologians, for a guilt that drags all mankind who die without baptism to damnation. This belief, once established, has contributed indirectly to make the baptism of infants be judged necessary to their salvation; for, if they had been considered as entirely pure and innocent, why, as Tertullian says, should we be so anxious to apply baptism for the remission of their sins. *Ut quid festinat innocens ætas ad remissionem peccatorum.*⁷ I do not see, however, that Jesus Christ or his apostles have prescribed for them this baptism, which he seems only to have established to reclaim adults to repentance, and to the reception of the gospel, and in order to purify them thereby from the sins of which they had been guilty before. I do not, in fact, find anything in scripture that obliges us to extend to infants the necessity of baptism. It does not even appear, after the practice was introduced, that it was judged, as it is now, of necessity, since it was very common then to defer the reception of this sacrament to an advanced age, and even till death. By speaking in this manner, it is not my intention to censure a practice so ancient and so general as that of baptizing infants, but I would not, for all this, consider it as an error in those who believe baptism to be necessary to adults only.”—See Courayer's *Declaration of his last sentiments*, pp. 68, 69, 70.

A number of other discourses on baptism were published by this laborious author; most of them were in answer to Evens and Carter, a part of which were in the Welsh language.

Knott on Baptism. The distinguishising principles and practice of the baptists vindicated in seven dialogues; or, an answer to Mr. Shrubsoles' Plain Christian Shepherd's defense of his flock. By John Knott. Rochester. pp. 63. 1794.

Pearce on Baptism. The scripture doctrine of christian baptism, with remarks on that subject. By Rev. Samuel Pearce. Birmingham. pp. 34. 1794.

From 1800 to the present time.

Newman on Baptism and Communion. 1. Baptism an indispensable prerequisite to communion at the Lord's table. By William Newman, D.D. 12mo. London. pp. 16. 1806.

2. Perpetuity of Baptism. London. 8vo. 1820.

Dobell on Baptism. Remarks on P. Edward's arguments for the baptism, church-membership and salvation of infants. By Joseph Dobell. London. 12mo. 1807.

⁷ Why does that innocent age hasten to the remission of sins?

2. *Personal religion vindicated, in relation to christian baptism.* London. Svo. pp. 67. 1833.

3. *Reflections on the origin, extent, nature and effects of infant baptism.* London. Svo. pp. 24. 1835.

The main positions assumed in this piece are as follows : Infant baptism is most cordially received in the world—infant baptism annihilates and supplants the personal and voluntary engagements recorded in scriptural baptism—babes are not included in the moral and spiritual administration of the gospel—infant baptism gives superiority to tradition—infant baptism is the prolific parent of spurious or merely nominal christians.

“Through all christendom infant baptism creates myriads of merely nominal christians. There are some such, indeed, by design, or by mistaken notions, but these are very few when compared with the offspring of infant baptism. The imposition of the christian profession on unconscious babes, is the natural, certain, and prolific parent of nominal christians, and the genuine source of a delusive and fatal christianity. Very different reasons are assigned for infant baptism, and various results to it. But who can say that a babe baptized by any protestant minister, is a better christian than a babe baptized by a popish priest ?

Ivimey on Baptism and Communion. Baptism the scriptural and indispensable qualification for communion at the Lord’s table. By Rev. Joseph Ivimey. London. Svo. pp. 108. 1824.

Four Lectures on the history of Baptism, by Rev. Messrs. John Evans, Edwin Chapman, James Gilchrist, and D. Eaton. London. Svo. pp. 204. 1826.

The themes of these lectures are the subjects, mode, perpetuity, and practical uses of christian baptism.

Rev. James Dore. Sermons on Baptism ; with a preface and notes by William Newman, D.D. London. Svo. pp. 48. 1829.

Rev. Mr. Gibbs’ Defense of the Baptists. 1829.

Southwood on Baptism. Some account of the Baptists : for the information of those who are unacquainted with their history and tenets. By William Southwood. London. 12mo. pp. 32. 1831.

S. Green on Baptism. London. 12mo. pp. 50. 1831.

Westlake on Baptism. A general view of baptism : embracing extracts from various authors ; with remarks and observations on the mode, subjects, and history of baptism. By Thomas Westlake. 1832.

Dr. Cox on Baptism. Dr. Cox has written against Rev. Drs. Ewing, Wardlaw, and Dwight. I hope to have these works in time for Appendix to British Authors.

CARSON ON BAPTISM.

Mode and Subjects of Baptism. By Alexander Carson, L.L.D., late of Tulbermore, Ireland. pp. 500.

This work was first published in 1836. The last edition was published by the A. B. Pub. Society, Philadelphia, in 1845.

The authors whose works are answered, and whose main positions are controverted, are Dr. Whately, archbishop of Dublin ; Dr. Wardlaw, and Rev. Mr. Ewing, two eminent ministers of Scotland ; Dr. Henderson, Rev. Messrs. Bickersteth, Munroe and Thorn, of the old country, and Dr. Miller, Mr. Hall, and President Beecher, of this.

A number of other names are incidentally introduced in the discussion.

Instead of answering in full the elaborate productions of any of these men, Dr. Carson’s main object seems to have been to vindicate the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, by plain scriptural arguments. This work he has accomplished much to the satisfaction of his friends. And having performed this

brethren from whom he had seceded, "that there is no view of this subject which can have the most distant bearing on infant baptism. * * * * As infant baptism cannot be found in the New Testament, its advocates have endeavored to find a cover for it in the Old. But their arguments are clashing and contradictory; many of them, after wasting perhaps a quarter of a century in adjusting a scheme, are obliged to tear it down with their own hands. In my ignorance I made the attempt, as well as others; but I found I must either give up the Bible, or give up infant baptism. If, then, it is so difficult a thing to make out a plausible case in defense of infant baptism from the Abrahamic covenant, even with all the advantage that constant study affords, what must be the situation of the newly converted pagan! Has God left him in such a condition that he cannot know whether he ought to baptize his children till he can penetrate the deep recesses of the covenant of Abraham?

"Thus we have seen, from the most impartial examination, that infant baptism has not in the word of God an inch of solid ground on which to stand. The apostolic commission commands the baptism of believers, and believers only. No lawful interpretation can introduce infants into that commission, or give authority to dispense with the baptizing of believers. No instance of the baptism of an infant is to be found among the documents of the apostolic practice. A child may perceive the insufficiency of the argument from the households. The Abrahamic covenant has no bearing on this subject. Baptism, I have shown to be immersion, by a strength of evidence that no true scholar, no sound critic, will ever attempt to overturn. Let the children of God renounce the traditions of men; let them submit with humility and with gratitude to the ordinance of Christ."

In the same manner Dr. Carson goes through with household baptisms—*else were your children unclean but now are they holy*; indeed every figment of an argument on which any reliance is placed for the support of the infant system.

My limits will not permit me to follow any farther his very clear and conclusive discussions. His reference to his own experience in this matter must close my selections.

"Many infants have I sprinkled; but if I know my own heart, I could not now pour water into a child's face in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for the globe on which I stand. Ah, my brethren! it is an awful thing to do in the Lord's name, that which the Lord has not appointed. Who has required this at your hands? You may explain, and reason, and suppose, but, till the trumpet sounds, you will never force this commission to include your baptism of infants. You may conjure up difficulties to perplex the weak, your ingenuity may invent subterfuges that may cover error, but you will never find an inch of solid ground on which to rest the sole of your foot. Your work will never be done. You are rolling the stone of Sisyphus, and the farther you push it up hill, with the greater force will it rebound on your own heads. The labors of Hercules are but an amusement compared with your task. Ingenuity may put a false system plausibly together; but no ingenuity can give it the solidity and life of the truth. It may satisfy as long as persons do not inquire deeply and earnestly into the question. But it will not satisfy when the mind begins to say, 'Lord what wouldst thou have me to do?'"

I promised, in the close of this article, to give some specimens of Dr. Carson's severe retorts on his opponents, of which complaints have been made by them and their friends.

Dr. Dwight—John the Baptist. "Dr. Dwight himself says, that John the Baptist had faith from the womb. If John the Baptist was a man when he was a child, Dr. Dwight, in this, is a child when he is a man. It is astonishing how silly wise men will become when they attempt to force the word of God. It must be a Divine judgment, that when his servants use his word as an instrument to lead his people astray, the Lord gives them up to speak foolishly, so as to put them to shame. Infants have faith! Where does their faith go when they begin to speak? Can they have faith without knowledge? And did any one ever hear of the knowledge of infants? But this observation is founded on deep ignorance. It proceeds

President Beecher. Baptism signifies to purify, &c. This peculiar position of President Beecher will become fully explained when we come to speak of pedobaptist writers.

"Now I call the attention of my plain, unlettered readers to this brief specimen of my antagonist's reasoning powers, that they may judge what confidence they are to place in his criticism. If in matters of common sense he stumbles at every step, can he be trusted in matters of the most profound metaphysics? My antagonist may be a very ingenious man, and a very pious man, and, in many respects, a very clever man, but he has not a head for the philosophy of language; and I say this with as little bad feeling as I say that the three angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles.

"That Mr. President Beecher will be immersed in one of the great American rivers, is now very improbable; but should I ever read that, in obedience to Christ, he was *immersed*, I certainly will not attempt to discredit the account by alleging that *immerse* does not here signify to *dip*.

"The foregoing quotations are fair specimens of the articles in question, and are as severe as any found in the book. Dr. Carson was well apprised of the complaints which had been made against him relative to his treatment of his opponents; and, in his second reply to President Beecher, he writes as follows on the subject:—'After all his complaints about a bad spirit, it is amusing to consider the gross manifestation which he affords of this himself. In all I have ever written, I defy my adversaries to point out one particle of a bad spirit. My severity respects the execution of the work before me, and my censures are preceded by proofs of the thing condemned. Justice to truth demands the exposure. But what spirit is indicated by such expressions as 'the guise of zeal for the glory of God.' 'Being determined not to admit the truth, he did the only thing that remained,—first to misrepresent, and then deny it?' If this is not a bad spirit, what will indicate a bad spirit? But, in the field of battle I never murmur. I never pronounce on the motives of my opponents; but I always, as a matter of duty, measure their talents. This they are pleased to call a bad spirit, while they have poured out whole torrents of the most virulent abuse: this never moves me—I write for eternity.'"

Fuller on Communion. Conversations between two laymen, on strict and mixed communion; in which the principal arguments in favor of the latter practice are stated, as nearly as possible, in the words of its most powerful advocate, the Rev. Robert Hall. By J. G. Fuller. Kettering. 8vo. pp. 1836.

Rhantizm against Baptism. Truth defended in a supposed trial between infant affusion and believers' baptism, second edition, remodeled, condensed and revised; to which is appended a letter to Joseph John Gurney, Esq., on Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Second edition, revised and corrected by Seacome Ellison. London. 8vo. pp. 400. 1836.

Gotch on Translations. A critical examination of the rendering of the word *baptizo* in the ancient and many modern versions of the New Testament, with especial reference to Dr. Henderson's animadversions upon Mr. Greenfield's statements on the subject. By F. W. Gotch, A. B. (Then of Trinity College, Dublin, now of Stepney College, England). London. pp. 52. 1841.

It is well known that for a few years past, there has been an unhappy controversy between the managers of missions to the heathen in different countries; but mostly in America, England, and India, respecting the proper way of making new translations of the scriptures, designed to aid in missionary operations. The pedobaptists assume that all such translations should be made to conform to the authorized English version. The baptists, on the other hand, contend that the translators should be left to their own unbiassed judgment, and that instead of being bound to *transfer*, they should be at liberty to *translate*, all words which have respect to baptism, or any other matters, about which the parties at home entertain different views. They furthermore maintain, that this has been the custom generally, with those who have been engaged in making new versions of the sacred oracles, in all ages and countries. To establish this point, seems to have been the main design of Mr. Gotch's publication. He begins with the following statement:

"In the course of the controversy which has for the last few years been carried on, respecting the mode of translating the words which designate the ordinance of christian baptism, appeals have been confidently made by both parties

"It may perhaps be acceptable to place these results together in a tabular form, as follows:—

VERSIONS.	DATE.	WORD EMPLOYED.	MEANING.
SYRIAC:			
Peshito	2d Cent.	ⲕⲏⲙ	<i>immerse.</i>
Philoxenian	6th "	"	"
ARABIC:			
Polyglott	7th " ?	صَبَغَ, عَيْدَ	<i>immerse.</i>
Propaganda	1671.	"	"
Sabat	1816.	"	"
PERSIC:			
Modern (Martyn.)	8th Cent. ?	شوییدن شستن	<i>wash.</i>
	1815.	غسل	<i>ablution.</i>
ETHIOPIA:			
Amharic	4th Cent.	ጠዕቆ :	<i>immerse.</i>
	1822.	"	"
EGYPTIAN:			
Coptic	3d Cent.	ⲕⲟⲗⲥ.	<i>immerse, plunge.</i>
Sahidic	2d "		
Basmuric	3d "	ⲕⲁⲛⲧⲓⲉ	
ARMENIAN	5th "	կրկնել	<i>immerse.</i>
SLAVONIC:	9th "	КРЕСТИТИ	<i>cross.</i>
Russian	1519	} <i>the same root</i>	
Polish	1585		
Bohemian	1593		
Lithuanian	1660		
Livonian, or Lettish	1685		
Dorpat Esthonian,	1727		
&c., &c.			
GOthic:	4th Cent.	<i>dauþjan</i>	<i>dip.</i>
German	1523	<i>laufen</i>	"
Danish	1524	<i>döbe</i>	"
Swedish	1534	<i>döpa</i>	"
Dutch,	1560	<i>doopen</i>	"
&c., &c.			
Icelandic	1584	<i>skira</i>	<i>cleanse.</i>
ANGLO-SAXON	8th Cent.	<i>dyppan, fullian</i>	<i>dip, cleanse.</i>
LATIN:—			
Of the early fathers	2d Cent.	<i>tingo</i>	<i>immerse.</i>
Ante-Hieronymian	3d "	<i>baptizo.</i>	
Vulgate	4th "	"	
French	1535	<i>baptizer.</i>	
Spanish	1556	<i>bautizar.</i>	
Italian,	1562	<i>battezzare</i>	
&c., &c.			
English: Wickliff	1380	<i>wash, christen, baptize.</i>	
Tindal	1526	<i>baptize.</i>	
Welsh	1567	<i>bedyddio</i>	<i>bathe.</i>
Irish	1602	<i>baisdim.</i>	
Gælic	1767	<i>baisdeam.</i>	

Our investigation, then, shows that it has not been the practice of translators, until quite recent times, to adopt the plan of 'transference' in respect to the word *baptizo*. The word has been translated, in most instances, by a term strictly native; or where the term has been derived from the Greek, it appears to have become naturalized in the respective languages before the translation was made. There is no instance, until of late years, in which it can be shown that the translators *made* the word; and it well deserves the consideration of all who are engaged in translating, or disseminating translations of the word of God, how far such a plan is justifiable. It may indeed be said that though the word *baptizo* has not been thus transferred, other words have; and that thereby the principle of transference is countenanced by former translators. It is certain that such words as proper names, and designations of things which are not known, and therefore have no word by which they can be expressed, must be so rendered; but what proof is there of translators, in general, carrying transference further than this? Let it be remembered, that the Greek

and practice of the latter; and showing, that the first British christians for five hundred years were baptists; that infant baptism originated at the same time as many other corruptions in the Romish church; that immersion was the mode of baptism immediately and for more than 1300 years subsequent to the apostles' time, and always has been, and is still, the prescribed manner of administering the ordinance in the Protestant Established Church of England. By W. T. Beeby Esq. Third edition. London. 12mo., pp. 48. 1837.

From this small work I have derived important aid in historical matters.

Allen on Baptism. The mode and subjects of christian baptism, in answer to Dr. Wardlaw.³ Aberdeen. 12mo., pp. 96. 1841.

Shirreff on Baptism. Lectures on baptism by Rev. Wm. Shirreff, London, Svo. pp. 240. 1845.

The note below from the editor's preface gives the reader some account of the author of this work, who died before it was published.⁴

"These lectures, nineteen in number, are on the following subjects.—1. Importance of positive institutions, and observations on the ordinance of baptism. 2. Nature of the evidence required. 3. The New Testament the only rule in regard to the primitive institutions of the gospel. 4. Our practice must be determined by those passages which more directly treat on the subject of inquiry. 5. Positive proof essential to worship in baptism. 6. Estimate of the value of inferential reasoning on the subject of baptism. The five next lectures are on the presumptions against infant baptism. And the seven which follow are on the baptisms of John, Christ's disciples, at Pentecost, the Samaritans and the Ethiopian eunuch, Saul and the Centurian, Lydia and the jailor, and the baptisms at Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, Galatia, and Colosse."

Mr. Shirreff was evidently a man of extensive erudition, and the work before us shows the workings of a mind of great logical acuteness; the baptismal controversy is examined with searching minuteness in all its bearings, and all the arguments for the defense of the infant system are disposed of in a most summary and conclusive manner.

The few following extracts will give the reader a specimen of the author's mode of reasoning:

Comparison between transubstantiation and pedobaptism. "The fact that error is often believed with confidence, is equally instructive to believers in infant baptism and transubstantiation. Was pedobaptism silently and gradually introduced into the church? so, comparatively, was transubstantiation. Is pedobaptism of great antiquity? transubstantiation has prevailed for 600 years. Has pedobaptism been supported by learning? so has transubstantiation. Has sprinkling been defended with plausibility? the words, 'this is my body,' applied to the bread, give a plea to the Papists more plausible than any other that has yet been urged in defense of infant baptism. Has infant baptism hitherto survived the attacks of its opponents? transubstantiation exists, notwithstanding all the labors of the Reformed. Are pedobaptists confident in their cause? so

³ This work is without a name, but I am assured by Rev. Mr. Hodge, of Brooklyn, N. Y., that Mr. Allen was its author. It exhibits much industry and talent. Some of the statements I shall refer to in my closing remarks on the baptismal controversy.

⁴ "Mr. Shirreff was for many years one of the most learned, popular, and impressive preachers in the church of Scotland.

"He devoted himself much to study, and eagerly pursued the writings of the Fathers, to which, besides those in his own valuable collection, he had access, through the library which Archbishop Leighton had established at Dunblane, when he presided over that diocese. So much was Mr. Shirreff engaged in this study, that it was a common remark, when he was absent from the presbytery, 'He is at home with his Fathers.'

"In the progress of his researches, he became satisfied that the attempted union of Church and State is anti-christian; and he was not disobedient to the heavenly oracle, 'Come out from among them, and be ye separate.' He resigned the charge of the parish of St. Ninians, in the presbytery of Stirling, which he had held during thirty-five years. He then removed to Glasgow, where, for upwards of nine years, he labored in word and doctrine as the elder of a christian church.

"He was convinced that infant baptism was the key-stone of the arch on which national churches have always rested, and will rest, so long as they continue to scatter the flock of Christ. He naturally wished to exhibit those arguments from which he had himself received the fullest satisfaction on this most important subject. The result was, the preparation of these lectures, which he delivered weekly, on Wednesday evenings, in Albion-street chapel."

duty. They are nowhere instructed to teach their children to improve their baptism; and, what ought to be particularly noticed, parents are nowhere required to have their children baptized. The instructions to parents are many and minute; they are repeatedly commanded to train up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and repeatedly instructed in the import of this nurture and admonition. But is it not unaccountably strange, that one of the chief parental duties should never once be hinted at? If infant sprinkling be a duty, it is a most momentous duty; it would be amongst the first and greatest duties which parents owe to their children. Although nothing had been revealed of other parental duties, we should have expected, from its importance, that this would have been fully explained, and repeatedly inculcated; it is evident, however, that the fact accords not with this expectation. Infant baptism is no parental duty; it is one of the corruptions of christianity, and its foundation, like the foundation of popery, is sapped by the silence of scripture.

“3dly. Children and youth are interested, but they are never directed to improve their infant baptism or sprinkling. The instructions given to believers in general may be easily applied to the young; and, no doubt, the general instructions respecting baptism are as applicable to them as to others. In other things, however, the Holy Spirit has not left them to general admonitions. He has favored them with special instructions. He has taught them to know the scriptures, to obey their parents, to be sober-minded, to be humble, to be submissive. He has enforced these duties by various motives; such as a regard to rectitude, to their own best interests, and the like. But of their baptism in infancy, he speaks not a word; they are neither taught to improve it for duty, motive, or comfort. And they are never, directly or indirectly, so much as reminded of the fact. For this significant silence there must be a cause; and the most natural cause is, that infant baptism was unknown to the apostles.”

The same mode of reasoning is pursued respecting the evangelists and the churches in early times, &c.

After mentioning the events at Tyre, as recorded in Acts xxi. 5., the author proceeds:—“Compare with this account of the children the history of Philip’s baptizing at Samaria, Acts viii. 12. He tells us that men were baptized, and that women were baptized, but there is no mention of children. Permit me to ask, why children are so carefully noticed in one case, and omitted in the other? The answer is obvious; the parents with their children accompanied Paul; but Philip baptized no infants. On the supposition that it was the usual practice of the apostles to baptize infants, it is impossible to reconcile the silence of Luke either with accuracy or fidelity. To judge here as we ought, however, two things should be observed:—1st, That Luke is writing under the direction of the Holy Ghost; 2dly, That the design of his history is, by the practice of the apostles, to direct the worship of all the churches to the end of the world. The history accords with the fact, and by both, the churches are taught in imitation of the apostles, to restrict baptism to professing believers. The collocation of baptized infants, has not a little puzzled both pedobaptists and sprinklers. Some of the first have admitted infants to the supper. The latter, from the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, have excluded them from the supper, but received them to a kind of equivocal church membership.”

Baptismal regeneration. This subject is handled at full length, with great candor and force, on the old orthodox principle of final perseverance in grace.

“The only good which infants can be supposed to derive from sprinkling, is that ascribed to baptism by papists and others, viz.: regenerating grace. Their natures might, no doubt, be sanctified as well at baptism as at death. But if the two things be considered, all must be satisfied that baptismal regeneration is a fiction.

“Consider, first, the perpetuity of grace; and, secondly, the hopeless death of many or most of those sprinkled in infancy. They die without grace. Grace,

"The apostles baptized every adult convert, whether Jew or Gentile. Now, supposing circumcision to be baptism, and baptism circumcision, or, in other words, that the one comes in place of the other, every Jewish convert was twice baptized; his circumcision-baptism did not supersede his believer-baptism. The case must be the same still. If infant sprinkling came in the room of circumcision, the man sprinkled in infancy is in the same condition as the man circumcised in infancy. If the one were baptized after believing, so must the other. Believers' baptism is no more superseded by infant sprinkling than it was by infant circumcision.

"Leave, however, these groundless suppositions, and all uncertainty vanishes. Infant sprinkling is not revealed; believer-baptism is plainly revealed.

"The question is practical. Am I to neglect what is incontestably my duty on account of what cannot be proved to be a duty at all?

"Thus, whether infant sprinkling succeed to circumcision or not, it cannot supersede baptism after believing."

A Summary statement of British baptist authors.

In addition to this long catalogue of defenders of baptist sentiments,—from various sources,⁴ I have learnt the names of the following list of writers, viz:—

Emlin,	Grant,	Rogers,	Davis,
Whiston, ⁵	The Rylands,	Thomas,	Perrot,
Beddome,	Sutcliff,	Matthews,	Daniel,
Rippon,	Anderson,	Crook,	Freer,
Norton,	Chamberlain,	Bane,	Grall,
Jones, ⁶	Kensington,	Stock,	Grozer,
Francis,	Jenkinson,	Daniel,	Owen,
Turner,	Fellows,	Thomas,	Frink,
Dauids,	Pike,	Caswell,	Griffith,
Haldane,	Burn,	Hancock,	J. Thomas,
Innes,	Rutherford,	Cameron,	Thompson.

I am able to give but a few brief notices of this sweeping clause of baptist writers. A few of them existed in the eighteenth, but most of them in the present century.

Mr. Emlin was a cotemporary of the famous Dr. James Foster, a general baptist of the Socinian class, and his successor in the pastoral office, about the middle of the eighteenth century. This work on baptism is quoted by Dr. Wall.

Rev. Mr. Jones on Baptism. Facts opposed to Fiction, in reply to the Bristol Churchman.

Rev. Benjamin Francis on Baptism. Can ar Fedydd, poem on baptism, in Welsh.

Daniel Turner on Baptism. Remarks on Rev. J. N. Lake's sermon on infant baptism.

Dauids against Priestley.

Innes' Conversations on Baptism.

The Rylands. Candid statement why the baptists differ from so many of their brethren. Six views of baptism.

William Anderson. The baptists justified from Dr. J. Taylor.⁷

⁴ A portion of these works I have on hand, or have access to them in the library of Brown University; the names of some I find in the catalogue of works referred to in Beeby's *History of the Anabaptists and Baptists*; the names of others have been given me by Dr. Choules, Mr. Williams, of Pittsburg, and Mr. Davison, a seventh-day baptist minister of N. J. I do not expect my collocation is in a very good chronological order, but it is the best I could do.

⁵ The famous Dr. Wm. Whiston, I believe, wrote on both sides. He died a general baptist.

⁶ Mr. Jones was the author of the *History of the Waldenses*.

⁷ This is a work of over one hundred pages. It was published in 1819. The foundation of this piece was the chapter in Bishop Taylor's *Liberty of Propheying*, which vindicates the baptists, to which was added an introduction and notes, by Mr. Anderson, then classical tutor in the baptist Academy at Bristol, England.

tical rule which it sustains, must be treated as an unwarrantable human fabrication. Against his own brethren he has shown that the arguments drawn from Hebrew covenants and hereditary claims are, in their chief aim, absolutely untenable; and that, if the practice of infant baptism be retained, some other ground for its enforcement must be provided; and lastly, against the baptist brethren, he has endeavored to show, that where adults are concerned, christian baptism should be administered, indiscriminately, to all applicants, as a symbol of evangelical truth; and that the baptism of infants is to be enforced on the just interpretation and authority of our Lord's commission. He has thus given a definiteness and positive form to the whole subject; and he has further facilitated the investigation, by admitting that the whole question is whether repentance and faith be or be not the authorized prerequisite to christian baptism. This, therefore, will lead us to deal principally with positive evidence; for if it can be shown that this prerequisite is ordained and enforced by the law of Christ, Dr. Halley is answered, and the authority of believers' baptism is sustained."

These positions come in conflict with all writers on baptism of every church and every age, as they all maintain the doctrine of faith and repentance previous to baptism, so far as adults are concerned; and evangelical pedobaptists generally, limit the rite to the children of professed believers. These lectures exhibit a familiar acquaintance with all the critical and historical details of the baptismal controversy on both sides.

The author uses soft words to his learned opponent, but hard arguments to his peculiar positions. As the baptismal controversy in the hands of these two modern debaters, has taken a turn somewhat new, I hope some one of our publishing houses will come out with an American edition of Mr. Stovel's Lectures, and if the pedobaptists will do the same with those of their powerful advocate, I will promise them my patronage and perusal.¹

SECTION II.

American authors in defense of baptist sentiments.

I do not find any works of this kind for a long time after the settlement of the baptists in this country; they were so few in number, and so much congregated by themselves, that but few took pains to write against them in a controversial way.

Books, as well as other things which the country was not prepared to manufacture, were imported from home, and the first works on baptism which we find among our brethren were by English authors.

In Boston, we find Tombes' first work on baptism in MS.² in the hands of the few baptists who were then struggling for existence amidst a host of opponents. In this place

Norcott on Baptism was re-published, about a century after it was first issued in England, and a portion of the edition by Mrs. Scammon was carried into New Hampshire, as we shall see when we come to the history of that State.

At New Haven, Conn., we find A. R.'s *Vanity of Infant Baptism*, in the hands of Mrs. Eaton, a bishop's daughter, who was then the wife of the first

¹ Dr. Halley's work I have not seen; but by Mr. Stovel's quotations from it, it amounts to five or six hundred pages.

By the kindness of my friend, Wm. Norton, of London, I received Mr. Stovel's book, in company with the first volume of the Hanserd Knolly's publications, just as this portion of my work was going to press. They are both large, very neatly executed, and interesting books.

I have noted some of Mr. Stovel's paragraphs for insertion in my closing remarks on the baptismal controversy.

² This was his *Examen* of Mr. Marshall's piece on baptism. This identical work is now in the library of the Massachusetts Antiquarian Society, in Worcester.

Governor of that province, causing a world of trouble to Mr. Davenport, the pedobaptist minister, and his church, in 1644. This work must then have lately come over, as it was first published in England in 1642.³

The mother country, as we have already noted, abounded in baptist writers in the middle and latter part of the seventeenth century; but among all the baptists in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, I find no account of any work in defense of baptist sentiments for almost a century after the first churches of the order were formed.

Dr. Gill's works in America. As early as 1749 we find this eminent man in the field against American writers on the pedobaptist side, and five years after, he wrote a reply to Rev. Messrs. Clark and Bostwick, two very zealous supporters of the infant system at that time. These pieces from the London baptist divine, were no doubt written at the instance of the brethren in this country.

Rev. Abel Morgan, of Middleton, N. J., is the oldest writer I can find among the American baptists in defense of their sentiments. Between this learned writer and Rev. Samuel Finley, a presbyterian minister, then of Nottingham, Pa., a dispute appears to have arisen, which was carried on with much spirit on both sides for a number of years. From the best information I can gain, it began soon after the year 1740. They had one public debate at Cape May, N. J., where a good deal of interest was taken in their discussions. Each of them published twice on the subject. Mr. Finley took the lead, in a piece entitled *A Charitable Plea for the Speechless*. To this Mr. Morgan replied under the title of

Anti-pedorantism, or Samuel Finley's Charitable Plea for the Speechless Examined and Refuted: The Baptism of Believers maintained, and the Mode of it by Immersion Vindicated. By Abel Morgan, Middleton, East Jersey.

This work, of 174 pp., was printed in Philadelphia, by the famous Benjamin Franklin, in 1747.

This work was answered by Mr. Finley in the following year, in *Vindication of his Plea, &c.*, in a work of 100 pages. At the close of that work, he informs his readers that Mr. Morgan had in advance announced in *the Gazette*, his intention of answering his *Vindication*, which was no doubt done soon after; but respecting the work, I have gained no information.⁴ Mr. Finley was afterwards President of Princeton College, N. J.

Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, on Baptism. Whether this distinguished minister published any work on the baptismal controversy, I have not been able to learn. I have before me a pamphlet of his in MS., entitled an answer to Mr. Cleveland's letter on Baptism. The date is not given. It looks, however, like a very ancient affair, and was probably written soon after Mr. Cleveland's letter came out, which was past the middle of the eighteenth century.

Rev. Isaac Backus on Baptism. The first work of this eminent historian and divine on baptism, which I have been able to find, was

A Letter to Rev. Benjamin Lord, of Norwich, Conn. Rev. Isaac Backus, Providence, R. I. 8vo. pp. 40. 1764.

In this piece, reference is made to a number of other writers on the pedo-

³ This may have been a translation of the old German work, by Montanus, entitled *Nichtigkeit der kindertaufe*: the Nothingness of Children's Baptism. The titles very well agree, and are in conformity with the vocabulary of the age.

⁴ I have made unusual efforts to obtain Mr. Morgan's work on baptism, but without success. For the few items above, I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Woolsey, of Norwalk, Ct. Mr. Finley's *vindication, &c.*, is in the library of Brown University. As Mr. Finley has followed his opponent much in the detail, and quoted very freely from his pages, we have the substance of both works in one; their main positions appear to have been such as are common to both parties; but, judging from Mr. Finley's own showing, Mr. Morgan, who makes a free use of learned criticisms and historical selections, had the advantage as a learned and logical debater.

baptist side, among whom was Mr. Dickinson, president of Princeton College, N. J., whose Dialogue on Infant Baptism had been lately published.

2. A Fish caught in his own Net. An examination of Nine Sermons, from Matt. xvi. 18. Published last year, by Mr. Joseph Fish, of Stonington; wherein he labors to prove, that those called *standing churches* in *New England* are built upon the *rock*, and upon the same principles with the first fathers of this country; and that Separates and Baptists are joining the gates of Hell against them. In answer to which many of his mistakes are corrected; the constitution of those churches opened; the testimonies of prophets and apostles, and also of many of those fathers, are produced, which as plainly condemn his plan as any Separate or Baptist can do. Boston. 8vo. pp. 129. 1768.

3. A Reply to Mr. Holly on Baptism, about 1770.

4. A Discourse concerning the materials, the manner of building, and power of organizing of the church of Christ; with the true difference and exact limits between civil and ecclesiastical government; and also, what are, and what are not, just reasons for separation. Together with an address to Joseph Fish, A.M., pastor of a church, in Stonington, occasioned by his late piece, called the Examiner Examined. Boston. 8vo. pp. 150. 1773.

Besides the baptismal question, a large portion of the discussions between Mr. Backus and his opponents had reference to the *separations* from the *standing order* of churches, as they were then denominated.

These *separate* communities arose out of the *New-light stir*, in Whitfield's time; they all began their operations as pedobaptists, but out of them a multitude of baptist churches arose. The history of this whole affair will be given in the accounts of the New England baptists.

Benjamin Foster, D.D., on Baptism. 1. The washing of regeneration, or the divine rite of immersion; in answer to a treatise on baptism by Rev. Mr. Fish. This was probably published about 1780.

2. Primitive baptism defended, in a letter to Rev. Mr. Cleveland. Salem, Mass. pp. 31. 1784.

I am inclined to think there were other writers on this subject on the baptist side, from soon after the middle of the eighteenth century, whose names I have not obtained, from the fact that there was considerable agitation in New Haven college while Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Foster was a student in that institution, about 1770, "in consequence of several tracts on baptism having been spread through the country." On this account, the baptismal question having been fixed upon as a proper subject of discussion in the college, young Foster was appointed to defend the pedobaptist side. He made diligent inquiry into the matter, which brought him on to the baptist ground, to the astonishment of the faculty and all his friends.

Rev. P. P. Roots on Baptism. A pamphlet.⁶ Hartford, Conn. 1794.

Although the writers in defense of our sentiments were so few in the last half of the eighteenth century, yet they have made ample amends for their seeming neglect for many years past, as the list now to be presented will show.

Baldwin on Baptism and Communion. I. Open Communion Examined. This was at first published in a pamphlet form. The author then resided in New Hampshire. The work was divided into three sections, under the following heads:

1. Remarks on the unfriendly aspersions cast upon the baptists, for refusing communion with other denominations—the gospel doctrine of a church and qualification of the members—with strictures on baptism.

⁶ This pamphlet I have not been able to obtain. Mr. Roots was a son of a pedobaptist clergyman of the congregational order, and was educated for the sacred office; but having embraced the sentiments of the baptists, he was baptized by Dr. Stillman, of Boston, a short time before he published his vindication of his new profession.

2. The impropriety of the baptist churches communicating with those of other denominations considered, and their difference in sentiment more particularly pointed out.

3. The arguments for free communion considered—others offered in vindication of the close communionists. By Rev. Thomas Baldwin, D.D. Boston. 8vo. pp. 50. 1789.

II. *The Baptism of Believers only, and the Particular Communion of the Baptist Churches, Explained and Vindicated.* Boston. 8vo. pp. 105. 1794.

Dr. Baldwin's principal opponents were the two Rev. Messrs. Worcester, Noah and Samuel. He also commented on the writings of Dr. Osgood, Peter Edwards, Dr. Austin, Rev. Messrs. Fish and Crane, and others.

The heads of this piece are :—

1. Preliminary observations on the subject in dispute.
2. Professed believers the only appointed subjects of baptism.
3. Whether John's baptism belonged to the Jewish or christian dispensation, particularly considered.
4. The mode of baptism, and its connection with the subject in dispute particularly considered.
5. The mode of baptism farther illustrated, from the practice of the primitive christians; and the manner in which it was reduced from immersion to sprinkling, briefly pointed out.
6. Godly sincerity, as connected with external obedience, considered.
7. Whether there be any morality in "externals" or "sentiments," and whether sincerity of heart secures the judgment from error; briefly considered.
8. Whether the Divine conduct towards us be the rule of duty towards our christian brethren rather than God's revealed will; briefly considered.
9. Observations on the plan of Communion proposed in the "Friendly Letter," with remarks on several other things connected with the subject.
10. Several objections particularly answered. The subject concluded.

III. *An Appendix on Baptism and Communion.* 8vo. pp. 180. 1806.

This was a recapitulation of the main positions of the former works, with additional remarks on Abraham's covenant, infant membership, strictures on Peter Edwards' *Candid Reasons*, &c.

All these treatises were afterwards published in one volume, which had an extensive circulation in New England and other parts of the country.

The following extracts will give the reader a view of the Dr.'s mode of reasoning.

On John's Baptism. "You ask by what authority do you make immersion essential to the ordinance of baptism, in contradistinction to other modes and circumstances? I answer, by the authority of God's word, and the confessed meaning of the Greek verb *baptizo*, to baptize.

"You have endeavored to evade part of the scripture evidence in favor of immersion, by suggesting that the baptism administered by John was not christian baptism. Your objections are the following. You say: 'We have no reason to suppose that John baptized in all respects agreeably to the Christian mode of baptism.' But why not? Because, 'it is pretty evident, that he did not baptize in the name of the Trinity.' But suppose, sir, he had baptized in the name of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, it would afford no argument in favor of a different mode, or any reason to suppose that the act of baptizing was not the same. John and the apostles baptized among the same people; hence it is most likely they understood the word in the same sense.

"If the mode of applying the water of baptism be indifferent, then the dispute is at an end; but if it be important, the necessity of one condemns the other. But to me it appears inconsistent to suppose that there can be a positive command, and the *mode* of our obedience be indifferent; for this at once takes off the authority of the command.

"If the institution requires no more than to sprinkle a few drops of water in the face, any person must be strangely superstitious to be immersed, and on

the other hand, if it does really require immersion, then those who only sprinkle must fall materially short, and have scarcely the shadow of the ordinance. To suppose that sprinkling, pouring or immersion are all indifferent, is in fact to suppose that nothing is commanded, or at least no more than sprinkling.⁶ When persons believe this, there is an end to immersion; for men are not generally fond of doing more than is required. This, sir, your practice demonstrates. You believe either way answers the institution; but you, with other pedobaptists in general, choose sprinkling. I think it probable I should do the same, could I be convinced that your views were right. It is also probable that John the Baptist, Christ and his apostles, Philip and the ancient christians, had they viewed the matter in the same light which you do, would have invariably administered it by sprinkling; for there could have been no possible occasion which would have required immersion, in case the other way would equally well express the design.

“Upon the whole, this much is certain: that there is neither express command nor example, either in the law of Moses or in the gospel of Jesus Christ, to sprinkle water upon new-born infants, as an initiating seal of any covenant whatever.⁷ Therefore, we may say with Dr. Whitby, whose words shall close this section—‘The argument is always good: we read of no such doctrine in the scripture; therefore it neither is, nor can be any *article of faith*, because we have no other rule of faith besides the scriptures.’”

Dr. Baldwin deals but sparingly in learned criticism and quotations; his principle object seems to have been, to exhibit plain common-sense views of the scriptural statements relative to baptism and communion.

His writings were much esteemed in their day for their candor, mildness, and logical conclusions, and were extensively useful to multitudes who were seriously inquiring the right way, on the subjects which he has so ably discussed.

Merrill on Baptism and Communion. 1. Seven sermons on the subjects and mode of baptism; to which is added, A brief history of the baptists. By Rev. Daniel Merrill.⁸ Salem, Mass. 8vo., pp. 137. 1804.

2. Open communion with all who keep the ordinances as Christ delivered them to the saints. Eight letters to Rev. Rufus Anderson. Boston. 1805.

3. Twelve letters to Rev. Samuel Austin, in which his vindication of partial washing for christian baptism, contained in ten letters, is reviewed and disproved. Boston. 8vo., pp. 95. 1806.

Lee on Baptism. A thorough method with Mr. Peter Edwards' "Short method with the Baptists," or the last refuge of infant baptism annihilated by scripture prohibition. By Rev. Elias Lee. Troy, N. Y. 8vo., pp. 96. 1805.

Andrews on Baptism and Communion. 1. A vindication of the distinguish-

⁶ The three terms in dispute are all used in Lev. ix. 6, 7, in the following manner: And the priest shall *dip* his finger in the blood, and *sprinkle* of the blood seven times before the Lord, and shall *pour* all the blood of the bullock at the bottom of the altar.

That these rites were not the same, and to be used indifferently, the following familiar transposition will abundantly show: And the priest shall *pour* his finger in the blood, and shall *dip* of the blood seven times before the Lord, and shall *sprinkle* all the blood at the bottom of the altar.

The Dr. appeals to the *Septuagint* on the place, and shows that three different Greek words are here employed, whose native signification is literally given in the translation, viz. *bapto*, *raino*, *echeo*.

⁷ The male children of the Jews were to be circumcised on the eighth day, by divine appointment; but past the middle of the third century, the honest Bishop Fidus wrote to Cyprian, of Carthage, to know whether children might be baptized before they were eight days old: for by his bible he could not tell; nor could Cyprian tell without first consulting a council upon the subject. A presumptive evidence that the business was new.—*Primit. Christ.*, p. 193, and *Robinson's History*, p. 284.

⁸ Mr. Merrill was then pastor of a large pedobaptist church in Sedwick, in Maine. He was at the time, however, a thorough convert to baptist sentiments; and, soon after the delivering of these discourses, he and a large portion of his church were baptized and organized on the baptist model. The whole history will be given in the account of the baptists in this State. This event made no small stir at the time among both parties, and a host of opponents appeared in the field against their apostate brother. I was on the ground soon after this event, and was pleased to see a large and flourishing community, which has since branched out in different directions.

ing sentiments of the Baptists against the writings of Messrs. Cowles, Miller, and Edwards. By Rev. Elisha Andrews. Boston. 1806.

2. Brief reply to Birkerstaff's short epistle to the Baptists. Sutton, Mass. 8vo. 1810.

3. Strictures on Rev. C. Brooks' Essay in favor of christian communion.⁹ Worcester. 12mo. 1823.

Osborne on Baptism. David and Goliath, or a treatise on water baptism; showing the proper subjects and mode of that ordinance; with observations on the writings of several champions in that cause. By Josiah Osborne. Botetourt County, Va. 12mo., pp. 217. 1807.

Bostwick, Lewis, Graham, and Hay were among the champions here referred to.

Mr. Osborne had access to D'Anvers' work on Baptism, and his free quotations from that work gives his piece a greater show of learning than is common to writers of his class.¹⁰

White on Baptism. Against Peter Edwards and others. By Rev. Wm. White. Burlington, N. J. 12mo., pp. 222. 1808.

Jones on Baptism. Peter Edwards' candid reasons examined and answered; with a review of Rev. John P. Campbell's sermon on infant baptism. By Rev. David Jones. Philadelphia. 8vo., pp. 200. 1811.

Kingsford. Centenary Traces. pp. 283. 1812.

Dr. Judson on Baptism. The foundation of this pamphlet was a sermon preached in the Lal Bazar Chapel, Calcutta, India, on Lord's day, Sept. 27th, 1812, previous to the baptism of the author. It was afterwards enlarged to its present size.¹

The following advertisement gives the reasons for its publication:—

"The author of the following discourse was by education and profession a pedobaptist. During his passage from America to India, in the spring of 1812, he began to doubt the truth of his former sentiments. After his arrival in this country (India), and before he communicated the exercises of his mind to any of the baptist denomination, he became convinced that the immersion of a professing believer, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is the only christian baptism.

"This discourse exhibits the reasons of his present belief. It is committed to the press in compliance with the request of some who heard it, and through the desire of furnishing his distant friends in America with a more full and satisfactory statement of the reasons of his change, than could be made in private communications."²

Mr. Judson acknowledges himself indebted to Mr. Booth's Pedobaptism Examined for many of the testimonies inserted. These authors are freely used.

His criticisms on the original language, and on the passages in the scripture applied to this ordinance, are very plain and judicious.

"The idea of immersion is the only one which will suit all the various connections in which the word is used in the New Testament.

"The word certainly has some meaning, whether more limited or more general; and, when used to denote the ordinance of baptism, certainly has one uniform meaning, which is applicable in every instance. What is this meaning?

"Is it *sprinkling*? We must then read, And they were all sprinkled of him in the river Jordan, buried with him by sprinkling;—They were all sprinkled unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea.

⁹ Other works on these subjects were probably issued by Mr. Andrews,—none of them have I been able to obtain, and all I know about them, is from advertisements in other works respecting them.

¹⁰ Corrected by and printed under the immediate inspection of elder John Alderson, at the book-office of David Amen, (Virginia.)

¹ This sermon was re-printed in this country; but mine is the Calcutta edition, printed in 1813. pp. 88.

² It is well known that Mr. Judson went out to India in the pedobaptist connection, and became convinced of baptist sentiments while on his passage.

“Is it *washing*? We must then read, He shall wash you with the Holy Ghost and fire.—Arise and be washed, and wash away your sins;—So many of us as were washed into Jesus Christ, were washed into his death.

“The idea of immersion *always* suits the connection in which the word is used; or, in the words of Dr. Campbell, the word ‘*is always construed suitably to this meaning.*’”

Mr. Judson, in common with those who came over to the baptists from the descendants of Geneva, shows no small share of solicitude to convince his brethren of the entire insufficiency of the arguments drawn from Abraham’s covenant in support of infant baptism.

After having clearly opened the subject, he thus proceeds:—

“I now ask the christian parent, Is this the covenant which God has made with you? has God covenanted to give you these blessings? Though he may have covenanted to give you some of these blessings, together with many others, the question must be repeated, *Is this the very covenant which God has made with you?* If, on examining the several parts of the covenant, you feel authorized to answer in the affirmative, I reply, You are under sacred obligations to perform your part; you are under sacred obligations to circumcise, or (if you are satisfied that baptism is substituted), to baptize every man-child ‘that is eight days old:’ him ‘that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger which is not of thy seed.’ It is in direct disobedience of the command of God to baptize before the eighth day. It is an entire departure from the command of God to baptize a female child, or to withhold baptism from one ‘that is born in the house, or bought with money of any stranger which is not of thy seed.’ God has in no part of his word released you from your obligation to baptize *on the eighth day*. Nor has he required you to baptize a female child. ‘Who hath required this at your hand?’ Nor has he released you from your obligation to baptize the servant born in the house, or bought with money.

‘It is urged, that though the rite of circumcision is abolished, the rite of baptism is substituted as a token of the same import.

“But if this be true, should we not expect to find baptism enjoined, when circumcision is forbidden? should we not expect to find this substitution clearly stated in scripture? Yet in no instance where circumcision is forbidden is there any intimation of baptism;—nor is this substitution mentioned in any passage through the whole of the New Testament. It is not mentioned, nor even intimated, in those instances where, had it been really made, the circumstances render the omission perfectly unaccountable.”

His closing address to his brethren from whom he was to be separated, is in the following words:—

“If, when your mind adverts to this question, you fear the consequences of an examination, and dread those sacrifices which a discovery that you have been mistaken may enforce on your conscience, or, if you feel the influence of long-established sentiments, or imagine that the subject is too dark and intricate for your investigation, look to the Son of God, who hesitated not to make the greatest sacrifices, and to endure the most painful sufferings for you; and look up to the Father of lights to send the Holy Ghost, according to the promise of his Son, to guide you into all the truth.”

Polhill on Baptism. A reply to a vindication of the right of infants to the ordinance of baptism, by the Rev. James Russell, a methodist minister. By Rev. Thomas Polhill. Savannah, Geo. 12mo., pp. 200. 1812.

Blood on Baptism and Communion. A dialogue between a baptist and a pedobaptist, on Abraham’s covenant, the olive-tree, &c. By Rev. Caleb Blood. Boston. 1815.

Haskell on Baptism. Definition of the Greek *bapto*, *baptizo*, *baptisma*, and *baptismos*, from the best authors, and a literal translation of all those pas-

ages in the New Testament where these terms occur in the original ; with an appendix, in which the principal arguments used to support the practice of infant baptism are briefly refuted. By Rev. Daniel Hascall. Near Hamilton, N. Y. 12mo., pp. 19. 1818.

Chapin's Letters on Baptism. A series of letters on the mode and subjects of baptism, addressed to the christian public. To which is prefixed a brief account of the commencement and progress of the author's trial on those points which terminated in his embracing believers' baptism, in a letter to a friend. By Rev. Stephen Chapin. Boston. 8vo., pp. 76. 1819.

This work is comprised of 18 letters, from which a few extracts will be made. His preface, or introduction, which gives a detailed account of his change of sentiments, addressed to his former brethren of the congregational order, with whom he had long been associated in the ministry, I shall give entire.

"**BELoved BROTHER,**—In one of our late interviews you expressed a desire that I should give you a brief history of the origin and progress of those conflicts and trials of mind, which have terminated in a public change of denomination. In compliance with this request I confess I feel some difficulty. I could easily tell you that my trials on the points of debate were long and extremely painful. But should I enter minutely into all my conflicts, this letter would be swelled to a little volume. I will therefore seize and remark upon a few of the more prominent circumstances.

"A little more than two years ago I resolved on a revision of ecclesiastical history. In the progress of my reading, my attention was arrested, respecting the validity of the argument in favor of infant baptism, drawn from ancient history. I well knew that the practice was ancient. The authors of the appendices to Mosheim's history tells us that, just at the close of the second century, infant baptism and sponsors existed in the church among the new and remarkable occurrences. Formerly I had relied with much satisfaction on the antiquity and general prevalence of infant baptism, as proof that it must be apostolic. But now, on more particular examination, I found that this mode of reasoning would prove too much. It would prove the divine right of infant communion. For this is as ancient and as general as infant baptism. The fathers, I found, placed both on the same ground, and supported both by the same process of argument. Saint Austin tells us that the church held that both ordinances were saving and necessary to eternal life; and on the ground of this supposed saving quality, he informs, that the church viewed them both as traditions from the apostles. In the same way of arguing I could prove the divine origin of the use of the cross in baptism; worshiping with the face towards the east; and that baptism was regeneration, &c. My attempt now was to meet and refute the argument in favor of infant communion, without invalidating at the same time the arguments in support of infant baptism. But on trial I found that my attack on the former was in fact an indiscriminate warfare on both. If I succeeded in laying to rest the arguments in favor of infant communion, I perceived that, if after this, a Taylor or a Pierce had stood and said, sir, where now are your proofs for infant baptism? the question, I confess, to me would have been perfectly confounding. If I attempted to support infant sprinkling, I must try to reanimate those very arguments which I had but just slain. By this time I found myself pretty deeply involved, and for relief resorted to the word of God. This I believed was an infallible guide. This I read, and read with fasting, and I hope with daily prayers to the Father of light, that he would mercifully send me the illuminating and guiding power of his holy spirit. I first confined myself principally to the New Testament. Here I found neither precept nor example for infant baptism. If the apostles and primitive teachers were all pedobaptists, they must have baptized many thousands of children and infants before the closing of the canon of scripture. And it struck me with peculiar force, that all the inspired penmen should have passed over all these countless instances of infant baptism in the most profound silence. Circumstances often existed peculiarly calculated to elicit a declaration on infant baptism, if it then existed. Paul and Barnabas might have said to those Jews who wished to impose circumcision on the christians at Antioch, you know very well, that all these believers and their children have been baptized, and baptism we all know is come in lieu of this bloody rite; why then are you not satisfied with the substitute? On another occasion, Paul was accused of denying infant circumcision; see Acts xxi. 21. Now, to me, it appears truly strange that the apostle did not repel this charge by saying: though I have not circumcised your children, yet you know that I have baptized them as a substitution for circumcision. In my view, the only reason why the apostle did not exonerate himself from this charge by pleading infant baptism in place of circumcision, is, because he was not in the habit of baptizing infants. I read with peculiar attention the Acts of the Apostles, and resorted to all those passages with which I used to defend my practice. But upon more minute investigation of them, they seemed to fail me. How or by what process of argument these passages were invalidated, I will not now relate.

"I then repaired to the Old Testament, and endeavored to support myself by arguments drawn from the law of circumcision. But if this law were in full force, I thought that consistency required me to observe it throughout. If I obeyed a part and rejected a part, I ought to be able to show explicitly when and where the rejected clauses were repealed, and

thus assign the reasons why I omitted some clauses in this statute and obeyed others. But this I could not well do. In short, the argument from circumcision ruined itself by proving too much. It established the membership of servants, and of unbelieving wives, as well as the church membership of infants. For the law of circumcision required that all in the professors' house capable of receiving that rite, should be circumcised. Now an unbelieving wife, and the unbelieving maid-servant of a christian professor are just as capable of receiving the rite of baptism as males. Hence, by this law a believing man must not only have his children baptized, but all his servants, and even his unbelieving companion, must all be baptized, and made members of the church. All this was, in my view, the legitimate consequence of adhering to the law of circumcision as the rule to determine the subjects of baptism.

"I then tried the law of proselyte baptism. This law, if it existed in the days of the apostles, I found was but human, and that it would conclude against the perpetuity of christian baptism, because it was administered upon those of the family who were in existence when they passed from paganism to judaism. All who were born after this transit, were not baptized. Hence, if this law were to be our rule, then as soon as a nation or a family become christians, baptism must cease. All that are born after this event must not submit to this rite. On this principle we shall ultimately become quakers, and maintain that there is nothing but the baptism of the Holy Ghost.

"Thus, the grounds on which I had been accustomed to lean, gave away. I began to fear that my inquiries would inevitably terminate in the relinquishment of pedobaptism. The prospect of a change of denomination rose full in view, and the greatness of the change and the deeply interesting consequences which must attend it, threw me into a state of distress which I can command no language to describe. The thought of leaving a beloved church and people, and of losing all that endearing religious connection which I had long enjoyed, filled me with deep anguish of soul, and wrung from me many sighs and tears. When I viewed the subject in a temporal point of light, it was easy to see that I had nothing to gain, but much to loose. Though my mode of reasoning seemed correct and conclusive, yet I suspected that there was some undetected fallacy in the argument. I therefore resolved not to be precipitate. I concluded, however, that I would suspend infant baptism, till I could gain farther light. Not long after this, it pleased the Lord to pour out his spirit upon my people in a remarkable manner. At once I dropped my studies, believing the conversion of sinners to be of infinitely greater moment than the externals of religion. During the attention, my mind gradually settled back, till at length I thought it my duty to resume my former practice. After the revival had subsided, I resumed my inquiries, because I did not feel all that solid ground to support myself which I wished to feel in administering the ordinance. With calmness and leisure I pushed my investigations farther than ever. I endeavored to rally all the arguments on both sides of the question, and then with carefulness and candor, to compare them, that I might see on which side the scale preponderated. The result, my dear brother, you very well know; and the reasons which have led to this, my change of denomination, you may learn, if you will take the trouble of perusing my series of letters addressed to the christian public."

The following extracts will give the reader a fair specimen of Dr. Chapin's mode of reasoning in defense of his newly adopted opinions.

Three classes of pedobaptists. "The pedobaptists may be divided into three general classes :

"1. A very considerable portion of them, and that too of those most enlightened and candid, and who are the most deeply read in this controversy, grant that the word *baptizo*, principally used to express the action of baptism, means, in its primary and most obvious sense, *immersion*. They admit that Johu immersed, that Christ was immersed, and that his disciples, before and after his death, immersed. Yea, they grant that all the primitive christians, and the whole church of God, for more than thirteen hundred years, practised immersion, and that, too, without exception of countries, whether hot or cold. They tell us, however, that sprinkling was allowed in cases of necessity.

"Though this portion of pedobaptists concede this statement, yet they administer this rite by sprinkling. For this practice, they plead that the law of baptism was not designed to be inflexible, but may be accommodated to different customs and climates. The dispute then, between them and us, is not whether the baptists are wrong in their mode. They grant that we in this are right; that we adhere to the true meaning of the word, which designates baptism, and that when we administer this ordinance, we imitate the example of Christ, of the apostles, and the example of all antiquity. But the question between us is simply this: whether they are right in sprinkling, or in other words, whether they have a right to vary the original law of baptism till it is quite another thing.

“Take another case: A believing father brings his son, of twenty years of age, to baptism, and incorporates him into the church. But his life is bad. His father and the church immediately begin to labor with him to persuade him to repent, to own his baptism, and come to the table of the Lord. But all in vain; he remains refractory, and is cut off. After you have excluded him, he turns and says to you: Show me the two opposite texts of scripture, which authorized you to take into your church an individual without requiring faith and repentance, and then immediately to excommunicate the same individual for the want of faith and repentance? Why did you say that I, an unbeliever, ought to be brought into your church, and then say to me, no unbeliever has a right to remain, and therefore I must be turned out again?”

Parkinson on Baptism. Two letters on christian baptism, showing the institution, essential ends, and glory of the ordinance. By Rev. William Parkinson. New-York. 8vo., pp. 50. 1833.

Brooks on Communion. A reply to Rev. Elisha Andrews' strictures in his Essay in favor of christian communion. By Rev. Charles Brooks. Windsor, Vt. 8vo., pp. 59. 1836.

Merriam on Communion and Baptism. 1. An Essay on communion. By Rev. Isaac Merriam. Boston. 8vo., pp. 52. 1824.

2. A tract on christian baptism, in a letter to a friend.

Mr. Merriam takes strong ground in defense of the prevailing practice of the baptists in their terms of communion, and is decided against any deviation from the same.

Winter on Baptism. A treatise on baptism, containing a faithful citation of all the texts of the New Testament which relate to this ordinance, with the sense thereof, supported by numerous extracts from the most eminent and learned pedobaptist writers. Also an examination into the origin and ground of infant baptism, and a representation of the design of believers' baptism. By Rev. John Winter. Butler, Pa. 12mo., pp. 155. 1826.

Crawford on Baptism. Believer-immersion, as opposed to unbeliever-sprinkling. In two essays.

First. On the Abrahamic covenant.

Second. On christian baptism.

To which are added three letters to Mr. Ross, of Pictou, containing strictures on his first letter to Mr. Elder, of Annapolis. By Alexr. Crawford. Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia. 8vo., pp. 135. 1837.

Mr. Crawford was one of the earliest writers on his side among the Nova Scotia baptists; he informs his readers that he was compelled to do so in self-defense, so many and strong were the efforts made by the pedobaptists to hinder the spread of baptist sentiments. Rev. Messrs. Ross, Munro and Jackson were his principal opponents.

Baptist on Baptism. A series of letters² addressed to the Pamphleteer, in reply to an essay on baptism. By Rev. Edward Baptist. Richmond, Va. 8vo., pp. 74. 1830.

This must certainly pass for a baptist book, and it well sustains the cause which it undertakes to defend.

The following turn to the arguments on household baptisms was somewhat peculiar to the Virginia debators. Rev. Dr. Rice, a distinguished clergyman of the presbyterian order, was the opponent of our brother Baptist; he had discoursed with much learning and eloquence on the certainty of infants being in these apostolic households, and especially in that of the jailor. All things in his history indicated him to have been in the prime of life, while his children

² These letters were first published in the Religious Herald, over the signature of Wickliff. They have lately been re-issued in the Alabama Baptist.

were yet in their infantile state; pedobaptism in this case was reduced to an almost mathematical demonstration, when, lo, and behold! it was ascertained that Dr. Rice himself, although a man of family, and precisely in the jailor's situation, by his own showing, had no child! In this instance there was no guess work in the business; no infants to be dipped or sprinkled could the Dr. find in his house. This amusing incident threw the pedobaptist into an inconvenient dilemma, and left the anti-pedobaptist opponent, in this case, at least in possession of the field.

Ripley on Baptism. Christian baptism: an examination of professor Stuart's Essay on the mode of baptism. By Rev. Henry J. Ripley, professor of biblical literature in the Newton Theological Institution. Boston. 8vo., pp. 154. 1833.

Sec. 1st. Classical usage of baptizo.

Sec. 2d. Septuagint and apocryphal usage.

Sec. 3d. New Testament usage, when not applied to the rite of baptism.

Sec. 4th. Does baptizo imply that the rite was by immersion?

1. General usage of the word in the New Testament as applied to this rite.
2. Circumstances attending baptism.
3. Jewish proselyte baptism.
4. Baptism in the early christian churches.
5. Is the mode essential to the rite?

Sec. 5.

"The first part of this work is occupied almost entirely in very nice and philological disquisitions on the Greek and Hebrew and many other languages. A wide range of literature is gone over, and an abundance of quotations are made from a great variety of ancient authors. Although Professor Stuart's concessions are very liberal, and he has left the baptists a broad platform to stand on, yet his opponent conceived that he had reserved for pedobaptism certain strongholds which rested on no solid foundation. To demolish these, and to show that immersion is not only *one* of the authorized modes of baptism, but that it is *the only one*, to the exclusion of all others, which is sanctioned by the uniform language of the scriptures, by all the rules of philology and all the facts of history, seems to have been the main design of this work.³

The following selections afford specimens of Mr. Ripley's mode of reasoning on this subject.

Mr. Stuart had attempted to show that it was *possible* that Jesus was baptized *at*, instead of *in* the river Jordan.

"The discussion at this point is not so lucid, nor is Prof. Stuart's opinion of the passage so clearly stated, as might have been expected. Indeed, it may well be considered a hopeless undertaking to reconcile this passage in Mark with any other representation, than that Jesus was immersed in, or into the river Jordan.

Much water, many waters. "As to the explication of the phrase *many waters* or *much water*, there are two considerations to which regard should be paid.

³ This is the most singular discussion I have met with in the whole range of the baptismal controversy, if we except that of Thomas Grantham and his episcopal opponent, about two hundred years ago, an account of which may be seen on p. 156.

In the first place, Professor Stuart's piece is a model of the kind for its candor and urbanity, and in very few cases does anything appear in his *modus scribendi* (his manner of writing), at which the baptists can take any exceptions. With regard to immersion, so far as the original words and the writings of the early fathers are concerned, he gives up about all to the baptists. But afterwards he takes back enough in his apprehension to save the pedobaptist cause from entire destitution.

The venerable professor seems to have adopted Dr. Wall's maxim, that "it is unwise to deny to an opponent what can certainly be proved." He is at the head of the important theological institution at Andover. Professor Ripley was one of his pupils; and so much courtesy and kindness, and, I may say, so much agreement in their main positions, is seldom seen. Both believe in immersion as the original mode of baptism. Professor Stuart, however, maintains that, under certain contingencies, something else may do, which Professor Ripley categorically denies. The men are evidently very near to each other, not only as to their locations, but in their fraternal feelings.

"1. It is a phrase peculiar in the New Testament to John; and it occurs sufficiently often in his writings to enable one to form a correct opinion of its meaning. We need not then go beyond the writings of John in the New Testament to obtain the materials of information. Examine Rev. i. 15.; xiv. 2.; xix. 6. It is perfectly obvious, that in these passages, the sacred writer had in mind an abundant mass of water, agitated by storm and roaring as the voice of thunder. But, it is said, the 'waves of the sea are successive, and (so to speak) different and broken masses of water; not one continuous mass, deep and abundant. * * * It is the movement, the division, the succession, and the motion which forms the ground of this idea.' Is this, I ask, a natural and probable representation? Who can believe that the sacred-writer indulged in such a refining of thought? It is not the language of a metaphysical writer, but one whose loftiness of conception and ardor of thought could not be detained by such minute refining. It was an abundant mass of water 'into' thundering 'tempest wrought,' that the writer employed to express what he had heard.

"The same phrase occurs in Rev. xvii. 1, 15. Here, too, the idea of abundant water happily agrees with the context. The idea of streams and rivers is utterly inappropriate. The city of Rome is here spoken of, with special reference to its widely extended dominion, and its connection with all the kingdoms of the then known world. In order to place before his readers Rome thus connected with all nations, and sending through them all a corrupting and destructive influence, the writer describes it as a wealthy and luxurious city, situated upon or near the sea, and possessing every facility for commercial intercourse.

Philip and the eunuch. "And now what is the bearing of this passage upon the question of baptism? Simply this. In order that Philip might baptize this new convert, *they both went down into the water*; and why should they go down into the water, if an immersion was not to be performed? It is in the light of a very strong confirmation, that this passage is employed as sustaining the practice of immersion.

"He (Prof. Stuart) here introduces a quotation from Calvin, in respect to which, he says, 'To this opinion I do most fully and heartily subscribe.' The quotation is this; 'It is of no consequence at all whether the person baptized is totally immersed, or whether he is merely sprinkled by an affusion of water. This should be a matter of choice to the churches in different regions; although the word baptize signifies to immerse, and the rite of immersion was practised by the ancient church.'

"This sentence contains the principle on which much of the remaining part of the article is founded; but this sentence, in itself considered, labors under the difficulty of assuming the very point at issue. It proceeds on the principle that, while immersion is indeed baptism, affusion, or sprinkling, may also be baptism. In other words, it assumes that immersion is only a mode of baptism, and that affusion or sprinkling is also a mode of baptism. But the very point at issue, is, whether anything besides immersion is baptism, and consequently whether immersion ought to be regarded merely as a mode of baptism, or as baptism itself; so that where there is not immersion, there is not baptism. If indeed the christian ordinance be not immersion only, but either immersion, or pouring, or sprinkling, or washing, or any application of water whatever, then is Calvin's remark correct. But it has not yet been satisfactorily shown, that pouring, or sprinkling, or anything besides immersion, is baptism.

"To the vindication of the sentiment thus advanced by Calvin, Prof. Stuart directs his efforts, not, of course, on philological grounds. And throughout his defense, there seems to prevail the same assumption as is noticed above in Calvin's remark. He defends it by three considerations. 1. 'The rite in question is *merely external*.' 2. 'No injunction is anywhere given in the New Testament respecting the manner in which the rite shall be performed.' 3. 'Personal safety and convenience often demand that immersion should be dispensed with.'

make up that defect. This argument, of all others, has the least weight with me. I dread it as a burned child dreads the fire. It was by the vain traditions received of the fathers that I was so long kept in ignorance of the truth as it is in Jesus. These traditions are considered by the Rabbins of greater authority and utility than the word of God itself. The former they compare to wine, the latter to water; and who knows not that the same principle has been adopted by the Roman hierarchy, as the sanction and authority of the innumerable errors in doctrine and practice so prevalent and so firmly believed in that denomination? Besides, it is abundantly acknowledged by all protestants (some episcopalians excepted), and was the ground of the Reformation and non-conformity, that mere tradition, without divine precept or scripture example, is no sufficient warrant either for doctrine or practice.

"Again, the ground of this argument is as fallacious as the argument is weak. Tradition concerning infant baptism has never been traced as far back as the apostolic age."

Also of his comments on the Hebrew language, with reference to the baptismal rite :

"When the London Society for promoting christianity among the Jews commenced the translation of the New Testament into pure Hebrew, they soon met with the word under consideration, and which occasioned not a little difficulty; not with respect to the primary meaning of the word, nor to find proper corresponding Hebrew words; but the difficulty was, how to avoid giving offence. Had they adopted the word *taval*, or *tabal*, to immerse, or *rachatz*, to wash, (which words are nearly synonymous, for washing implies dipping or immersion, as nothing can be washed unless it be first covered with water,) while they would have done justice to the original, they would have given offence to the mass or bulk of pedobaptists. On the other hand, had they used the word *shaphach*, to pour, or *zarak*, to sprinkle, besides doing violence to the original, they would not only have given offence to the whole large and respectable body of baptists, but even many pious and conscientious pedobaptists would have condemned their conduct. Policy, therefore, led them not to translate the word at all, but to metamorphose the Greek word into Hebrew for the use of the text; and in the margin they put the word *taval*, to immerse, and *rachatz*, to wash; but no where did they use the word *shaphach*, to pour, or *sarak*, to sprinkle. Different has been their conduct in their next edition; now, the word *taval*, to immerse, is invariably used in the text. At this I am much pleased; for, as soon as the Jew sees the word *taval*, he knows that the ordinance is to be administered by immersion, and in no other way. The reason of this alteration is, that when the Jews saw the metamorphosed word *jochenan hapabis*, they were shocked, and exclaimed, this is not Hebrew, and they refused to touch it. Besides, as the New Testament is chiefly designed for the Jews in Germany, and particularly in Poland and Russia, no danger is apprehended of giving offence; for we have already shown that in the German bible the word *taufen*, which signifies immersion, is used; and, in Russia, baptism has never been administered in any other way."

"The author of the Free Inquiry respecting baptism, Leipsic, 1802, says: 'Baptism is perfectly identical with our word immersion or submersion, (*tauchen oder untertauchen*.)'

"Professor Rost, the principal Greek lexicographer now living, in his standard German-Greek lexicon, revised with the assistance of a native Greek, put down, as the primary signification of all such words as plunge, immerse, and submerse (*tauchen, eintauchen, untertauchen*), *bapto*; but under the words wash, wet, pour, and the like (*waschen beneizen giessen, begeiessen*), though he gives copious definitions in Greek, he never employs the word *bapto*, nor any of its derivatives.

"It is important to put every reader of the New Testament, however uninstructed in even the letters of the Greek alphabet, into a method of ascertaining for himself, independently of the criticisms and declarations of men of learning, which is the mind of Christ as revealed in his Word in regard to this institution. Let him adopt the following process; it will conduct a meek and inquiring mind to a satisfactory result: Let him substitute whatever word is offered as containing the true import of *to baptize*, for this is in all the passages in the New Testament relating to this ordinance; if it be the proper representative of the word, it will translate it in every instance; if it fail to do this, it may be rejected as improper. What then is its true meaning?

Is it to sprinkle? John also was sprinkling in Enon near to Salim, because there was much water there. John iii. 23. Therefore, we are buried with him by sprinkling. Will this word express the meaning of the writer?

Is it to pour? Jesus came from Nazareth to Galilee, and was poured of John in Jordan. Repent and be poured every one of you. And they went down

In his critical remarks on the meaning of the original words to express the action of baptizing, Mr. B. adopts Dr. Carson's canon, viz. :—that

Bapto means first to dip, second to dye.

Baptizo invariably signifies to dip or plunge, and that is the word uniformly employed in the New Testament wherever the ordinance of baptism is referred to.

These distinctions are had in view in all Mr. B.'s discussions on the original language.

“Mr. F. thinks it strange that infant baptism should have prevailed so early in the church, and yet no one record the precise time of its introduction, if it were not received from the apostles. But to me it appears much more strange that it should have prevailed, and yet none of the apostles in their writings, nor any historians, sacred or profane, ever mentioned it, or have any reference to it until the third century. The reader will judge for himself. The origin of various other unauthorized ceremonies which are now rejected by all protestants, cannot easily be deciphered. But pedobaptists tell us, that as we have the first account of them in the third and fourth centuries, we may conclude, with moral certainty, that they began to prevail about the time in which they are first mentioned. On their own rule of judging, we conclude therefore, with *moral certainty*, that infant baptism began to prevail about the commencement of the third, and became popular in the fifth centuries. And finally Mr. F. reasons most triumphantly, and proves most conclusively (he thinks) that infant baptism is a very useful rite, because in several pedobaptist churches where it prevails, a great proportion of those who have become christians were baptized in infancy!! Let me balance this wonderful argument in favor of infant baptism, by urging against it an argument of precisely the same character. I know of no better way to show its weakness and folly. Not more than about five in fifty of those whom I have baptized in various places, and at different times, have been sprinkled in infancy. Yes, strange as it may appear, as many as forty-five out of fifty, were converted without having been dedicated to God by that rite!!

“Does any man seriously believe that sprinkling a few drops of water on the face of an infant of a span long, which knows not its right hand from the left, secures, or in any way effects the salvation of its soul? if so, I pity his delusion. Are not the children of baptists as likely to be saved as the children of pedobaptists? What say undeniable facts in this case? I sincerely regret that infant baptism should ever have been enforced by such unsound and fanciful arguments. There are many other things in these lectures which can easily be disproved!!”

Broaddus on Baptism. Letters to Rev. Mr. Slicer, a Methodist minister, in reply to his appeal on christian baptism. By Rev. William F. Broaddus, Washington, D. C., 8vo., pp. 123. 1836.

Much of this piece is occupied in references to what each party had said in former publications.

Mr. Broaddus shows a familiar acquaintance with the principal writers on the baptismal controversy on the different sides, and of the various methods by which the sentiments of the baptists are assailed and defended.

A few selections only can be made.

Circumcision and Baptism. “Once more; if baptism came in the room of circumcision, how strange that in the days of the apostles, those who had been *circumcised* were also *baptized*!! Was it ever known, in any other case under the sun, that the *substitute* was put in requisition when the *original* was present? When Ananias said to Paul: ‘Arise and be baptized,’ Paul might have replied, ‘I have been *circumcised*, and therefore do not need the substitute;’ and if Ananias had been of your opinion, it seems to me he must have yielded the point. But as neither Ananias nor Paul had ever heard of this

modern conceit, that baptism has come in the room of circumcision, we need not be at all surprised that Ananias baptized Paul, notwithstanding he had been circumcised in infancy, just as freely as I would baptize you, upon a profession of faith in Jesus Christ, although you had been baptized a thousand times previous to such a confession.

From the Fathers. "Thus I have briefly examined all the 'testimony' you have brought from the 'fathers;' and unless I am grossly deceived, it turns out to be no testimony at all. I have often heard pedobaptist ministers exclaim exultingly, 'the fathers are all in favor of infant baptism;' but, when put to the test, they all seem to be contented, like yourself, with furnishing four or five passages, and these either of doubtful authenticity, or capable of being explained so as by no means to support their cause. Why will you persist in this folly? Why, sir, I can find ten ecclesiastic writers, within 300 years after the apostles, who do not mention infant baptism, for every one you can find who even indirectly alludes to it. But I build nothing upon this. If they all, to a man, declared it unscriptural and dangerous, and I could find a scripture warrant for it, I would practice it, in spite of their opinions. So, also, if they all spoke in favor of it, unless I could find a scripture warrant, I would not practice it. My practice shall be regulated, not by the testimony of men, but by the word of my King.

Methodist Episcopacy. "If I had your views of the episcopal office, I should be very scrupulous about a *succession*; and I do not know how I should get that link of the chain mended, which was broken by Mr. Wesley, when he took it upon himself, without any authority from the church, whose authority he acknowledged, to ordain bishops for America. What right had Mr. Wesley to ordain bishops and priests? He had never himself been consecrated to the episcopal office: and how comes it to pass that your's is the methodist *episcopal* church? Your ordinances have all been derived from Mr. Wesley, who, according to your views of episcopacy, never was in the 'succession.' You see, sir, how dangerous it is for men who dwell themselves in glass houses, to be casting stones at others. The principle upon which you fix the *origin* of the American baptists, would fix the *origin* of your church, some 100 years later, and would, with all your views of episcopacy, stop every methodist bishop, presiding elder, local preacher, and circuit rider, in these United States, from preaching the gospel. How you get along with this difficulty, and especially how you get over the objection which Dr. Cook prefers against methodist ordination, perhaps your 'wise men' understand; I confess I do not."

Story about Mr. Wesley. This account is more fully given in another place; it is here inserted for the sake of the comments which follow: "I was asked," says Mr. Wesley, "to baptize a child of Mr. Parker; but Mrs. Parker told me, 'neither I nor Mr. Parker will consent to its being *dipped*.' I answered, 'if you certify that your child is weak, it will suffice, the Rubrick says, to pour water upon it.' She replied, 'nay, the child is not weak, but I am resolved it shall not be *dipped*.' This argument I could not confute, so I went home, and the child was baptized by another person.' I quoted this passage from Mr. Wesley's journal in my sermon. You seem to deem it necessary to apologize for him, which you do as follows: 'This was three years before Mr. Wesley formed any society, while he was a very young man, and was a priest in the church of England. He, of course, as a conscientious man, felt himself bound to regard the Rubrick of his church.' Very good. 'He felt himself bound to regard the Rubrick of his church;' and, therefore, if the parents had certified that the child was weak, he would have consented to *pour* water upon it, although he knew that the *custom of the first church*, was *immersion*. His conscientious respect for the authority of the Rubrick, bound him (not to *immerse*; he was bound to that by the *custom of the first church*), to *pour* in case of weakness. The whole manner in which Mr. Wesley describes this Parker affair, sustains my exposition of it; and I here repeat my

most solemn conviction, that Mr. Wesley preferred *immersion*, not only because the Rubrick preferred it, but because, as he says, it was the *custom of the first church*. But the clergy of his day, in defiance of the canons of their own church, had so far departed from the truth, as to declare *immersion, pouring, sprinkling*, equally acceptable; he was induced to yield his own judgment on the subject, and finally to set himself about the work of proving that all three are consistent with the word of God. So true is it, that the best of men may habituate themselves to err in their *practice*, from motives of mere expediency, until they finally get to *believe* their practice right."

Sears on Baptism. A Review of a series of discourses on the mode and subjects of baptism, by Rev. A. Burgess, of N. H. By B. Sears, D.D., President of the Newton Theo. Institution.⁴ 8vo. pp. 46. 1838.

Although the work reviewed by Dr. Sears, if we may judge from the extracts which he has made from it, was of a very ordinary kind, yet the reviewer has gone much beyond the arguments of his opponent; he has encountered nearly all the most learned and abstruse positions of the defenders of infant baptism, and by the aid of his profound researches into the modern literature of Europe, and especially of Germany, has, notwithstanding all that our greatest scholars have written on the baptist side, given us some new and peculiar illustrations on this long controverted subject.

In quoting learned authorities in philology and history, Dr. Sears is not confined to the usual catalogue of writers, but brings forward a great variety of modern names, all on the pedobaptist side, whose free and candid admissions establish and confirm all the main positions of the baptists.

The following extracts will give us a specimen of the manner in which the arguments of this learned reviewer are conducted.

Baptism of the Three Thousand. "The best way of replying to the impossibility of immersing so many at one time, we conceive to be by presenting facts, without speculating about the difficulties which some minds feel.

"On the great Sabbath of the Easter festival, the 16th day of April, 404, Chrysostom, with the assistance of the clergy of his own church, baptized by immersion, in Constantinople, about three thousand catechumens. 'The emperor was affected at the sight of the *newly baptized*, for they were about three thousand.'—Chrysostom's Ep. ad Innocent, vol. 3, p. 518, and Palladius' Life of Chrysostom. Neander, in his Life of Chrysostom, vol. 2, p. 225, gives a detailed account of the scene. Augusti, in his Eccl. Antiquities, vol. 2, p. 207, says: 'In that vigil, whose devotion was disturbed in so barbarous a way, *three thousand persons* were still baptized. That they were catechumens is self-evident; for infant baptism was, at that time, extremely rare.'

"We have said these were immersed. The Greek church have always practiced immersion, as we shall show hereafter. Chrysostom, who, in innumerable instances, in thirteen folio volumes, speaks of baptism, never alludes to sprinkling, but, on the contrary, defines it to be 'a plunging into the water and raising out of it,' and says that 'we enter into the water as into a grave,' and 'that the whole man is completely concealed by the immersion.' In the case before us, he speaks of the baptisteries, and calls them *pools* and *fountains*. The descriptions of those large and splendid baptisteries, some of which still exist in Constantinople, are too familiar to the critical reader to need further notice.

"Here then is a clear case, where three thousand, notwithstanding they were twice attacked by furious soldiers, at the instigation of Chrysostom's powerful enemies, *were all actually baptized by Chrysostom and his own presbyters, on one day and in one place*. For it is said that on the preceding evening they were in the church waiting the approach of the day, according to the custom

⁴ This work was published in the Christian Review in Nos. 9 and 10.

of those times. That day was the one solemnly set apart for the baptisms of the year, and the *next day* they were all neophytes, or baptized persons, in their white robes. Nor is this a rare occurrence. The custom of deferring all the baptisms of the year, cases of sickness only excepted, until Easter, made it necessary that such multitudes should often be baptized in one day; and these baptisms were all to be administered at the cathedral church, under the supervision of the bishop, assisted by the inferior clergy. The bishop generally commenced the baptism, and then retired, and his presbyters took his place. In many instances, however, there were several baptisteries, and two or three administrators were baptizing at the same time. In support of all this, we need now only refer to the *Archæology or Antiquities of Augusti*.”

Detailed accounts are also given of the doings of Remigius bishop of Rheims, and of Otho, the apostle of the Pomeranians. Remigius *in one day* baptized Clovis, the French king, and three thousand of his subjects; and as to the *mode*, the early writers set it beyond all doubt, by saying that the *bishop raised the king up out of the water*. This was in 496.

The number baptized in a single day by Otho was said to be about four thousand. All these great baptizers had ample assistance from their presbyters.⁵ Otho lived in the twelfth century.

These facts are sufficient to settle the question about the *possibility* of immersing the three thousand on the day of Pentecost.

Buried in baptism. “We cannot forbear noticing here a novel interpretation of Rom. vi. 4 (‘buried with him in baptism’), which is beginning to gain currency among certain American writers. It is gravely argued that Paul, in that passage, had no allusion to the mode of baptism. See Stuart on the passage, and those who have copied from him. This is a discovery. The preceding quotations from the early Fathers, and from the later German critics, will show, that none of them were ever blessed with this extraordinary illumination. It were easy to prove, that the biblical scholars of all nations, during the whole period intervening between the christian Fathers and the modern German schools, have all of them groped their way in equal darkness. Here then we have the remarkable fact, that while two or three American controversialists—in itself a suspicious circumstance—invent a new interpretation for a passage that overthrows all their far-fetched arguments in favor of aspersion in baptism, the whole host of learned critics, from Justin Martyr down to Winer, Neander, Olshausen and Tholuck, stand arrayed against them in an unbroken phalanx. Will it be believed, that this portion of a book, written for the common people (who, by the way, have never failed of apprehending the true sense of this passage), has been subjected to all classes of men in different ages of the world, in different nations and in all cultivated languages, for eighteen centuries, and that no man was ever found to open the seal and *dissect a figure*, until our enlightened opponents succeeded? We must not omit, in this connection, to mention a circumstance which sets the views of the early church, in regard to the point now under discussion, in a clear light. We allude to the fact, that the great body of the ancient church reserved, except in cases of peril, all the baptisms of the year, until the festival of the death and resurrection of Christ. If there were other times of baptism, they were regarded as less solemn and appropriate than the time of the Passover or Easter. Now the whole ground of this universal practice was, that Paul, in their view, declared baptism to be an emblem of death and resurrection. Here the act speaks louder than words. Though there is no controversy among those who profess to be acquainted with the subject, it may not be amiss to adduce a few passages by way of proof * * * Now the position which we shall attempt to establish is this, *that in the age of the church immediately succeeding the apostles, none were baptized by pouring or sprinkling, except those who were dangerously sick; and that*

⁵ The authors quoted for the above statements are Hincmar, Gregory of Tours, Paulus Emilius, Schröckh, Brenner, Von Cöln, Hahn, Augusti, Winer, &c.

the practice of pouring or sprinkling was not at that time supported on the ground of tradition or apostolic practice.

“If we succeed in making out this statement, and thus cut off entirely the link of connection between the practice of the *primitive* church and the church under the later christian Fathers, we need concern ourselves but little about the history of subsequent times.

Subjects of baptism. “In regard to the German authors, from whom we shall quote, we would here state, that while they in general deny that infant baptism was introduced by Christ or his apostles, they still justify the practice, on the ground of analogy or expediency. So far, however, from being agreed in what the true reason for this practice consists, they differ so widely as mutually to destroy each other’s foundation. Some support the doctrine chiefly on the analogy drawn from circumcision, others, including at present the majority, declare, that this is altogether a sandy foundation. The older German divines, as a body, and the greater portion of the Lutheran Evangelical Church at present, adopt the Augustinian view, that infants are, by their sinful birth, in the power of the devil, and that they are to be delivered from that power, for the time being, and (in case of their death) from everlasting perdition, by baptism! Others, struck with the absurdity of concentrating so much of a spiritual dispensation in a single ceremony performed upon unconscious persons, take directly opposite ground, and urge the innocence and holiness of children as the reason of their baptism. In not a few instances, the same writers, as if utterly unconscious of what they were doing, bring forward both of these contradictory reasons. Another class, in which are to be found such men as Neander and De Wette, having little confidence in any of the foregoing views, have struck out another, and, as they suppose, less objectionable system, viz.: that the germ of Christianity ought to be planted as early as possible in the infant mind; and that baptism is the medium of introducing the seminal principle. Not that baptism does away original sin, nor that unregenerated infants are, on apostolical principles, proper subjects of an ordinance, which is a declaration of personal faith; but that baptism is the instrument for throwing the holy influences of Christianity around the infant heart—a confusion of ideas, in which a single instantaneous act is put for a religious education. We will mention only one more system, of which Hahn is a principal supporter; who, without pretending to scripture authority, or resorting to his speculative talent for a hypothesis, merely says, that it is an existing institution, and that it has proved to be useful, and, therefore, it ought to be retained.

“We have made these statements, to avoid all imputation of unfairness. With the various theories of infant baptism, not resting on apostolical practice, we have, at present, nothing to do. Our single object, in introducing the testimony of these critics is, to prove *this one historical fact*, that infant baptism was not practiced by the apostles. The number of living German theologians who do not concede this point, is, comparatively, very small. Owing to the paucity of their writings which are to be found in any of our libraries, public or private, we are able to give only a small portion of the body of evidence which could easily be obtained on the other side of the Atlantic.

Household baptisms. “Starck, Hist. of Bapt., p. 11: ‘There is not a single example to be found in the New Testament where infants were baptized. In household baptisms, there was *always* reference to the gospel’s having been received. The New Testament presents just as good ground for infant communion. Therefore learned men (such as Salmasius, Arnold, Louis de Vives, Suicer, and W. Strabo) have regarded both infant baptism and infant communion as an innovation, introduced since the apostolic times.’ p. 11: ‘The connection of infant baptism with circumcision deserves no consideration, since there were *physical* reasons for circumcising in infancy.’

Proselyte baptism. “Hase’s Hutterus Redivivus, p. 341: ‘A proselyte baptism in the time of Christ cannot be proved.’

“Böttiger, one of the greatest of the German antiquarians, affirms, that ‘The

whole assertion (of a proselyte baptism before the time of John) is perfectly destitute of proof.*

"Olshausen, p. 156: 'In regard to proselyte baptism, it is to me probable, that a formal baptism, *i. e.*, a lustration performed upon a proselyte by another person, did not exist *before* John's baptism. To me, it appears that the preponderance of evidence is on the side of Dr. Schneckenburger.'

"Winer, in his Bible Dictionary, of 1836, says: that 'washings were probably connected with circumcision and an offering on the part of proselytes before Christ. But as an independent initiatory ceremony, necessarily connected with circumcision, and of equal rank with it, baptism did not, probably, exist *before the destruction of the temple.*'

"Most of the living critics of Germany adopt substantially these views. What then shall we say of the argument drawn from proselyte baptism, in favor of infant baptism? Some writers, in maintaining the high antiquity of that Jewish baptism, have not, at least, been deficient in zeal and courage. Hammond would prove that even the children of the *native Jews* were baptized! Wall, and some others, would have us believe, that the institution of baptism may be found in Ex. xix. 10, at the giving of the law at Sinai. Zorn ascertains that it was instituted before the time of Moses! Rhenford thinks it was established with our first parents, in Paradise!

Proof of infant Baptism from Irenæus considered.

"We are next to consider the celebrated passage of Irenæus, on which so much stress has been laid.

"'Christ came to save all through himself; all I say, who through him are *regenerated* to God, infants, and little ones, and children, and youths, and the aged.'

"'Therefore, he passed through every age respectively, sanctifying infants by becoming an infant to them; to little ones, as a little one, sanctifying those of this age, at the same time being made to them an example of piety, and of justice, and of subjection; to youths, as a youth, becoming an example to them, and sanctifying them to the Lord.'

"Everything here turns upon the word *renascuntur*. If it means *they were regenerated*, then it has nothing to do with our subject; if it means *they were baptized*, then it proves the existence of infant baptism in the time of Irenæus. Irenæus generally employs the word "*regeneration*," and others of the same import, to designate '*the general work of Christ in redeeming the human race.*' The great law of interpretation is, to let every writer interpret himself. If we do so with Irenæus, we shall find that all the senses in which Irenæus uses the word, grow out of the radical signification just given.

"We must now sustain our general definition by appropriate quotations. Irenæus, in his work on heresies, is contending against the Gnostics, who denied the reality of Christ's incarnation, and maintained that it was only apparent. He attempts to prove that the efficacy of redemption by Christ depends entirely on the identity of his human nature with ours. Like many of the present evangelical divines of Germany, he supposes that redemption by Christ was effected rather by his incarnation and life as a whole, than by his sufferings on the cross, though this last is an important part, which can by no means be excluded. He maintains that human nature, as such, is completely summed up in Christ. He fully represents the *genus*, while others are but individuals of the human race. In him, as their representative head, Adam and all his

* If we look back to the review of the writings of Wall and Gale, we shall see that Irenæus is supposed to have gone by tens, in the division of human life, and that mankind were denominated *infantes*, infants, up to ten years of age; *parvulos*, little ones, to twenty; *pueros*, children, to thirty; *juvenes*, youths, or young men, to forty; and *seniores*, or aged, to fifty and onward; and that it was for the purpose of carrying out this favorite system of this fanciful Father, that he the more readily fell in with the theory of extending the Saviour's age so much beyond the computation of all other writers.

posterity exist. Again, he included in himself every stage of human life. Irenæus believed, from John viii., 56, 57, that Christ lived to about the age of fifty (see Lib. ii. 22, 6); and that by passing thus through every period of human life personally, he *sanctified* all ages of men, as well as men in all-ages of the world. By means of this contact with human nature, in all its extent, he is represented by Irenæus as 'renewing the human race' (*renovat genus humanum*)."

The criticisms on the writings of this early Father are extended to considerable length; many parallel passages are quoted, all adverse to the idea of infant baptism being intended by the phrase in question.

"That Christ sanctified infants by becoming an infant himself, has several parallels in Irenæus. 'He became an infant, to aid our weak apprehension,'—'he became an infant with us on this account,' iv. 38, 1 and 2. 'He went into Egypt, sanctifying the infants that were there.' It would be absurd to suppose that the infant Jesus *baptized* the Egyptian infants.

"Baumgarten-Crusius, p. 1209, says: 'The celebrated passage in Irenæus, ii., 22, 4, is not to be applied to infant baptism; for the phrase *renasci per eum* (i. e. *Christum in Deum*) evidently means the participation of all in his divine and holy nature, in which he became a substitute for all.'

"Winer, in his lectures, says:—'Tertullian is the first that mentions it (infant baptism); Irenæus does not mention it, as has been supposed.' We have already quoted Starck, as saying: 'Neither Justin Martyr nor Irenæus say, respecting infant baptism, what has been attributed to them.'

"Rössler, in his Library of the Christian Fathers, Vol. L, p. 11, observes: 'All the arguments put together do not prove that *renasci in Deum* (in this passage of Irenæus) means to be baptized.'

"Münscher, in his Larger Hist. of Theology, Vol. II., p. 344, denies the validity of this evidence for infant baptism.

Tertullian the first to oppose infant baptism.

"We next come to Tertullian, who flourished about A. D. 200, and *who is the very first writer*, christian or pagan, that mentions infant baptism. Mr. Burgess, p. 194, leaning on Dwight, and Dwight on Wall, would have us believe that 'Tertullian merely urged the delay of baptism to infants, and that only in some cases.' It is an unwelcome task to controvert a position which is not supported by any eminent critic of the age. No man, versed even moderately, in the early christian literature, can be found, who will maintain that this father did not oppose infant baptism altogether.

"Dr. Wall finds great difficulty in reconciling the seemingly contradictory statements of Tertullian on baptism. It is a plain case, that he was not enough acquainted with this writer to enter into his spirit, and, from a knowledge of his theological views, to follow him, and rightly interpret him in his various controversies. There cannot be a more 'bungling' specimen of criticism than that of Wall, where, page after page, he loads his book with quotations which he confesses he does not understand. What a pity that he did not know Hermann's rule of criticism, enough, of itself, to immortalize the name of its author: viz., 'never attempt to explain what you do not understand.' Tertullian defended his views of baptism against two parties, who verged to opposite extremes. He first combated infant baptism, on account of its violating the fundamental principle that faith must precede baptism. His leading doctrine is stated thus:—'Baptism is the seal of *faith*. We are not baptized *in order* to cease from sin, but because our hearts are already cleansed.'—*De Penit.* 6."

Origen and Augustine's testimony examined.

"Our opponents lay great stress on the testimony of Origen and Augustine,

⁷ For a fuller exposition of Tertullian's arguments, the reader is referred to a previous page.

to an apostolical tradition for infant baptism. In regard to the former, Neander, in his *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. I., part 2, p. 367, says:—'His words in that age cannot have much weight; for whatever was regarded as important, was alleged to be from the apostles. Besides, many walls of partition intervened between this age and that of the apostles, to intercept the view.'

"Augustine's deserves still less consideration. He was farther removed from the apostles. He was more deeply engaged in the controversy than any other man in the ancient church, and evidently caught at slight evidence with too great avidity. What destroys all confidence in his testimony, which he himself states rather as a matter of belief than as an ascertained fact, is, that he gives the rule by which any one can learn what descended from the apostles: 'Whatever has prevailed in the church at all times and in all places, and yet was not established by councils, must be regarded as apostolical.' With the accuracy of this principle we are not at all concerned. But with such a statement before our eyes, taken in connection with the peculiar language which he employs in giving the testimony, viz.: 'that infant baptism *is believed* to be established not without apostolical authority,' we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that he *inferred* his facts, and is therefore not an historical witness.

Conclusion. "In conclusion, we will sum up the whole argument respecting infant baptism, in the words of Neander, in one of his lectures on theology:

"*Can infant baptism be proved to be apostolical?* Catholics resort to tradition to prove it; but protestants have rejected the authority of tradition. Hence the Reformers, in 1521, were brought into difficulty in regard to it. *As they were accustomed to the practice, they made an attempt to prove it from scripture*, and in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and partly in the eighteenth centuries, false arguments were employed in support of it, till at length, Rationalism led to a more candid examination of the subject. The arguments were the following:—"

Then follows a brief examination of the five positions on which the advocates of infant baptism in every age have placed their principal reliance, viz.: the baptism of households—teach all nations, &c.—suffer little children, &c.—Abraham's covenant—and general practice.⁹

The following paragraph closes the Review:

"If the practice had been apostolical, it must have made its appearance at an earlier date. The first trace of it is found in Irenæus, A.D. 177. It may be said, 'we have few documents of that age.' But the fact that Tertullian controverted infant baptism, without any allusion to its being regarded as of apostolical origin, is against the supposition that it was apostolical. Besides, the practice itself accorded so well with the materialistic (formal) tendency of the age, that, had it been apostolical, some proof of it would have been brought forward."

Dowling on Baptism and missionary operations. A vindication of the Baptists from the charge of bigotry, and of embarrassing missionary operations by translating and refusing to transfer, in all their versions of the scriptures among the heathen, the words relating to Baptism. By Rev. John Dowling, D.D., New York. 8vo., pp. 30. 1838.

⁹ The saying of Pelagius, that "he never heard of any one, even the most impious heretic, who denied infant baptism," is freely commented upon by Dr. Sears. Those who have read Dr. Wall's *History of Infant Baptism* with attention, will perceive that this famous declaration, with that of St. Austin relative to its apostolical character and universal prevalence, are the Jachin and Boaz, the main pillars of his edifice; and inspiration itself could hardly be more conclusive in his view. In this he has been followed by a multitude of writers on the pedobaptist side. But our author shows that Julian, one of Pelagius's own party, and Austin himself, Chrysostom and Jerome, all of whom lived in the close of the fourth, or the beginning of the fifth century, had controversies with, and wrote against the opposers of infant baptism; and that the council of Carthage, at which Austin was present, decreed, whosoever shall deny that new-born infants are to be baptized, *let him be accursed*. Substantial authorities are given by the Reviewer for all these statements. So much for the universal and undisputed sway of infant baptism about four hundred years after the commencement of the christian dispensation.

This piece was called out by some remarks of David M. Reese, M.D., complaining of the baptists for their principles as to new translations of the bible for the heathen.

The title of the work indicates the course pursued by the author. He has taken a wide range in the field of literary criticism, and in the history of various translations of the scriptures, ancient and modern, with good effect, and has exhibited good reasons for the course pursued by the baptists in their Bible operations.

Robards on Baptism. The Convert's Guide to first principles; or, evangelical truth sustained by the united testimony of our Lord Jesus Christ, the holy apostles, and our pedobaptist brethren. By Rev. J. Robards. New Haven, Conn. 12mo., pp. 216. 1838.

Quimby on Baptism. A short examination of the scriptural subjects, acts, and design of christian baptism; together with some account of its observance, as contained in ecclesiastical history. By Rev. Hosea Quimby, Dover, N. H. 12mo., pp. 48. 1839.

This piece goes over the whole ground of the baptismal controversy, and adduces the substance of all the learned authorities both as to the subjects and mode of baptism found in larger works. The discussion is conducted in the form of a dialogue between *Question* and *Answer*. The following extracts give the reader a specimen of the author's mode of reasoning:—

"A. Your last argument is rather specious, but, on a moment's reflection, you will be convinced that it is unsound. Other innovations, besides infant baptism, made upon apostolic customs, can be traced back also to the third century. Take infant communion, for an example. Those same writers who are quoted as evidence of the early existence of pedobaptism, advocate infant communion also on the same ground,—that of necessity. Both were regarded as saving ordinances, and indispensable to salvation. These very writers also are claimed by the catholics as evidence of the early existence of many of their dogmas, and of their being apostolical traditions, viz., the doctrine of purgatory, transubstantiation, auricular confession, praying to saints, &c., &c. If your arguments prove that infant baptism is an apostolic rite, because it is spoken of so early, and advocated and considered as such by many, must it not follow that these other practices also are apostolic rites, being spoken of and advocated by the same writers, and by them regarded as such? Would not the church have known that *these* were innovations, and have raised its united cry against them? You see yourself that this mode of reasoning is inconclusive. Allow it, and you grant the catholic all he wishes. Indeed, considering with what the christians of those early times were surrounded, and what doctrines became prevalent among them, it is by no means strange that pedobaptism, and in fact many other observances, should take their rise. On the one hand were the Jews, zealous of the law and desirous of uniting its rites with the gospel, and on the other were the diabolical practices of heathenism, under the pretence of religion. With one or the other of these the public mind, of course, was more or less influenced and predisposed to unite. But besides this, as before hinted, the doctrine early arose, that baptism was indispensable to salvation. The unbaptized of all ages and conditions must, in their views, be lost. This rite, when infant baptism began to prevail, was regarded of so much importance, that decrees were passed requiring the baptism of infants; and fearing that they might, in some cases, die without its administration, midwives were commissioned to perform the rite. Administrators must likewise have the eucharist ever in readiness, so that, in case of danger, this might also be given. This doctrine—that baptism is necessary to salvation—is not to be confined to the ancients, but has been that of some in later times:—

"Gill. No instance can be given of infant baptism so early as of infant communion.

"Priestley. For more than a thousand years communion in the Lord's supper immedi-

ately followed baptism; and no such thing occurs as that of any person having a right to one of these ordinances and not to the other.

"*Swicerus*. It is notorious from antiquity, that the eucharist was given to infants.

"*John Edwards*. Infant communicating was a catholic doctrine. Herein all the Fathers agreed. They held that the sacrament was to be administered to infants and children, and that it was necessary for their salvation; accordingly, they made them partakers of that ordinance.

"*Charles the Great*. Let the priests have the eucharist always ready, that, when any person is sick, or an infant afflicted, they may immediately give it him, that he may not die without the communion."

Parr on Baptism. 1. A sermon on Baptism, preached in Ithaca, N. Y. By Rev. S. S. Parr. 1839.

This was reviewed by Rev. Mr. Wisner, a pedobaptist minister of that place.

2. The Reviewer reviewed. Ithaca. Svo., pp. 24. 1840.

This review contains a spirited reply to his opponent, and a good summary defense of the general principles of the baptists.

Hinton on Baptism. A history of Baptism, both from the inspired and uninspired writings. By Isaac Taylor Hinton. Philadelphia. Svo. pp. 372. 1840.

This work consists of eleven chapters, as follows:

1. *Import of the term baptizo.*
2. *Testimony from the evangelists.*
3. *Testimony from the Acts of the Apostles.*
4. *Testimony from the Epistles.*
5. *Various passages erroneously presumed to refer to baptism.*
6. *Ecclesiastical history—mode of baptism.*
7. *Ecclesiastical history—subjects of baptism.*
8. *The doctrines which introduced and accompanied infant baptism.*
9. *Ceremonies associated with infant baptism—infant communion.*
10. *Three baptisms—baptism of the Apostles, of the Fathers, and of the Reformers.*
11. *Philosophy of baptism; or moral tendency of believers' and infant baptism compared.*

The first chapter, on the import of the term *baptizo*, goes over the whole ground, as defended and admitted, or contested, by the principal writers on both sides, both British and American; and among them, Dr. Carson, for the true rendering of the two Greek words *bapto* and *baptizo*, holds a conspicuous place.

John's Baptism. "The brief hour of dawn precedes the light of day; the sun arises veiled by the mists of earth, till at length its power dispels them, and its rays burst forth with unimpeded refulgence. The preaching of John the Baptist was the dawn of the glorious day of christianity; in the personal ministry of our Saviour, the Sun of Righteousness arose, but so dense were the mists of prejudice on the minds of his disciples, that he unveiled but little of his glory even to them; and the instructions he did give, were but very imperfectly comprehended till the 'mighty rushing wind,' the symbol of the Spirit's power, cleared the clouds which, till the pentecostal day, had enveloped their minds. But is not the dawn a part of the day? The evangelist evidently thought so, when he affirmed that 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness, prepare ye the way of the Lord,' was 'the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God.

"If the preaching of John was the 'beginning of the gospel,' then was the baptism of John the beginning of Christian baptism; not baptism fully developed, but baptism *begun*. The baptism of Christ himself, then the disciples of Jesus, immediately after, baptizing by his authority, connect the baptism of John inseparably with the final commission of our Lord. There surely was no dispensation between the Mosaic and the Christian. The ministry of John

must belong to one or the other; if to the former, John was *not* 'more than a prophet;' if to the latter, it is no objection that he was 'less' than the least of those who enjoyed the pentecostal day, which had never set, and never will set on the christian church. I regard the baptism of John as christian baptism in an incompletely developed state, yet with all its elements of character strongly marked.

"The last time the fact of John's baptizing is referred to in the sacred history, it is found associated with the phrase 'much water;' 'and John also was baptizing in Enon, near to Salim, because there was much water there.' Calvin considers 'that from these words, it may be inferred that baptism was administered by John and Christ by plunging the whole body under water.' The founder of presbyterianism is not presbyterian enough for the necessities of modern times; and professors and divines of the same church are quite sure that their founder is wrong, and that *polla udata* ought to be rendered 'many waters.' Dr. Doddridge, whose learning and candor were equalled only by his piety, translates the words in his paraphrase 'because there was a great quantity of water there.'

"If it be a true adage that 'a man may be known by the company he keeps,' the case of infant baptism is a sad one. Till after the reformation, it is never found, except, not only in association with, but dependent upon, doctrines at which every enlightened christian revolts; till at length it leads to abominations so vile, that the writer could not allude to them more minutely, without shocking the feelings of every delicate mind; and yet the abominations to which I allude, are but the necessary result of benevolence, if the *doctrines* on which infant baptism was *originally based* are true.

"Pedobaptist writers, when quoting from Origen, Cyprian, and Augustine, find it necessary to observe: 'With the absurd doctrines of these writers we have nothing to do.' I am not sure of this. Suppose that it should prove that an 'absurd doctrine' is the reason always given in the writings of the fathers, for any certain practice; would it not justly lead to a suspicion and inquiry, to say the least, that *the doctrine was the basis of the practice, and introduced it?* Let us pursue this reasonable inquiry with respect to the doctrines always found in direct connection with the fact of infant baptism. First, then, we find the idea, that the administration of the outward ordinance to the infant, is invariably attended with immediate and concurrent spiritual blessings of the highest consequence. This is but one specimen of the general departure from the pure spiritual philosophy of the scriptures, which prevailed in the earliest ages of the church. The observations of Mr. Taylor on this point are admirable."

Doctrine of the damnation of unbaptized infants. "We now arrive at the main doctrine advanced to promote the spread of infant baptism—the doctrine of the eternal damnation of unbaptized infants; and very effectual it was to this end; wherever this doctrine was received, infant baptism followed as a necessary consequence. The baptism of babes, and others, at the point of death, by pedobaptist ministers, indicates clearly that the doctrine and practice, having been lawfully joined together by Augustine, cannot be divorced. * *

"Another doctrine by which infant baptism was sustained and propagated, was that of the connection between the christian church and Judaic economy, and the assertion that baptism came in the place of circumcision. This invention of Cyprian and Augustine is still the stronghold of this error, the introduction of which was speedily followed by the national establishment of Christianity; exhibiting infant baptism as the fruit of these Judaizing doctrines, and as the seed of national establishments, and of popery. This doctrine has been fully refuted in chap. V., sec. 1.

Infant Communion. Such are the follies which have been introduced in lieu of the gloriously simple ordinance of baptism, as instituted by our Lord, and practised by his apostles.

It will be observed, however, that whatever childish additions the ancients made to baptism, they never separated it from the Lord's supper. Of this, I shall adduce the most abundant proof. For ten centuries the idea of withholding one sacrament from those who had partaken of the other, even in the case of infants, had certainly never been conceived. This was reserved for the most corrupt age of the church of Rome, when the doctrine of transubstantiation was 'come to the full;' so that the reformers have followed the corruptions of the ancient church in giving baptism to infants, and the corruptions of modern Romanism in withholding from them the Lord's supper; and then, in the adoption of this compound of error (with the facts of history staring us in the face), they ask baptists to follow them, and are far from pleased at our obstinate refusal. No, brethren. 'Whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder.' When pedobaptists give their children both ordinances, they will be consistent; but while they withhold the Lord's supper from their children, let them not complain of others withholding baptism. The fact that wherever in the Scriptures, or in the ancient church, baptism is found, there the other ordinance is found in connection with it, is, in itself, enough to overthrow all the arguments for the practice of infant baptism, when used by those who do not practise infant communion. Whatever arguments will sustain the one, will be equally available for the other. It is astonishing that Dr. Woods, and other professors of ecclesiastical history, even in their lectures to their students, do not bring forward this important fact and fairly meet it. Church of England writers are much more candid and fearless. Mr. Bingham, the Prebendary of Chichester, in his valuable work on Christian Antiquities, has brought forward evidence which places this matter beyond a doubt.

"Bossuet affirms, The church has always believed, and still believes, that infants are capable of receiving the eucharist as well as baptism, and finds no more obstacle to their communion, in the words of St. Paul, 'Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat,' than she finds to their baptism in these words of our Lord, 'Teach and baptize.' But as she knew the eucharist could not be absolutely necessary to their salvation, after they had received the full remission of sins in baptism, she believes it was a matter of discipline to give or not give the communion in this age; thus it is, that during the first eleven or twelve centuries, she, for good reasons, gave it; and for other reasons equally good, has since then ceased to give it."

"When the Council of Trent abrogated the practice entirely, it gave the protestants of that day an admirable opportunity to attack the favorite principle of the catholics, 'that the true church never changed.' In fact, the abandoning of this practice is as fatal to the great principle of popery—the infallibility of the church, as the existence of the practice from the third to the twelfth century is to protestant infant baptism. There cannot be a particle of evidence produced that, for more than one thousand years, the two ordinances were ever separated; and the responsibility which rests upon those who continue to separate that which God has joined together, and thus to assume the position of legislators, instead of obedient servants of Zion's King, is such as should make the violators of the order of Christ's house seriously reflect, and cheerfully return to the good old way."

Pendleton on Baptism and Communion. A conversation between two laymen on the subjects and mode of christian baptism and church communion; forming a complete manual. By Charles H. Pendleton. Cleaveland, Ohio. 8vo. pp. 139. 1840.

The title indicates the nature and design of this work. The lay brethren manage the dialogue with great candor and good nature, and in the course of their long discussions, they touch upon all points of the controversy relative to baptism and communion; and all complaints that were ever made against the baptists on account of their peculiar opinions, are introduced by one party and answered by the other; and, as we should naturally expect, in the end, the baptist carries his point, and brings his opponent over to his side.

The following may serve as a specimen of the manner in which this dialogue is conducted:

"*Baptist.* I am very willing to acknowledge, that there is something wrong about this close communion, as you term it. But are the baptists wrong in this matter? If so, then it must either be in their principles, or in their practice, or in both; and as you have frankly acknowledged that their principles are in harmony with scripture, it follows, as their practice is the carrying out of those principles, that if they are wrong, then the scriptures are equally wrong—a position, my friend, I am sure you will not maintain. But as the question still returns, what or where is the wrong? in reply, I will endeavor to specify some things that I deem wrong in the pedobaptists. It is wrong in them to appeal to the sympathies of community, by exciting and keeping up a continual

¹⁰ Bossuet Traite de Communion sous les deux Espèces, Part I., p. 3.

outrery about the close communion of the baptists, in order to render them odious in the eyes of community.

“*Pedobaptist.* I must acknowledge, my brother, that there is too much truth in your remarks. Yet very many of those who stigmatize the baptists as close communionists, verily believe that they are as *rigid, illiberal, and bigoted*, as they represent them. These false reports in circulation have so prejudiced their minds as to prevent a thorough examination of your sentiments. Hence their prejudices have induced them to adopt and give currency to this gratuitous slander. Now, although these persons’ motives may be good, still they are culpable for endorsing these reports without a knowledge of their truth; therefore their conduct cannot be justified by the law of love. But you mentioned two kinds of communion, or fellowship: *christian* and *church*. As this is a distinction I never before heard made, I should be much gratified to learn in what it consists.

“*Baptist.* In regard to the distinction between christian and church communion, I would remark, that it is no cause of wonder to me that you never heard of it. For it would seem by the conversation of many pedobaptists, that they think there is, there can be, no christian communion besides that manifested in the participation of saints with each other at the Lord’s table. This I conceive to be a great mistake. Whenever christians of different denominations engage in conversation with each other, on experimental religion, they find their hearts burning within them, in a kindred flame of holy affection: they feel that they have obtained like precious faith; that they are children of the same kind father; that their joys—their sorrows—their interests—their hopes—are in a great measure one. This *love of the brethren* the apostle adduces as evidence that we ‘have passed from death unto life.’ This is what we term christian communion, or affection.”

2. A Dialogue on Restricted Church Communion. Cleaveland, Ohio. 8vo. pp. 30. 1841.

Woolsey on Baptism. The doctrine of christian baptism examined by the acknowledged principles of biblical interpretation. In two parts. Including both the mode and subjects. By Rev. James J. Woolsey. Phila. 12mo., pp. 361. 1840.

The title of Mr. Woolsey’s book is well sustained throughout his discussions. He has also taken much pains to give a short account of the various versions of the scriptures into the English language; and, in the appendix at the close of the book, he has given the details of the doings of the famous assembly of divines at Westminster, in 1643–’44.

“This assembly was composed of thorough-going presbyterians, who were in power in the time of the Commonwealth, during the prostrate condition of the established church. The article is worthy the attention of those who have a desire to see the manner in which this meeting was conducted,—their disposition towards the anabaptists, Brownists, &c., and the severe struggle which they had to keep the old-fashioned doctrine of dipping out of their directory.

“*Wednesday, Aug. 7th, 1644.* Then fell we upon the work of the day, which was about baptizing of the child, whether to *dip* him or *sprinkle*. And this proposition, ‘It is lawful and sufficient to besprinkle the child,’ had been canvassed before our adjourning, and was now ready to vote; but I spake against it as being very unfit to vote; that it was lawful to sprinkle when every one grants it. Whereupon it was fallen upon—sprinkling being granted—whether *dipping* should be tolerated with it. And here fell we upon a large and long discourse, whether *dipping* were essential, or used in the first institution, or in the Jews’ custom.

“After a long dispute, it was at last put to the question, whether the directory should run thus:—‘The minister shall take water, and sprinkle or pour it with his hand upon the face or forehead of the child;’ and it was voted so indifferently that we were glad to count names twice; for so many were unwilling to have *dipping* excluded, that the votes came to an equality within one; for the one side was twenty-four, the other twenty-five; the twenty-four for the *reserving* of dipping, and the twenty-five against it. And there grew a great heat upon it; and when we had done all, we concluded upon nothing in it; but the business was recommitted.’”

As I wish to give the reader some of these details, and the extracts which I

wish to make are too long for the text, I shall insert them in a note below, which are in Dr. Lightfoot's own words,—having consulted the original since this article was begun.¹

I have also consulted Baillie's Journal, and find that on this identical seventh day of August, 1644, "complaints were brought into the Assembly of the great increase of anabaptist conventicles in divers places," (Vol. II., p. 215.) This was a very opportune item of intelligence for the anti-dippers of the Assembly

Howell on Communion. Terms of Sacramental Communion. By Rev. R. B. C. Howell, D.D. Phil. pp. 300. 1841.

This work consists of eighteen chapters, the last of which recapitulates the whole contents of the book. This I shall give entire, which will enable the reader to see the main positions of the author; his method of meeting the many objections which are urged against the baptists relative to this part of their church discipline; and of exculpating them from what their opponents denominate a rigid and uncharitable course of proceeding.

In the course of his discussions, Dr. Howell has canvassed at great length not only the communion, but also the baptismal question, and has brought forward a great variety of proofs to show that the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, as to the mode and subjects of baptism, have always been maintained by different portions of christian professors from the early ages up to the present time.

As a matter of policy, the author brings forward some strong cases, particularly that of Bunyan's old church in Bedford, England, where the open communion system operated to the entire disadvantage of the baptist cause, and the transfer of the old community into pedobaptist hands.

He has also made some interesting quotations from some good writers on the pedobaptist side, who are decidedly opposed to opening so wide a door to their communion table as many churches of that order profess to do, and who, furthermore, candidly admit that the baptists, with *their* views of what constitute gospel baptism, are entirely consistent with themselves, and ought not to be blamed for refusing to admit to membership and communion in their churches any persons, however pious and respectable, who, upon their principles, yet remain unbaptized.

¹ "Thursday, Aug. 8th. Then fell we upon our work about dipping, in baptism; and first, it was proposed by Dr. Burgess that our question proposed yesterday might be proposed again. And this cost some time before we could get off this business; at last it was put to the question, whether the question put yesterday should be more debated before determined, and it was voted affirmatively.

"And so we fell upon the business; and I first proposed that those that stand for dipping should show some probable reason why they held it. Dr. Temple backed me in the thing. And Mr. Marshall began; and he said that he doubted not that all the Assembly concluded that dipping was lawful. I fitly answered, that I hold it unlawful: it is a tradition, &c. * * * * *

"As for the dispute itself about dipping, it was thought fit and most safe to let it alone."

Dr. Wall well observes of this Assembly, that they reformed the *font* into a *basin*. It must be borne in mind that Dr. Wall, as an episcopalian, was not well-disposed towards the presbyterian party, who bid fair at one time to grasp and control the whole ecclesiastical power of the British realm. As the advocate for the ancient mode of baptizing, it was not strange that he speaks lightly of the doings of this Assembly in general, and especially of their getting up a liturgy or directory, in which, for the first time since liturgies were formed (except that at Zurich), dipping should be altogether excluded.—*Lightfoot's Works*, Vol. XIII., pp. 299-302, as quoted by Mr. Woolsey.

I have examined the works of this famous presbyterian writer, and find these, with other quotations, are correctly made.

So it is a fact beyond all controversy, that, in the Westminster Assembly of Divines for establishing a form of worship for the whole presbyterian church, the vote for dipping was lost by a majority of one; and that Dr. Lightfoot, by his own showing, took unwearied pains to bring about the result.

N. B. We are not to understand that the approving party were for dipping exclusively, but that it should be inserted as one of the modes, much as it has always stood in the liturgy of the church of England.

These accounts of the doings of the Assembly are quoted verbatim by both Lightfoot and Baillie. They may show that both made use of the Journal of the House, but my impression when reading Baillie was, that his own private journal was his guide.

“Recapitulation and conclusion.

“Contents of the several chapters—Summary of the whole—Exhortation—Union—Liberality—Prosperity—Firm adherence to original principles—Our ultimate triumph.

“Having briefly touched in the preceding chapters the several particulars considered most vital in this controversy, and an explanation of which was regarded as essential to an intelligent decision, I hasten to close the discussion. For this purpose it may not be improper briefly to recall attention to the principal topics of argument which have passed in review before us.

“In our preliminary observations, we have defined our position, identified the points which we have proposed to investigate, deprecated the motives which have impelled men in all ages to violate the law of charity, and explained the reasons which, in the southwest, have rendered on our part an examination of the principles of sacramental communion requisite. In several succeeding chapters we have enumerated, illustrated, and defended the fundamental doctrines of communion, and shown that they are necessarily as immutable as that great Being of whose divine will they are at once an emanation and a transcript. They consist in the following radical truths: that we are prohibited from adopting any terms of communion other than those ordained by our Lord Jesus Christ, and that to these we are at all times and in all circumstances under obligations to adhere, individually and collectively, without addition, diminution, or change; that, in the second place, repentance towards God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, are indispensable terms of approach to the Lord's table; and to which those who have observed these preliminaries cannot afterwards be debarred of access, but in consequence of a forfeiture of christian character, by immorality or heresy. These facts, we have seen, are scriptural, reasonable, and that in firmly maintaining them we have the full concurrence, with the single exception of a few open-communion baptists, of all the christian world, of all nations, ages, and denominations. To all the arguments acknowledged to be of any importance against these conclusions, such, for example, as those founded on the presumed nature of the administration of John the Baptist, the inspired canons of christian toleration, the spirituality of the gospel, and several others, we have fully, and we trust satisfactorily replied, showing that so far from invalidating in any particular, they confirm and establish the doctrines for which we are professedly advocates. And that, in the third place, we are not at liberty to administer the Lord's supper for any purposes, however desirable they may appear to us, or however great may be the imagined advantages, other than for those designated by our Lord Jesus Christ. Having thus traced the outlines of our faith with regard to the eucharist, we have enumerated the several reasons why we cannot engage in sacramental communion with pedobaptists, among which we have noted especially, that in so doing, we must necessarily either renounce or practically falsify all those principles which we have explained and so fully and sincerely avowed, and which are held sacred and true equally by baptists and pedobaptists, and tacitly assent to others, the truth or propriety of which we cannot conscientiously acknowledge. We cannot commune with them, because Jesus Christ expressly, as all of them confess, requires baptism as a preliminary—and they have not been baptized. This disqualification is apparent, not only from the fact that they received the rite, if it may be called such, in unconscious infancy, at which age the law of Christ not only does not authorize, but positively forbids its reception, but also from the consideration that sprinkling or pouring was in the administration substituted for the ordinance of Christ, which made what they received a rite of their own invention, and in no sense obedience to the command of the adorable Redeemer. As our final reason, we have shown that all the sects of pedobaptists attach an immoderate and unscriptural importance to both baptism and the Lord's supper, representing them as the seals of divine

grace, the means of entering into the covenant of mercy, and effectual instrumentalities of salvation. When administered for such purposes, or for any other than as testimonies of our love and obedience to Christ, it is very evident that we can neither receive baptism at their hands, nor mingle with them at the holy table.

"The next topic we have submitted, is, the tendency and effect of open communion considered merely as a matter of policy. Under this head we have pointed out the deceptions liable to be practised upon our judgment and our feelings; shown that, guided by the principles of reason, enlightened by the word of God, it is impossible to reach the conclusion that promiscuous communion is good policy; we have introduced its history and proved, by all the facts attendant upon its progress in both hemispheres, and during the last hundred years, that, so far from exercising a solitary influence in our favor, it has proved itself, as a matter of policy, absolutely ruinous; and, finally, that it is ingeniously confessed by its warmest and most able advocates, that were the baptist church universally to adopt unrestricted communion, we should soon cease to exist as such, and our members find refuge in the little communities around us, the oldest of which did not exist until our church had run a career of fifteen centuries.

"We have also fully and satisfactorily shown, after all that has been said of our selfishness and bigotry on the subject of sacramental and religious intercourse, that we are palpably more free and liberal in our communion than any class of pedobaptists whatever. This fact is demonstrated by comparing our course in reference to all our members who are confessedly baptized, with that of pedobaptists towards theirs, two-thirds of whom they themselves debar from their own table, and still complain of our want of liberality; by the exclusive claims of episcopacy, and the intercourse, as evinced by the acts of conferences, synods, general assemblies, and the tone of the religious press, existing between the several methodist and presbyterian sects; and by the well known truth that the fraternal associations between them and ourselves are, to say the least, as cordial as between the several parties into which pedobaptism is divided.

"We have closed the discussion, by briefly considering and amply refuting the charge so often and so confidently preferred against us, that, in maintaining a communion restricted to baptized believers, of known orthodoxy and moral character, and declining to institute any new terms of communion, or to participate in the eucharist for any purposes other than to evince our love and obedience to the Redeemer, and to show the Lord's death till he come, we are guilty of dividing the body of Christ, and obnoxious to the character of schismatics. We have demonstrated, by the word of God, that, in doctrine, in polity, and especially in sacramental practice, we are identical with the apostles; and shown by ample references to the authentic history of the times, as recorded by our opponents, that we coincide with the primitive christians, during the first three hundred years; that when pedobaptism, sprinkling, infant communion, and the train of similar innovations, were introduced, their abettors broke off from the true church, and became a corrupt religious society, destitute of the divine favor, and despoiled themselves of ecclesiastical character and authority; their very persecutions, enjoying the favor of the Roman emperors, and therefore the stronger party, have, in part, enabled us to trace the legitimate church of Christ, which we have distinctly done, through two channels, separate equally from protestants and papists, and the perpetual prey of both down to our times. Thus we have seen that those who have separated themselves, and not we, who have ever maintained original principles, are the schismatics. If the definition of Swift be entitled to respect, this sin consists not so much in separating from those who profess to be followers of Christ, as in departing from the truth which he has revealed. We can, in no sense, therefore, be implicated, nor shall we ever become liable to the charge, unless we yield to the clamor of open communionists, and go over to pedobap-

tism. Then, indeed, shall we too be guilty, and the withering leprosy will have covered the last healthy member of the body of Christ.

“The existence of schism and the criminality of its indulgence have been fully recognized, and it has been shown that the only method by which it can be healed, is the return of all christians to the pure and unadulterated gospel of Messiah, to embrace it without reserve, to practise with sincerity, and to be governed by its laws in all things. When this happy disposition shall prevail, and influence the actions of men, and not until then, will the dying prayer of the Redeemer be answered, and the world be subjugated to his peaceful reign. As the whole responsibility of the existing condition of things in the religious world rests upon pedobaptists; as the evils that prevail are referable to them, and can only be removed by them; as they profess to feel a deep interest in the union and communion of all the people of God; and as the appropriate movement on their part would undoubtedly accomplish all these great and glorious results; may we not hope that, laying aside all human expedients, inventions of men, and every time-serving system of policy, and submitting to the guidance of the Spirit of truth, they will, at no distant period, be found walking with us, in the path of holy and full obedience!

“I have only to add my earnest and affectionate exhortation to all our brethren, in every part of our wide-spread land, to stand unmoved on your original ground—

‘Firm as the surge-repelling rock.’

On this subject I will not allow myself to entertain fears that any one will hesitate or waver. The principles and practice by which we have hitherto been characterized, so far as they accord with the word of God—and all else we repudiate—may subject us to reproach; they may, as they have done, call down upon our heads the wrath and persecution of place, ambition, and power, but they can never, in the smallest particular, be abandoned. The spirit of true religion is too exalted to stoop to the mean arts by which the demagogue counts the smiles of popular favor. The reputation of a free and generous liberality may, perhaps, be innocently desired, but it can be of little ultimate value to him who must sacrifice for its attainment the approbation of a good conscience. No baptist can permit such considerations to occupy a place in his heart. A union with our brethren of all denominations, and a prosperity, however unbounded, which may be purchased at the expense of revealed truth and christian fidelity, hold out no attractions for us. The bond of the one would prove a rope of sand, an association equally displeasing to God and injurious to his people; and the brightness of the other, but the glare of the *ignis fatuus* which—

‘Leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind.’

“Light is spreading. Truth is taking hold on the hearts of men. Darkness is receding. The spirit of inquiry is abroad. Revelation is assuming its rightful authority. Every religious pretension must ere long be brought to this test. Our triumph is not far distant. Until it come, let every man acquit himself with a firmness and intrepidity worthy of the glorious cause it is our honor to defend.”

This work was re-printed in London, in 1844, under the superintendence of the committee of the English Baptist Tract Society. A copy of this edition I have lately received from Mr. Norton, the editor.

The following advertisement will show the alterations which have been made in the English edition of this work:—

“While preparing this work for the press, the committee have felt it desirable to supply such additional matter as would adapt it, as much as possible, to the present state of the controversy in England, and exhibit the tendency and results of free communion in their latest aspect. With this view, the thirteenth chapter has been considerably enlarged; the fourteenth also, has received additions; the fifteenth is altogether new; and in the sixteenth, an attempt has been made to present a concise history of the results of the two systems. For the accuracy of these additions the editor alone is responsible. Those who may detect

mistake in any of his statements, will oblige by addressing him on the subject through the publishers: he will also feel equally obliged by receiving farther information on any of the subjects referred to. The committee can but express their earnest hope that a work which, on an attentive perusal, has appeared to them so valuable, will meet with an extensive circulation, and that the God of all grace will render it, through the merits of our Divine Redeemer and the power of the Holy Ghost, an effectual and lasting blessing to the churches of this land.

W. NORTON, Editor.

"LONDON, May, 1844."

The additions above referred to contain a valuable mass of information relative to the affairs of the baptists both in England and on the Continent, from very early times, particularly as to the operations of the free communion system among the British, Polish, and other baptist communities, which is represented generally in a very unfavorable point of view. A great variety of examples are produced to establish this fact.

Williams on Baptism. Reply to Lectures on the Nature, subjects, and mode of Baptism. By John T. Pressley, D. D. By Rev. Samuel Williams. Pittsburgh, Pa. 12mo., pp. 80. 1841.

"The commission in Matt. is Dr. Pressley's foundation for infant baptism.

"He says, that 'common sense would teach us that when the Lord speaks of believing, in connection with baptism, he has reference to those who are capable of believing.' I think so too; and I further think the same instructor would teach us that, as the bible never speaks of infants in connection with baptism, they are not included in the law of baptism, and, therefore, can never be brought out of it by inferences, no more than a guinea can be drawn from an empty purse."

Abraham's covenant and arguments of a kindred character appear to have been the main dependence of this presbyterian divine, and the whole ground is gone over by both writers.

The whole of Mr. Williams' arguments at the close of his book are summed up as follows:—

Importance of Baptism. The preceding observations have shown what is baptism, and who should be baptized; to see its importance, observe, that

1. *God appointed it.*
2. *Christ submitted to it.*
3. *Jesus called it a part of righteousness.*
4. *The Holy Ghost sanctioned it.*
5. *The Lord Jesus commanded it.*
6. *The apostles, under the influence of the Spirit, practised it.*
7. *The first christians were baptized.*
8. *Baptism was then thought a privilege.*
9. *The apostle Paul was baptized.*
10. *The effusion of the spirit was given as a reason for baptism, not against it.*
11. *They who refuse to submit to God's appointment, reject his counsel.*
12. *Christ calls for obedience. Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say. Ye are my friends if ye do whatsoever I command you.*

Bliss on Baptism. Letters on Christian Baptism, as the initiating ordinance into the Real Kingdom of Christ. Also on the Contrast between the Kingdom as organized by Christ, and the present sectarian state of the Christian world. By Rev. John F. Bliss. Lexington, N. Y. 12mo. pp. 223. 1841.

Lillibridge on Baptism, or a Review of the Rev. Geo. W. Langhorn's² inquiry into the antiquity of the Baptist church. By C. Lillibridge, M.D. Elizabeth City, N. C. pp. 60. 1841.

² A methodist minister.

This is a work of considerable research into the various testimonies, literary and historical, on which the baptists rely for the defense of their sentiments.

One of his closing remarks is as follows: "In tracing the history of our people from age to age, there is one striking coincidence that has every where attended them, viz.: In the language of the Jews to the apostle Paul—'*as concerning this sect, we know that it is every where spoken against.*' Although the enemies of the baptists have in numerous instances, borne testimony to their purity of life and conduct, yet their practice and doctrine of limiting baptism to adult persons only, and of re-baptizing such as had received that sacrament in infancy, have been looked upon as flagitious and intolerable heresies. Hence, in almost every instance, where a pedobaptist has pretended to give an account or history of this people, he has poured upon them a shower of slanderous accusations and reproachful epithets."

Locke on Baptism. The Perpetuity of Christian Baptism. By Rev. W. E. Locke. Ithaca, N. Y. 1841.

This work takes a new turn in the baptismal discussion. Instead of meeting arguments in favor of other modes of baptism besides immersion, it takes up a defense of the ordinance against those who contend for no mode at all, but resolve all into a spiritual administration.³

Hague on Baptism. The Baptismal Question. By Rev. William Hague. Boston. Svo. pp. 354. 1842.

This work, of so considerable size, is made of an informal debate between the author and Rev. Messrs. Cooke and Towne, of the congregationalist order. Their works were at first published in separate pieces, and they were put together in the form of a book.

The whole baptismal controversy is gone over in all its bearings, literary and historical; Mr. Hague having the closing plea, from which the following extracts are made.

"Convinced, as I am, that the practice of sprinkling was introduced by the Latin church; *knowing*, as I do, that her learned historians and teachers aver that she did it by authority committed unto her, and not on the ground of scriptural precept or precedent; asserted as this is, by all the oriental churches who retain immersion; conceded as it is, by the most intelligent protestants of western Europe, it certainly is no mere assumption to say, that sprinkling, as a mode of baptism, is a relic of popery. The earliest of the reformers knew it; for *Luther wished to restore immersion, but failed.* I speak this with emphasis, because I have shown that it is not I who says this, but that it is uttered by the best possible authorities. If so, this is the weak point of protestantism. It is a token of remembrance which she has accepted from popery. And in a close contest with the papists, it becomes a rock on which the protestants must fall and be broken.

"Hence, as I see the elements gathering for a keen moral trial of every church and every system, I feel truly sorry for that protestant ministry which proclaims the bible as the only rule of faith, and yet feels obliged to defend the practice which is the chief memorial of a power that early arose within the church itself, rivalling the authority of Christ, assuming his prerogatives, wresting the sceptre from his hand, and *changing the times, seasons and laws* of his sovereign appointments.

Brief Summary.

"In order to come to a just conclusion touching a discussion, it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the main points on which it must turn. In the present case, these points are comprised in a few *facts* and *principles*.

"One great *fact* is this—that in the first ages of christianity, immersion prevailed throughout the world. The ancient baptisteries of Europe still stand as proofs of this.

³ This piece was answered the next year, by E. Ring, in defense of the quakers.

"Another great *fact* is, that the first deviations from this rule, were allowed in behalf of those who were confined to beds of sickness, and were called *clinic* baptisms. The superstitious notion that the outward rite was of saving efficacy, introduced these exceptions.

"The third great *fact* is, that when at the time of the Reformation the church emerged from papal darkness, the leading reformers acknowledged that immersion was the proper meaning of the word baptism—the undoubted practice of the primitive church.

"A fourth *fact* is, that in the German bible, the word baptize was *translated* by a word denoting immersion. That word is *taufen*.

"A fifth great *fact* is, that the leading scholars whom the reformation produced, followed Luther with their testimonies to the true import of the word.

"A sixth great *fact* is, that the leading writers of the Greeks and Latins—men who had nothing to do with the protestant reformation, unite in their testimonies to the same point.

"A seventh great *fact* is, that the Romish writers use the same kind of reasoning to defend their doctrine and the sacrifices of the mass, as the advocates of sprinkling use to defend that ceremony. To this may be added the fact, that the catholics have always warded off the arguments of the protestants against the changes made by the papal church in the administration of the Lord's supper, by the retort that the church has as much authority to change one ordinance as the other.

"All these are real *facts*, or they are not. If they are, they will be decisive with a consistent protestant. And my most earnest assertion is, that no man can invalidate the testimony to their reality, without subverting the foundation of all historical evidence, and thus opening a way for a palsyng skepticism touching the grounds of belief and the certainty of all knowledge.

"Although the practice of immersion prevails so generally in the countries of the eastern church, where the pope never swayed a sceptre, yet, because it is different in those which are, or have been papal, pedobaptists often represent us as setting ourselves against the decisions of a vast majority of the learned of Europe. This is an entire mistake.⁴ Whatever may be the practice of churches, determined as it has been, by kings and parliaments, popes and cardinals, the learning of the world is on our side in this question. On no point within the whole compass of theology, is there so great a union of opinion, though not of practice, among the really learned of different nations, as is justly observed by the secretary of the synod of Greece.⁵

Hosken on Baptism. Infant Baptism weighed in the balances and found wanting; being an examination and refutation of Rev. Mr. Brownlee on the mode and subjects of baptism. By Rev. C. H. Hosken. Troy, N. Y. 12mo. pp. 196. 1843.

Mr. Hosken has followed his opponent closely through his whole book, and canvassed his statements with much patience and freedom. And what is some-

⁴ As Mr. Hague had traveled in Europe, and taken pains to inform himself, from actual observation, on the points in debate, he was enabled to speak with confidence on the subject of baptiseries, the mode of baptism among the Greeks, &c.

⁵ I will give a few of Mr. Hague's curious syllogisms to represent the arguments of his opponents:—

Baptism means washing;
Sprinkling is a mode of washing;
Therefore baptism means sprinkling.

Immersion is washing;
Sprinkling is washing;
Therefore immersion is sprinkling.

Sprinkling means washing;
Immersion means washing;
Therefore sprinkling means immersion.

what singular, for a work of this size, I do not recollect that any one other is referred to.

I have not seen the learned Dr.'s work, but if Mr. H.'s quotations from it are a fair specimen of his mode of reasoning in defense of infant baptism, he has gone beyond his brethren generally, of the evangelical class.

Public Debate on the mode of Baptism,* between Rev. Messrs. A. Campbell and Rice, held in Lexington, Ky., Nov. 1843.

The first proposition is stated as follows: *Immersion in water, into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is the only christian baptism.* Mr. Campbell affirms, Mr. Rice denies.

This statement itself is sufficiently explicit as to the positions assumed by the debaters.

Mr. Campbell, in his opening plea, states his main position as follows:

"Before summoning our most authoritative witnesses to the meaning of this important word (*baptizo*), I shall assert a few facts, which, I presume, will not be denied by any one properly acquainted with the original language of the New Testament.

1. *Baptizo* is not a radical, but a derivative word. 2. Its root, (*bapto*) is never applied to this ordinance. 3. In the common version, *bapto* is translated, both in its simple and compound form, always by the word 'dip.' 4. *Baptizo* is never translated by 'dye,' 'stain,' or 'color.' 5. *Baptizo*, with its derivations, is the only word used in the New Testament to indicate the ordinance; and, 6. The word *baptize* has no necessary connection with water or any liquid whatever.

"Now, from these indisputable facts, hereafter to be developed, some corollaries are deduced; such as—*baptizo* indicates a specific action, and consequently, can have but one meaning. For, if a person or thing can be immersed in water, oil, milk, honey, sand, earth, debt, grief, affliction, spirit, light, darkness, &c., it is a word indicating specific action, and specific action only.

"*Baptizo*, confessedly a derivative from *bapto*, derives its specific meaning, as well as its radical and immutable form, from that word. According to the usage of all languages, ancient and modern, derivative words legally inherit the specific, though not necessarily the figurative meaning of their natural progenitors; and never can so far alienate from themselves that peculiar significance, as to indicate an action specifically different from that intimated in the parent stock. Indeed, all the inflections of words, with their sometimes numerous and various families of descendants, are but modifications of one and the same generic or specific idea."

In the course of the debate, lexicons and commentators, ancient and modern, in abundance were presented or appealed to; an extensive range of classic ground was traveled over, and the canons of philology were very generally and most critically brought to the text. The literary authorities were, for the most part, presented by Mr. Campbell, and all from pedobaptist writers.

"I do, indeed," says he, "especially quote the concessions of pedobaptists and other opponents, with considerable deference to their judgment in such matters as are against their practice, and against their interests; for men seldom make such concessions, unless the force of evidence is very strong and overwhelming. The testimony of reformers, annotators, and critics in favor of immersion, themselves having been not only sprinklers, but enemies of the *ana-baptists* and baptists, is exceedingly strong and irresistible. Twenty such men, witnessing for us, are worth two hundred of our own party. They have, too, more weight with their own party than our testimony.

"The Greek and Latin fathers generally were very weak men, compared with

* This debate extended to six propositions, in all:—the mode, subjects, design, and administrator of baptism, the influence of the Holy Spirit, and on human creeds. The whole makes an 8vo. vol. of 640 pages. Only the first proposition shall I bring under review.

the modern. Some of them were mere visionaries, mystics, and fond of old wives' fables. But I regard them as faithful witnesses of facts. I receive their testimony as honest men, but I will neither receive their inferences from their own facts and premises, nor their opinions, farther than the *rationale* of them is obvious to myself. In this way I receive evidence, and use it. * * *

"My witnesses are all borrowed from the party that opposes me. You are all witnesses that I have not quoted, from Dr. Gill down to any living doctor of the baptist church, one single sentence as argument or authority. You have now a mighty host of witnesses before you, and yet they are not the half—I might say not more than a tithe, of all that might be adduced. I have chosen names well known to fame, and of unquestionable learning and authority, in the several pedobaptist parties. It is, then, for you to decide, whether the mere *ipse dixit* of my respondent, or a thousand like him, ought to outweigh the facts, concessions and affirmations which I have given you.

Buried in baptism. "Now, inasmuch as all denominations of christians, Romanists and Protestants, Orthodox and Heterodox, admit that baptism is called a burial, it is at once, and as if by acclamation, confirming all our philological dissertations on the subject. The discussion properly ends, and is sanctioned here. If Jesus Christ was buried, was covered with the earth, then were the first christians all buried in baptism, or by immersion into water.

"Next to this, in plainness and strength, is the argument drawn from history. History is a very authoritative commentator on language, as well as on men and manners. It sometimes enters into the philosophy and philology of language, and decides the proper interpretation of words, by showing, in matter of fact details, how these words were understood in days of yore. The historians tell us what the ancients did under the name baptism. They record certain acts, and then call them by this word. They are, then, stronger proof to the great mass of society than dictionaries, grammars, classics, translators, or anything in the form of mere language.

Mr. Campbell's closing address. "It is not a fact that the proposition which I sustain, differs from every other proposition on the action of baptism. In one or two words it may differ, but all baptists maintain it as fully as I do. It is not true that no former writers on this same subject have taken the same view of it. Multitudes, in all ages, have believed that immersion is the only christian baptism. All pedobaptist writers do indeed dissent from it; for they believe in a plurality of modes of baptism. I believe there are not two Lords, two faiths, nor two baptisms. When I prove that immersion is baptism, there being but one baptism, I have then proved that immersion is the only christian baptism.

"This is the ground on which I stand. Before heaven and earth I affirm the full conviction that there is but one true Lord, one true faith, one true baptism; and *that* baptism is immersion. I care not, so far as my popularity is concerned, how unpopular the affirmation may be. I most benevolently, honestly, and conscientiously avow my conviction, that he who has not been immersed in water, into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has never received christian baptism. All baptists believe thus.

"There is a true and false charity—the former is a virtue, the latter a vice. I care not if it were written over the whole earth, and through all the heavens, that I have said so. I declare this conviction, not from the impulse of the moment, but after many years' calm, devout, and concentrated attention to the subject. Many are the treatises examined, many the authors read on the opposite side of this question; but, after full thirty years' reflection on the subject, I am the more deeply penetrated with the solemn and important truth of the proposition which I have been sustaining. The renunciation of my traditional belief cost me many a severe trial, and subjected me to a life of labors equal, I presume, to those of any other man of my age in this community.

"Before attempting to enumerate the arguments offered on the present

occasion, I must again recur to the only proper issue formed, and the only real discussion had, between myself and my respondent on the present proposition. Assertions are cheap commodities; but arguments, based on facts, are stubborn things. The gist of the whole debate has, so far as language is concerned, turned upon the *proper grammatical* or *literal* meaning of *baptizo*. Various words, such as *dip*, *immerse*, *merge*, *immerge*, *plunge*—all indicative of one and the same action—have been submitted by me, as its one, only, proper meaning. Mr. Rice has offered wash, cleanse, sink, wet, as other meanings equally *proper*; both agreeing that the proper meanings is the true meaning here. These meanings resolved ultimately into *wash*. He has all along sought to make it the primitive, proper and literal meaning of the word. That question was fully decided to-day in the final verdict of the New Testament pedobaptist lexicons. I have never witnessed greater confusion in any controversy in which I have been engaged (or, indeed, at which I have been present), than displayed by Mr. Rice, on the occasion of taking from him this grand and fallacious assumption. Wash was demonstrated to be merely a circumstantial, accidental, or *casual* meaning of the word, and not at all its proper meaning. His confusion was such, after a refusal to refer the matter, that he threw himself headlong into Ernesti; forgot or lost the point of discussion, and went on to read that, in some cases, words wholly lose their proper meaning, and that a *tropical* meaning becomes the proper one; at the same moment denying, with all his energy, that wash was a *tropical* meaning!!”⁶

Then follows some strong quotations in favor of immersion from Prof. Stuart, John Floyer and the Edin. Encyclopedia.

“The facts are, therefore, as before stated. The whole church, oriental and occidental, practised immersion for 1300 years. The eastern half still continues the practice; the western half took the benefit of the pope’s indulgence only gradually. England, as Erasmus sportively said, not so tractable as the Dutch, still holds on to immersion. The first protestant king, Edward VI., was immersed. The first protestant queen, Elizabeth, was immersed. Sprinkling, through Calvin’s influence, was introduced into Scotland, and in the course of half a century, generally prevailed.

“Affusion never, till the last two or three hundred years, fully satisfied any portion of christendom. Clinics, or unimmersed persons, were inhibited holy orders, by the twelfth canon of the council of Neocesarea, and, consequently, were ineligible to sacerdotal functions.”

Proportions of persons who have been immersed or sprinkled in all time. At this point Mr. Campbell enters into a novel and amusing calculation on this subject, which, as he informs us, was extracted from an unpublished work of his on baptism:—

“Now, allow an average of one hundred millions every third of a century to have been baptized, which is certainly within the limits of the actual number (but it will show the ratios just as well as the true number), then we have for eighteen centuries, in all, five thousand five hundred millions. Of this number, four thousand millions were immersed during the first thirteen centuries. Then we have the one-half of five centuries, which is seven hundred and fifty millions, added to four thousand millions,—giving an aggregate of four thousand seven hundred and fifty millions immersed, for seven hundred and fifty millions sprinkled, during all the ages of christianity; that is in the ratio of seven immersed to one sprinkled. In making this estimate, we have given all that have been immersed in the western half of christendom, for the last five hundred years, to compensate for all the clinics that were sprinkled during the first thirteen centuries. After making the most reasonable deductions which can be demanded, we have an immense majority of immersed professors, compared with the sprinkled. This argument is not urged in proof of the truth of our position, but as a refutation of those who would represent immersion as a small affair, in the esteem of all ages, compared with sprinkling.”

⁶ As this is professedly an *ex parte* statement, I have not before referred to anything said by this presbyterian debater. It is due to him to say, that he exhibited much ingenuity and adroitness. His reading was evidently much less than that of his opponent, and his side was much more difficult to be managed. He brought forward probably all that could be said on his side, and acquitted himself, no doubt, to the satisfaction of his denominational friends.

"This estimate, or any other based on any aggregate population, distributed as above, will give, in all time, SEVEN TO ONE. So that the question is not, where shall we find a baptist church in every century? but where shall we find a church of sprinkled christians?"

Recapitulation of all his arguments. "If, then, I have not miscounted, I have offered, in all, thirteen different arguments in proof of the first proposition.

"I. I argued from the law of specific words, to which class *bapto* and *baptizo* belongs—showing, from the philosophy of words indicative of *specific* action, and from usage, that while such words retain their radical form, they retain the radical idea. Thus, in the case of *baptizo*, while ever we retain the word *bap*, we have the dip in *fact* or in *figure*. No proper exception was found to this rule.

"II. *Baptizo*, according to *all the lexicons* of eighteen hundred years, signifies to dip, immerse, plunge, as its literal, proper, original meaning; and is *never found* translated by *sprinkle* or *pour* in any dictionary from the christian era down to the present century. No example was given contrary to this fact. The gentleman labored to construct exceptions from casual meanings, but found not one such rendering in all those lexicons.

"III. The classics were copiously alleged in proof of all that argued from the lexicons. No instance was adduced from them subversive of the facts alleged from the dictionaries.

"IV. All the translations, ancient and modern, were appealed to in confirmation of the above facts. From a very liberal induction of the ancient and modern versions, it did not appear that in any one case any translator has ever translated *baptizo* by the words *sprinkle* or *pour*; but that it has been frequently translated dip, immerse, &c. Of modern translations, I have examined many; and, though this word occurs one hundred and twenty times, it is *never* translated by the words preferred by the pedobaptists.

"V. My fifth class of evidence offered, consisted of the testimonies of reformers, annotators, paraphrasts, and critics, respecting the meaning of *baptizo*; selected, too, as under every branch of evidence, from the ranks of those whose practice was contrary to ours. This whole class, amongst whom were Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Witsius, Vossius, Vitringa, &c., declare that in the New Testament use of the word, it means to immerse; and some of them say, in so many words, '*never to sprinkle.*'

"VI. Our sixth argument consisted of the testimony of English lexicographers, encyclopedias, and reviews, whose testimony sustains that of the reformers, annotators and critics.

"VII. Our seventh argument was an exhibit of the words in construction with *baptizo*—*raio* and *cheo*—showing a very peculiar uniformity never lost sight of in a single instance; showing that, to sprinkle and pour have necessarily *upon*, and never *in*, after them; while *baptizo* has *in* or *into* after it, and never *upon*; an argument to which Mr. Rice made no reply whatever, and, indeed, no response to it could be given. It is, indeed, as I conceive, the clearest and most convincing argument in the department of philology, because it groups in one view the whole controversy on all the prepositions and verbs in debate. I believe it to be unanswerable.

"VIII. Our eighth argument was deduced from the places mentioned in the bible, intimating that much water was necessary. There is not one intimation in the bible of ever bringing water to the candidates; but there are intimations of taking them out to rivers and places of much water. Mr. R. could give no reason for going to the Jordan to wet one's fingers, or out of doors to baptize any one, if sprinkling had been the practice.

"IX. The ninth argument was deduced from the first law of the decalogue of philology—which makes all true definitions and translations of terms convertible. Which, when applied to *baptizo*, clearly proves that in the New Testament it cannot possibly signify to sprinkle, pour, wash, or purify.

"X. Our tenth argument was drawn from the principal objections of pedobaptists, showing that in these very objections there is farther evidence in demonstration of immersion.

"XI. The eleventh argument asserted the overwhelming fact, that sprinkling common water, or pouring it on any person or thing, was never commanded by God under any dispensation of religion, for any purpose whatever. This unanswered argument is fatal to the whole plan of sprinkling advanced by Mr. Rice.

"XII. Our twelfth evidence consisted of the allusions used by inspired men in reference to baptism; their comparing it to a *burial* and *resurrection*; to a planting of seed, and in making it a sort of antitype of water and the ark during the deluge. To this last argument, admitted by all the great founders and luminaries of protestant parties, Mr. Rice has instituted a recent discovery, made, I think, at Andover, New England, which, in effect, says that baptism is not compared to a burial. The gentleman, if I understand him, denies the proper burial of Greeks, Romans, and Jews, and even of the Messiah, to get rid of this figure. It exceedingly annoys him. I do not wonder at it; though I wonder at his temerity in speaking of the Messiah's burial as a thing of "no consequence, anyhow." I say I do not wonder at his opposition to the fact of a real common-sense burial; for that admitted, and he must say, with Chalmers and all enlightened men, that certainly, in the apostolic age, they immersed, they buried men in water. Cannot a person be buried in a rock? Is a rock not earth? Is not a grave cut into a rock, a grave, as much as if dug out of sand or earth? If a grave of one or two rooms, such as the sepulchres of the rich, be cut into a rock on the side or even summit of a hill, and a corpse laid in it, and the door closed, is not the person covered in the earth?

"XIII. My thirteenth, or last argument, the history of baptism and of sprinkling, you have just now heard. You have heard that all the Greek and Latin fathers, from the very earliest antiquity—from the very age of the apostles; according to our historians—and, indeed, the oriental church always—and the western church for thirteen centuries—practised immersion. What farther evidence can any one desire?"

"Now, as I have already stated, *if only one of these thirteen arguments be true and valid, immersion, and immersion only, is established forever beyond a rational doubt or contradiction.* Any one of them is enough! How irresistible, then, to the candid mind, the accumulated evidence of them all! In addition to the maintenance of these positions, I believe I have noted and replied to every argument (if not to notice every specification) advanced by my opponent.

"In view of all those learned rabbis, lexicographers, translators, reformers, annotators, critics, historians, theologians and scholars, do I not stand in the midst of a respectable and honorable band, when I plead for immersion merely in a literary and philosophical point of view? But when we contemplate it as a solemn ordinance of Jesus Christ, the great Lawgiver and King of Zion, and think of the multitude of ancient worthies, those martyred hosts of ancient confessors, that loved not their lives even unto death, but gave them up a voluntary sacrifice at the shrine of eternal truth and everlasting love, who washed their robes and made them white with the blood of the Lamb, who went down into the water, and were buried with the Lord in holy immersion;—feeling ourselves surrounded with such a pure, elevated, venerable, sacramental host of elect spirits; may we not feel strong, courageous, joyful, triumphant;—able to endure all the reproaches, scoffs, derisions, contumelies, anathemas and persecutions of earth and hell, should they all conspire against us, and seek our destruction, because of our loyalty and allegiance to heaven's rightful sovereign, our great and glorious Lord Messiah!"

"Pure, primitive, bible christianity has had to fight its way down to us through hosts of opponents. We are indebted to the zeal, and courage, to the firm, unyielding integrity, and persevering devotion of myriads of choice spirits, for all that we know, and all that we enjoy of the hope of eternal life. It is our duty to imitate our benefactors and to transmit the same blessings to posterity."⁷

Henshall on Baptism. Immersion the only baptism; or a Review of Dr. Samuel Miller's discourses on the mode of baptism. By Rev. James Henshall. Richmond, Va. 8vo., pp. 24. 1843.

In this small treatise Dr. Miller's four sermons are thoroughly examined, and his principal positions contested on the ground of scripture, history, and common sense.

The following quotations give a specimen of Mr. Henshall's method of reasoning with this distinguished champion of the pedobaptist cause.

"Dr. Miller assumes no little credit to himself when he says to his readers, 'I can assure you that the word which we render baptize, does legitimately signify the application of water in any way as well as by immersion.' *As well*

⁷ In the course of this debate, Mr. Campbell introduced the following very interesting note from Prof. Anthon, of New York, in answer to an inquiry made by the gentleman to whom it is addressed.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, March 27th, 1843.

Dr. Parmsly,

MY DEAR SIR—There is no authority whatever for the singular remark, made by the Rev. Dr. Spring, relative to the force of *baptizo*. The primary meaning of the word is to dip, or immerse; and its secondary meanings, *if ever it had any*, all refer, in some way or other, to the same leading idea. Sprinkling, &c., are entirely out of the question. I have delayed answering your letter, in the hope that you would call and favor me with a visit, when we might talk the matter over at our leisure. I presume, however, that what I have here written will answer your purpose.

Yours, truly,

CHARLES ANTHON.

as by immersion! Still he declares, in opposition to the above concession from Dr. Clarke, 'But there is no evidence, and I will venture to say no probability, that ever John baptized by immersion.' * * * * * *As well as by immersion, indeed!* Upon what passages does Dr. Miller rely to show that immersion was one of the modes? Because if all the passages are monopolized in favor of sprinkling, which formerly were relied on to prove immersion, his ancestor *Calvin* will be left in the unlearned predicament of having said, 'the word *baptize* signifies to immerse, and the rite of immersion was practised by the ancient church.'—*Stuart on Baptism.*

"The next topic the Dr. treats on is *the history of this ordinance.* Very strangely he commences by saying, 'It is not denied that, for the first few centuries after Christ, the most common mode of administering baptism was by immersion!!' *It is not denied!* But hold, stop; I must certainly have taken down the wrong book? '*Miller on Baptism,*' the label says! Why, reader, did you expect it? How is this? What has all this rhetoric been for? Were they wrong in the beginning? If so, what Tertullian said should read the other way."

Kilpatrick on Baptism. 1. Strictures; or an answer to a treatise on christian baptism, published by Rev. J. J. Triggs: in which the arguments and doctrines contained in the treatise are particularly noticed and answered. By Rev. J. H. T. Kilpatrick. Penfield, Geo. 8vo., pp. 64. 1843.

2. The Reviewer reviewed; or a rejoinder to the Rev. J. J. Triggs' Review of the controversy on baptism. Augusta, Geo. 8vo., pp. 63. 1844.

In both these treatises Mr. K. enters in good earnest into the defense of baptist sentiments, and a good portion of the authorities which are usually appealed to by older and more extensive writers are named by this author. And one champion in defense of pedobaptism is referred to in the second treatise, which I do not remember to have seen mentioned by any other writer in the baptistal controversy. This is Dr. Kendrick, the Roman Catholic bishop of Philadelphia. The extracts which are freely made from this zealous advocate of infant baptism and salvation, give a clear exhibition of the doctrine of the Roman church on the absolute necessity of baptism, and of the certain perdition of all who die without it, whether old or young.

Lydia and her household baptized. Mr. K. relates a pleasant story from Holcombe's letters of a veritable baptism of this kind in the city of Savannah, more than forty years ago, and like her celebrated sister of Thyatira, our modern American Lydia was a seller of purple, or engaged in mercantile pursuits. And it is certain there were no infants in the family.*

Jewett on Baptism. The mode and subjects of baptism. By Rev. Milo P. Jewett. Philadelphia, Pa. 12mo., pp. 108. 1844.

Mr. Jewett, at the time of his embracing baptist sentiments, in 1838, was a licensed preacher in the presbyterian church, and professor in Meriatta College, Ohio. He is now connected with a baptist institution in Marion, Ala.

Mr. Jewett having been an Andover student, and retaining strong attachments for his former associates, reasoned with them with much kindness and respect, and often refers to the writings of Rev. Messrs. Stuart, Woods, Barnes, &c. He, however, holds them to the main question with much firmness and decision, traverses the whole ground of the baptist controversy, Abraham's covenant, close communion, and all the rest, in a condensed manner, and, much to the satisfaction of his new associates, establishes their main positions to the overthrow of the pedobaptist system, both as to its subjects and mode.†

* With this lady I was well acquainted soon after the event described.

† As a proof of the popularity of this work, the copy before me purports to be of the eighth edition, of one thousand each.

Bible Baptism Defended. A pamphlet. By Rev. Sanford Leach. N. Y. 12mo. pp. 57. 1844.

This work is in answer to Rev. J. M. Wood, a presbyterian minister, and was prepared at the request of a conference of baptist ministers, in Sussex Co., N. J. It is mostly confined to scripture arguments, and these are exhibited in a very plain and intelligible manner.¹⁰

Tupper on Baptism. Baptist Principles vindicated, in Reply to the Rev. J. W. D. Gray's work on Baptism. By Rev. Charles Tupper. Halifax, N. S. 8vo. pp. 190. 1844.

This work, as its title imports, was intended to meet the arguments of Mr. Gray, a pedobaptist minister of that province. In the course of the discussion, the names of a number of other ministers of the same country occur, as Robertson, Munro, Thorn, &c., all I believe presbyterians.

Mr. Tupper speaks of his opponent with kindness and respect, and a spirit of christian courtesy runs throughout the whole of this work.¹¹

This is a work of no inconsiderable labor and research, and shows a familiar acquaintance with the principal writings which are appealed to on both sides of the baptismal controversy. He deals freely in the concessions from pedobaptist writers, especially from professor Stuart. Some of his authors of this kind I have not seen named in any other work.

Church History. "If infant baptism can be proved by the scriptures, there is no need to resort to church history for proof of its divine origin. If it cannot be proved from the sacred oracles, testimonies drawn from church history can never prove it to be a command of God. In our inquiries on such a subject, to leave the infallible word of inspiration, and to rely on tradition and the doubtful statements of uninspired men, is like stepping from a solid rock into quicksand."¹²

Conclusion. In answer to the oft repeated assertions, that if infant baptism is not proved from the scriptures, and does no good, it certainly does no harm, Mr Tupper interposes the following objections:

"It destroys the significance of the ordinance of baptism.

"It makes one of the commands of God of non-effect.

"It tends to obliterate the distinction between christian churches and the unregenerate world.

"It is adapted to deceive and ruin many of those that receive it, by leading them to suppose that they are regenerated in the covenant of grace, and consequently in a safe state, when they are not."

¹⁰ If the following statement is suffered to pass without denial or modification, it will add a new and important item to the list of pedobaptist concessions.

"The pastor of one of the largest presbyterian churches in N. J., a few months since, publicly acknowledged that it was an ordinance of man, and not of God; that it was *not commanded in the bible*; and then, to justify the rite then about to be performed, quoted I Pet. ii. 13: 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake.'"

¹¹ Mr. Gray's work was in reply to Rev. Dr. Crawley's, now at the head of the baptist college in N. S. Mr. Crawley's work was in answer to letters of Rev. W. Elder.

¹² "As a personal friend, a christian brother, and an esteemed minister of Christ, it is the writer's intention to treat Mr. Gray with courtesy and kindness; but, as a controversialist, he may naturally expect that his arguments will be treated unceremoniously."

¹³ "Dr. Lieber (author of the Encyclopedia Americana) says, 'It is certain that infant baptism was not customary in the earliest period of the christian church. In the middle ages it was declared invalid by many dissenting parties, as the Petrobrussians, Catharists, Picards, &c.; but, in the prevailing churches, for important reasons, it was retained. In the first centuries of the christian era, generally speaking, adults only joined the new sects (the christians). But the doctrine of St. Augustine, that the unbaptized were irrevocably damned, made the baptism of children general.'

"*De Pin*, the celebrated Roman Catholic church historian, professes to trace to the three first centuries practices which the protestants generally regard as peculiarly improper. Speaking of the christians in these centuries, he says, they prayed for the dead, made oblations for them, and celebrated the sacrifice of the mass in memory of them; and often made the sign of the cross. They prayed for the martyrs, celebrated the day of their death with joy, and were convinced that they prayed for the living."

Crawley on Baptism. By Rev. A. Crawley, D.D.

This work is often referred to by Mr. Tupper, and his quotations from it show that it contained over 100 pages. Its date I have not ascertained, but various circumstances lead me to suppose that it is a recent production.⁴

Clark on Baptism and Communion. Christian Baptism and Church Communion. By Rev. M. G. Clark. Norwich, Conn. 8vo. pp. 141. 1844.

Against infant baptism Mr. Clark objects under the following heads :

1. "It is entirely unscriptural.
2. "It deranges the order that Christ has established for his institutions.
3. "It interferes with the voluntariness which is necessary to the keeping of the laws of Christ.
4. "It tends to annihilate believers' baptism.
5. "It greatly endangers the salvation of souls."

Furman on Baptism. Review of the Rev. A. B. Smith's Pamphlet, on the mode of baptism. By Rev. R. Furman. Cheraw, S. C. 8vo. pp. 57. 1845.

It appears, from some details in this work, that the dispute between Messrs. Furman and Smith commenced in some pulpit performances on each side.

Mr. Furman shows a general acquaintance with the historical authorities, which both parties appeal to, and as he keeps close to the concessions of Dr. Wall and the principal pedobaptist writers before and after *his* time, he made it an easy task to answer the arguments of his opponents, and made a strong case in favor of immersion.⁵

Dagg on Communion. An Essay in Defense of Strict Communion. By Rev. J. L. Dagg, D.D. Penfield, Geo. 8vo. pp. 74. 1845

This work is wholly confined to the Communion question, and Rev. R. Hall is the principal opponent. The main positions of that eminent defender of free or mixed communion, are all canvassed with much ability and candor. Some strong quotations are made of concessions from eminent men on the pedobaptist side in favor of the restricted plan for which Mr. Dagg contends.⁶

The Communion of Saints the Communion of the Bible. A pamphlet. By the Free Will Baptists. Dover, N. H. 12mo. pp. 45. 1845.

This pamphlet, according to the rules of the society, takes the side of free communion, and maintains, in common with Robert Hall, and baptists of that school, that baptism is not an indispensable prerequisite to communion.

This work is composed with ardor and ability, and will no doubt be well received by those who adopt the views of the author.

The work closes with the following *objections against sectarian or close communion* :

"1. We think it contrary to the spirit of christian love and of the gospel. Why dost thou judge thy brother, or why settest thou at nought thy brother? Is Christ divided? Let each esteem other better than himself.

"2. It is not in the bible, therefore we are not bound to believe it.

"3. It *severs* the children of God, even young converts who join different branches of Christ's church, and chills their feelings towards each other.

"4. It does not go well in time of reformation. When christians' hearts are filled with love to God and his children, they will sometimes come together, and break over the rules of the close communion system—this is often the case.

"5. It prohibits Christ's ministers from coming to the Lord's table with those very souls they have led to Christ, and who are endeared to them by the strongest ties of christian love.

"6. It is not the communion of the blood of Christ. The bread which we break is not the communion of the body of Christ. For we being many are one bread, and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread."

⁴ I have written to the author, and made many efforts in different ways to obtain a copy of this work, but thus far without success.

⁵ Mr. Furman is a son of Dr. Furman, late of Charleston, S. C.

⁶ Mr. Dagg is President of Mercer University, a baptist institution, in Penfield, Geo.

Judd on Baptism. A review of Professor Stuart on this subject. By Rev. Willard Judd. New York. Svo. pp. 452. 1845.

This large and interesting volume is made up of different items, viz. :

1. An introductory essay, having a bearing on the whole baptismal controversy—the bible question, &c., by Rev. S. H. Cone, D.D.
2. Biographical sketches of the author, by his brother, Orrin B. Judd.
3. Miscellaneous pieces on various subjects, by Rev. Mr. Judd.
4. The Review, &c., published in 1836.
5. An Appendix in the form of notes, critical and explanatory; having a direct bearing on the text of the Review.

The whole was published together, at the above date, by Mr. Colby of New York, under the title of *Judd's Remains*.

When it is considered that Mr. Judd was a self-taught man—that his resources were limited—his health always poor—and that he died at an early age. This Review of one of the most learned men of the times, is highly creditable to his talents as a scholar, and will prove a valuable addition to baptist literature.

He has followed his powerful opponent through all the labyrinths of literature with much ingenuity and skill, and answered all his objections to the doctrine of immersion as exclusively the mode of baptism still binding on believers, with an industry, patience, and courtesy, which affords a commendable example to all who engage in controversies of the kind.

Remington on Baptism. Reasons for becoming a Baptist; also a farewell letter to his late charge. By Rev. S. Remington, late pastor of St. Paul's methodist episcopal church. Lowell, Mass. 12mo., pp. 72. 1846.

A portion of this little volume is occupied by the author in giving the reasons for his denominational change, and the remainder contains a brief and candid exposition of his newly adopted opinions.

Post on Baptism. The true Bible Baptist; or a reply to Rev. Mr. Hunt.⁷ By Rev. Albert L. Post. New-York. Svo., pp. 69. 1846.

The discussions of this work are conducted in the form of a dialogue between *Sprinkler* and *Immerser*.

A SUMMARY STATEMENT OF AMERICAN AUTHORS IN FAVOR OF BAPTIST SENTIMENTS.

In addition to the foregoing list within the present century, sermons, tracts and essays on baptism and communion have been published by Messrs. Sharp, Chase, Babcock, Foster, Tinkham, Knapp, Worth, Davis, Loomis, Teasdale, Kendrick, Cone, Chadwick, Brantley, Jewell, Higgins, Shadrack. These are all of the northern states.

In the southern states I find the names of Alderson, Jenkins, Knott, Holsted, Dawson, McNabb, Fleming.

In the western states, Estep, Silliman, Thomas, Craighead, Fishback, Weller, Lynd, Rogers, Whitsett, Crane.

Some of these works I have obtained; of most of them, however, I have merely heard of their names; the title pages of all which I am able to give, are as follows:—

⁷ *The true Bible Baptist.* It may be proper to give a few words of explanation relative to this title. A few years before, Rev. T. P. Hunt, a pedobaptist minister, then of N. C., published a tract under the title of *The Bible Baptist*; and, although his title looks toward Jordan, yet the man steers from it with all his might, and shows that he has no baptist trait in his character, but turns out to be a full-blooded presbyterian. It was to expose this pitiful sectarian contrivance, and exhibit such arguments as a *true bible baptist* believes in, that Mr. Post's book was written. Both the works are before me. Mr. Hunt's tract is in the regular style of pedobaptist arguments;—all very well, if he had shown his true colors. But I have derived one advantage from it; his list of authorities for his statements supplies me with a number of new names, to be added to my list of pedobaptist authors.

- Rev. D. Sharp, D. D. A sermon. *Objections to the Baptists answered.*
 Rev. J. Chase, D. D. A sermon. *On the design of Baptism.*
 Rev. R. Babcock, D. D. A tract. A review of Rev. Mr. Beckwith's sermon—a dissuasive from controversy on the mode of baptism.⁸
 Rev. E. Foster. Two letters on *the terms of communion at the Lord's Table, to a pedobaptist.*
 Rev. Tobias Tinkham.⁹ A sermon on baptism.
 Rev. J. Knapp. A tract. *Restricted or mixed Communion.*
 Rev. E. Worth. A sermon. *Tests of Discipleship.*
 Rev. Mr. Kendrick. *Plain dealing with the pedobaptists.*
 Rev. G. F. Davis,¹⁰ D. D. A tract. *A familiar dialogue between Peter and Benjamin on Communion.*
 Rev. S. H. Cone, D. D. *An introductory essay to Judd's Remains. On the Bible question, translation, &c.*
 Rev. W. F. Brantley, D. D. A tract. *The covenant of circumcision no just plea for infant baptism.*
 Wilson Jewell, M. D. A tract. *The baptism, or the little Inquirer for Sunday schools.*
 Rev. Robert Fleming, of Geo. *An essay, on the baptism of John.*
 Rev. Wm. C. Crane, of Mi. A tract. *A collection of arguments and opinions on the subject of baptism.*¹
- Many small anonymous pieces have been sent me; many more have been reported as existing in different parts of the country, but my general rule has been, not to add to my list any works of this kind unless the authors were clearly ascertained.

APPENDIX TO THE LIST OF BAPTIST AUTHORS, ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

Works that were overlooked, or of which information was not obtained in season to place them in a chronological order :

John Bunyan on Baptism and Communion. 1. "A confession of my faith, and a reason of my practice: or, with who, and who not, I can hold church-fellowship, or the communion of saints.

"Showing, by divers arguments, that though I dare not communicate with the open profane, yet I can with those visible saints that differ about water baptism. Wherein is also discoursed, whether that be the entering ordinance, or no."

I believed, and therefore have I spoken. Ps. cxvi. 10. By Rev. John Bunyan. Edinburgh. pp. 44.²

2. "Differences in judgment about Water Baptism, no bar to communion: or, to communicate with saints, as saints, proved lawful.

"In answer to a book written by the Baptists, and published by Mr. T. P. and Mr. W. K., entitled *Some serious reflections on that part of Mr. Bunyan's Confession of Faith, touching church communion with unbaptized believers.* Wherein their objections and arguments are answered, and the doctrine of communion still altered and vindicated.

"Here is also Mr. Henry Jesse's judgment in the case, fully declaring the doctrine I have asserted." pp. 59.

⁸ Dr. Babcock was lately Corresponding Secretary of the A. & F. B. Society. He is now pastor of the First Baptist Church, New Bedford, Mass.

⁹ Mr. Tinkham was formerly a pedobaptist minister.

¹⁰ Mr. Davis was lately pastor of the First Baptist Church, Hartford, Conn.

¹ I have not obtained this work, but the author informs me, in a letter, that it consists of seven arguments; the first of which assumes the position, that the testimony that Christ was immersed, is as strong as that he was crucified.

² This paging is as it stands in his works, Vol. I., which is closely printed. The date of these different pieces I have not been able to ascertain; as they are placed by Ivey previous to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, I am lead to infer that they were written somewhere between 1660 and 1670. Bunyan's works, a good edition of which is in the library of Brown University, is in six volumes, 8vo., comprising together upwards of 3000 pages.

3. "Peaceable Principles, and true: or, a brief answer to Mr. D'Anvers' and Mr. Paul's books against my confession of faith and differences in judgment, about Baptism no bar to Communion. Wherein their scriptureless notions are overthrown, and my peaceable principles still maintained." pp. 19.

These title-pages sufficiently indicate the scope and design of these publications. All the appearances in the history of the controversy in which Bunyan became involved with his brethren, in consequence of the positions which he assumed, on the subject of communion, lead us to infer the two following things:

1. That he embraced the principles of *open communion*, after he became pastor of the baptist church at Bedford.

2. That it was a new thing among the baptists at that time, and that the leading ministers of the denomination had fearful apprehensions as to the bad effects of the novel theory of their Bedford brother.

Thomas Paul, William Kiffin, H. Denn, and H. D'Anvers, took the field against this innovation on baptist principles and discipline. Bunyan makes many complaints of their severity towards him, and repels a host of charges which were brought against him as being unfaithful to his principles as a baptist, and undermining, by his new notions, the foundation of the baptist cause. He also complains of injurious interference with his church—of too successful efforts to divide his flock—draw off his members, and derange his affairs.

The famous William Kiffin and Thomas Paul, it appears from the foregoing account of John Bunyan, wrote against him on the communion question; and from the manner in which the good old Bedford divine speaks of them, we should be led to infer that they took strong ground against the free communion plan.

Rev. John Gosnold. 1. The Doctrine of Baptisms. 2. The laying on of hands. About 1670.

Carolus Maria De Veil, D.D., on Baptism. Although I do not find that this distinguished man published a separate work on this subject, yet he is named as among the most able advocates of baptist sentiments, towards the close of the seventeenth century. Davye³ places his name with Tombes, De-laune, Grantham, Keach, Stennett, Gale, &c., and says that this company of learned baptists were well able to take the field against Stillington, Hammond, Marshall, Baxter, Hewardine, Walker, Russen, and Wall, who were all eminent men on the pedobaptist side. Dr. De Veil was a native of France, a Jew by birth. After his conversion to christianity, he united with the catholics, then with the church of England, and finally with the baptists, under the ministry of Mr. Gosnold. After he united with the baptists, in addition to his former commentaries, he wrote a literal explanation of the Acts of the Apostles, which was printed in London, in 1684.

In this learned work, his sound and learned arguments for the principles of the baptists are found.⁴

Tasker on Baptism. Sufficient Reasons for a Religious, Conscientious, and Peaceable Separation from the Communion of the Church of England; or a Reply to a Tract, entitled the Protestant Dissenters guided to that church. By Rev. John Tasker. London. 8vo. pp. 124. 1751.

Persecution for religion judged and condemned. This work was incidentally referred to in the account of the writings of John Smyth on baptism, pp. 142. I then gave all the information I had received respecting it. But in the first volume of the Hansard Knolly's publications, I find the whole work is re-printed, with a *fac simile* of the title-page, which adds much to the antiquarian character of the work. It was first printed in 1615, in Holland, without name or

³ Work on Baptism, p. 3.

⁴ Wilson's Dissenting Churches, Vol. I., pp. 206-207.

place. "The persecutions to which the author and his friends were exposed, doubtless rendered this expedient." It is attributed not to Mr. Helwisse, but to John Murton and his associates. This turns out to be a very well-written piece, which originally consisted of 87 pages. But a small portion of it is devoted to the baptismal question, but wherever that subject is introduced, it is discussed with much clearness and ability. The whole is in the form of a dialogue between *Christian* and *Anti-Christian*, with occasional remarks by an *Indifferent* person. The main object of the piece is sufficiently indicated by its title. The re-publication of this work forms a valuable addition to baptist literature.

SATIRICAL PIECES AGAINST INFANT BAPTISM AND SPRINKLING INSTEAD OF IMMERSION.

THE SALOPIAN ZEALOT:

OR

THE GOOD VICAR IN A BAD MOOD.

By John the Dipper.* London. 12mo. pp. 52. 1778.

This poem was intended as a satire on the writings of Rev. Mr. De Courcy, of Salop, a zealous defender of infant baptism, and was introduced as follows:

"A humble imitation of Rev. Mr. De Courcy's pompous advertisement.

"Just published, posting from the press,
Three shilling price, the world to bless,
A bouncing answer, sharp as nitre,
To every *anabaptist* writer;
Which clearly proves the word *baptizing*
Doth not mean *dipping*, but *rantizing*.

"Young *Disputator*, good and gifted,
And to *St. Alkmond's* pulpit lifted,
Discharg'd the duties of his station,
With pious zeal and reputation;
Profess'd a love for all mankind,
Appeared to have a lowly mind;
A friend of truth and justice seem'd,
And by us all was much esteem'd.
But ah, how frail the human heart!
The best are perfect but in part:
Chameleon self in sinful worms,
Will still assume a thousand forms.
In every eye the preacher shone,
But *too refulgent* in his own.

"Th' exalted vicar from his chair
Pontific, towering in the air,
Beholds his *brethren* far below,
As his subjected *slaves*, that owe
Obedience passive and implicit
To his sound creed;—you must solicit
His high permission, ere you dare
Your different sentiments declare;
To *Him* submit your faith and reason;
To doubt his dogmas is high treason.

* This piece was dated *Enon, near Salim*. It has been generally ascribed to Rev. Benjamin Francis; but Mr. Sands, the publisher of the Religious Herald, Richmond, Va., informs me that the author was Rev. John Sandys, a relative of his, and that *his* family name was formerly spelt in that way. The controversy which called forth this humorous production, took its rise from an attack on the Rev. Samuel Medley, in consequence of a sermon which he preached on a baptizing occasion at Shrewsbury.

A curious description of John's method of baptizing.

"The sacred rite *we* dare proclaim,
Was first performed in Jordan's stream,
At Enon too, to *Salim* near,
Because there was much water there.

Ergo,⁶ a basin-full is more
Than needful to baptize a score.

"The lowly Jesus, when baptized—
Who then our practice patronized—
Went straightway up out of the water ;
Ergo, our infant son and daughter
Should to and from the font be brought,
Without a will, without a thought.

The Jews in Jordan were baptized ;
Ergo, ingenious John devised
A scoop, or squirt, or some such thing,
With which some water he might fling
Upon the long-extended rank

Of candidates, that lin'd the bank :⁷
Be careful *John*, some drops may fall
From your rare instrument on all ;
But point your engine ne'ertheless,
To those, who first their sins confess :

Let no revilers in the crowd
The holy sprinkling be allowed.
The *baptist* had not time, *we dream*,
To dip the people in the stream ;
But, when *awake*, we must believe
It took more minutes to receive
Confessions from the truly good,
Than to immerge them in the flood.

But Jesus Christ himself, we own,
'Put off his sandals,' and went down
Into the waves quite off from land,
That *John* might *wet him* with his *hand* ;
Which, you must know, he could not do,
Had *Christ* not stood in Jordan too.

• • • • •

"The holy rite, now in dispute,
Is a plain gospel institute,
To be obey'd in truth and love,
Our inward purity to prove.
And, like the supper, was design'd
For persons of a contrite mind ;
Ergo believers' infant seed,
By nature all a graceless breed,
Should have this rite on them impos'd,
And be thereby with saints inclos'd.
Be quite consistent *Disputator*,
If you become our legislator,
And give the babes of *alma mater*
Some bread and wine, as well as water.

• • • • •

⁶ *Therefore*—the common term used by the logicians in the schools.

⁷ "It seems, therefore, to me, that the people stood in ranks, near to, or just within the edge of the river; and John, passing along before them, cast water upon their heads or faces with his hands, or some proper instrument, by which means he might easily baptize many thousands in a day."—*Guy's Paraphrase*, Vol. I., p. 13.

- " Infants were brought to Christ of old,
 And Jesus bless'd them, we are told ;
 But none were by our Lord *baptiz'd*—
Ergo, they must have been *rhantiz'd*.
 Whole households, hearing and believing
 The word of truth, and by it living,
 Obeyed the sacred rite with speed ;
Ergo, baptize your infant seed.
 Pray Mistress Lydia let us know,
 Are you in social life or no ?
 If married, what's your husband's name ?
 And why hath Luke conceal'd the same ?
 Where doth he live ? we want to spy him ;
 Pray have you any issue by him ?
 If you have children, please to tell
 What is their age, and where they dwell,
 And whether they were all *rhantiz'd*
 When your whole household was *baptiz'd*.
 We hope, for your own reputation,
 They were not born of fornication :
 Your answer, Madam, we solicit ;
 Pray be particular and explicit :
 'Tis on your evidence depends
 The cause for which the priest contends.
- " Good Abra'm's seed were *circumcis'd*—
Ergo, our babes must be *baptiz'd*.

- " 'Twas at the glorious Reformation,
 The baptists rose within the nation ;
 Though, first of all, with Christ they sprung,
Ergo, they're ignorant and young.

- " The rapid *traveler* could not call
 Where any *baptists* liv'd at all,
 From *Jordan's* banks to *Munster's* plain,
 Where German ranters fix'd a stain
 Upon the name, which his fierce page
 Exhibits to the present age,
 (Above two hundred years apart)
 In horrid forms, with cruel art.
 He squints, indeed, at *Piedmont*,
 But dares not face its noble front ;
 And while his eyes its practice trace,
 A secret blush steals on his face.
 He shakes the urn of poor *Servetus*,
 And whirls his ashes to defeat us ;
 He should have left his dust entire,
 Which had been purified by fire.
- " Scripture *forbids* us in no place,
 To sprinkle infants on the face ;
 (Nor yet to give them bread and wine,)
Ergo, this rite must be divine ;
 And, *Ergo*, we may, quite as well,
 Religiously baptize a bell.

- " Some good advice to my young friend,
 For this he *needs*, and I shall end.

WATERY WAR.

Pray, for the future, Disputator,
Write to the praise of your creator ;
And to the *world* some service render,
Besides the *printer* and the *vender*.

• • • • •
But should you, thinking to be gainer,
Continue still a *paper stainer*,
Deal not in sophistry and sound ;
On solid truth your reasons ground.
Veil not the sacred text, so plain,
With the dark mist of your own brain.
Exhibit sense to public view ;
Others have eyes as well as you."

The Watery War ; or, a poetical description of the existing controversy
between the pedobaptists and baptists, on the subjects and mode of baptism.
By John of Enon.^a Boston. 12mo., pp. 34. 1806.

"So christendom is doomed to feel,
The fiery strife of flint and steel ;
And parties still will be disputing,
Opposing each, and each confuting,
With verbal warfare and contention,
In growing times, or in declension.

"A watery strife, of old begun,
Is now more fiercely coming on ;
And parties with much haste prepare,
To fight the elemental war.

"This seems the ground of this dispute,
As near as one can well compute :—

"Has Christ enacted all the laws,
Intended for his holy cause ?
Or must we search the Jewish code,
To guide us in the christian road ?

"Must gospel churches now be made
Of parents and their infant seed ?
Or, are professing saints alone,
The only subjects Christ will own ?
Is 't apostolic, or perversion
That *pouring*, *sprinkling*, and *immersion*,
Are all the same baptismal rite,—
In substance *one*, and either right ?
Or is *immersion* only, good,—
Exclusively the scripture mode ?

^a This piece remained about thirty years *incog.*, when it was republished in the Baptist Library, which lead to the disclosure of the author.

It was generally ascribed to John Leland. As its paternity is now generally understood, I may as well give a brief account of its origin.

The circumstances which called it forth were as follows :—It was soon after Mr. Merrill and his church had come over to the baptists. This defection of their *down east* brother caused a great excitement among the pedobaptists ; and a host of writers soon appeared in the field, which I thought might better be answered in this sort of style than any other. The work was written while in College, and published soon after I left my Alma Mater at Providence, by Dea. Loring, of Boston, then the principal publishing house among the baptists.

WATERY WAR CONTINUED.

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“The other note, to pitch the tune on,
Is “anti-christian” *close communion*.

• • • • •
“Sometimes you hear the learned assertion,
There were no places for immersion;—
Your friends have taken it for granted,
Your geographic skill was wanted;
And kindly, for your information,
Have told, to stop your innovation,
That Jordan was a little stream,—
To talk of dipping’s all a whim.
At Ænon, too, and all around,
No dipping-places could be found.
What though there was much water there?
’Twas in *small brooks*! you often hear.
Ye baptists dare not controvert
What learned men so oft assert.
This country, though exceeding dry,
Yet brooks and fountains could supply;
Full large enough, ’tis thought, for John
To sprinkle people one by one.
And had he used them sparing, too,
As moderns are inclined to do,
These many brooks, we make no doubt,
For sprinkling might have long held out.

• • • • •
“We can but feel a wish to know,
Why John should keep the water so.
If sprinkling might have been the mode,
Why should he take so long a road?
Or, if he had designed to pour,
Why, then, to Ænon take a tour?
The answer comes as quick as wink—
The man was looking out for drink,
And kindly seeking watering-places
• For horses, camels, mules, and asses.’
The reason seems as clear as day,
As pedobaptists wisely say,
Why John chose out a watery station,
To do the work he was engaged in;
’Tis plain that multitudes came out,
From all the regions round about;
’Tis likely, too, we lately hear,
Th’ encampment lasted more ’n a year.
And who but baptists once could think,
That man and beasts would want no drink?

“This question answered with such ease,
We’ll state another, if you please.
Admitting John a public cater—
Providing man and beast with water,
And that his mind was more intent
On drink, than on the sacrament;
And having now obtained his end,
And near by Jordan made a stand,
We humbly ask, if ’tis no sin,
Why we should need to enter in?

WATERY WAR CONTINUED.

To this full many have replied,—
 And here's the answer cut and dried :
 That since the concourse was so poor,
 There was not found, in all their store,
 A basin, pitcher, or a cup,
 With which to lade the water up :
 'Tis likely John, as others do,
 Proceeded down a step or two
 In Jordan's stream, to take a stand,
 To do what might be done on land.
 But ere we give the subject o'er,
 We beg to ask one question more.

“ Since John was so intent on thinking
 To find conveniences for drinking,
 'Tis wondrous strange he had not thought
 To bring, or see some one has brought,
 Some vessel Jordan's wave to lade in,
 Which might have saved him tedious wading.
 You'd think, to help the water-fetchers,
 He'd brought a load of pails and pitchers.

• • • • •

“ While thousands, unconcerned to know,
 If scripture prove their creed or no,
 Embrace what has been handed down
 From father to succeeding son,
 Well pleased to walk in custom's way,
 Nor from tradition ever stray ;
 Yet many venture farther out,
 And chase a devious round about
 Of *ancient rites* and *promises*,
 Of *probables* and *doubtlesses*,
 Of *scripture silence* and *negation*,
 Of *inference* and *implication* ;
 The *doubtful* tales of oral rites,
 For washing *Gentile proselytes* ;
 Good *Lydia* and the *jailor*, too,
 And suppositions not a few ;
Conveniency and *expedition*,
 For which, you know, we all are wishing ;
 And many things which critics speak—
 Of *skeptical*, *evasive* Greek ;
 And books, too many now to name,
 Of ancient or of modern fame,
 And what of scripture may befriend,
 In trying times to gain an end ;
 But from its “ *silence*,” who would look
 For aid from such a speechless book ?
 For, 'tis said by more than one disputer,
 In this debate the Bible's neuter.

• • • • •

“ Be pleased to speak with more precision,
 Of your rare *Christian circumcision* ;
 Produce some text in what you write,
 To set the proof in clearer light,
 That Jews and Christians are the same,
 And differ only in the name ;

And that the ancient cov'nant seal
Retains its use and meaning still ;—
Then tell us why your infant daughter,
As well as son, is sealed with water.

• • • • •
“ Why give *baptizo* such a scoring,
To prove the lawfulness of pouring ?
For this, you know as well as we,
With your own practice don't agree.
Or why still make so loud a tinkling,
With words which chance to mention sprinkling ?
While those which indicate immersion,
Are thought unworthy of insertion.”

The History of Jack Nips. A tract. By Rev. John Leland.

Jack Nips is represented as a plain country boy who had a little smattering of Greek and grammar, and who, by pursuing his honest, common sense inquiries, became much puzzled with the arguments in defense of infant baptism, and the *half-way covenant*.⁹ Their orthography also filled him with perplexity, as he could not possibly understand how they could spell *baptism* out of *circumcision*.

“ Another thing also confounded my youthful thoughts. Men and women would bring their children to the minister to be baptized, if but one of them was a believer, and it was supposed that the faith of the parents was sufficient to initiate the child.

• • • • • “ Uncle Benson had married aunt Nancy, by whom he had a son, whose name was Peter. Uncle was a believer, but aunt was not. Here I had a great query in my mind, to find from which parent the soul proceeded.

• • • • • “ Uncle Sam said, Peter came into the world a christian, and, *therefore*, had a right to baptism ; but uncle Ned insisted upon it, that it was his baptism that *made* him a christian ; and confirmed his sentiment by observing, that the name given him in baptism was his christian name ; that is, a name given him when he was made a christian ; but others declared that the child came half from each parent ; then, said I, Peter ought to have but *half his face sprinkled*, for half of it came from his heathen mother.

“ While I was as full of thought as Don Quixote was of projects, I went to meeting ; and how was I surprised to see a man and his wife stand in the broad aisle, owning the baptismal covenant, as they called it. I had read of baptism being a command—a fulfilling of righteousness—the answer of a good conscience ; but never heard it called a covenant before. What wind next ? said I within myself. But here I soon found that neither the man nor his wife were believers ; that they had never given *themselves* to God, and yet they were offering their *child* to him. This made me think of uncle Tim, who would never give any of his own interest to any body, but when he was at another man's house he could be as liberal as a prince, in giving to every one that came in. If these people, said I, loved their child as well as they do themselves, they'd never trust it where they durst not trust themselves. But after the priest had read what he had written for them, and they had consented by a bow and a courtesy, he declared that they had a right to all the privileges of the church except the Lord's Supper.

• • • • • “ I could not but observe what force and violence were used on the occasion. The little candidate, who never proposed himself, nor,

⁹ This was a system peculiar to New England, which, I believe, has nearly or quite gone out of use. It was a singular ecclesiastical contrivance, which enabled parents to get their children baptized without becoming church-members.

indeed, had sense enough to know anything that was going on, was taken by force, and, notwithstanding all his struggles and screams, had the name of the Trinity called over him, and was, somehow or other, shut up in the pale of the church. Is this christian liberty? thought I, more than a hundred times!"—*Leland's Works*, pp. 73–75.

Petit on Baptism. A Scriptural Answer to Rev. David Porter's Dissertation on Christian Baptism, &c. By Rev. Hezekial Petit.¹⁰ Catskill, N. Y. 12mo., pp. 119. 1810.

Pengilly on Baptism. Scripture Guide to Baptism; containing a faithful citation of all the passages of the New Testament which relate to this ordinance, with explanatory observations; and attended by numerous extracts from eminent writers. With an appendix. By R. Pengilly. Phi. 12mo., pp. 86. 1837.

This little work is much on the plan of Wilson's Scripture Manual, and, like that, is exceedingly well calculated for common readers. Indeed, it gives, in an abridged form, the substance of the historical facts which are spread out in larger works.

It is an English work, and I believe the author is yet alive; but it has been so much circulated in this country as to be almost identified with American publications. Between the two lists, by some means, it was omitted in both, which has led to its being inserted in this place.

The copy before me purports to be from the ninth London edition.

Tillinghast on Baptism. Water Baptism plainly proved by Scripture to be a Gospel Precept. By Rev. Parson Tillinghast. Boston. 4to., pp. 17. 1689.

For the discovery of this ancient piece, I am indebted to the catalogue of the library of the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., which was kindly loaned by the librarian, S. F. Haven, Esq.

Mr. Haven has also favored me with the following selections from this antiquarian production:—

"The plan and scope may be inferred from the commencing paragraphs:—

"Being presented with a paper by a friend of the society of the people called Quakers, it being a leaf or two of a book lately written by George Keith. The principal scope of the said paper is comprehended in these particulars:—

"1st. That the baptism with water doth properly and only belong to *John's* ministry and dispensation.

"2d. That there is no command from God for water-baptism.

"3d. That the Apostles practised it only, by permission, for a time, as they did other ceremonies of the law, and not by any standing commission."

"This being the substance of the paper, it is needless to mention every line. I shall endeavor, as the Lord shall assist me, to reply to these conclusions.

"The first of these being esteemed among these people as Goliath was in the camp of the Philistines, I trust, by the improving of a sling, and a few stones chosen out of the book of the Holy Scriptures, to oppose and destroy, that a gospel ordinance be not by them defied.

"Therefore, contrary to this conclusion, I do assert, 1. That the baptizing believers in Jesus Christ with water, is a part of Christ's baptism, began by *John*, but carried on by Christ, and to remain throughout the gospel dispensation.

"2. I do affirm, that the outward form and inward power of godliness may not be separated, but remain and abide together in the church of the living God,—the pillar and ground of truth."

This appendix will be continued towards the close of the volume.

¹⁰ I was apprised of the existence of this work, and have written to the author for it, who, I believe, is still alive, but could not obtain it. Rev. J. M. Peck has the work; to him I am indebted for the above information. From him, also, I received some extracts from the work, from which it appears to be a plain, common-sense answer to the usual arguments assumed by modern pedobaptists.

SECTION IV.

A LIST OF PEDOBAPTIST WRITERS AGAINST ANABAPTISM, AND THE ANABAPTISTS IN DEFENSE OF INFANT BAPTISM.

I shall not attempt to give any thing like an entire catalogue of this class of writers ; so great has been the number, that my limits would not allow it, if my information was sufficient for the task. My efforts will be directed principally to those who hold a prominent rank, and who have come in conflict with the opposers of the infant system.

St. Austin, or Augustine, the famous bishop of Hippos, in Africa, who died 430. I begin with this distinguished Latin father, because he is appealed to by all classes of pedobaptists, both catholic and protestant, more frequently than any writer of that, or a number of succeeding centuries. His contests were long and severe with the Pelagians, Donatists, and other dissenters from the established church, who challenged his whole theory of infant baptism ; the most prominent article of which was its absolute necessity as a remedy for original sin, and its sovereign efficacy for that fatal malady of Adam's fallen race. And he was the first of the fathers who wrote expressly *de baptismo*, except Tertullian, who was certainly on the anti-pedobaptist side.

In his book *De baptismo parvulorum—The baptism of little ones—St. Augustine* asserts, that " God in a hidden manner infuses his grace into children—in a wonderful manner, he dwells in infants who are baptized."¹

This doctrine of St. Austin's has run through the whole catholic community, and indeed of most other national churches, from his day to the present time.

On the mode of baptism there was no dispute at that early period, as all parties then practised immersion, single or triple.

Infant baptism an apostolical tradition. Such was the testimony of Austin, respecting this disputed rite ; but all writers in modern times, that I have seen, on the pedobaptist side, have, however, strengthened considerably the original text, which reads as follows : " What the universal church holds, nor was instituted in councils, but always retained, is most *rightly believed* to have been delivered by no other than apostolical authority."²

Most of the old catholic writers, through all ages up to the reformation, have something to say on baptism ; in many cases, however, the subject is brought in incidentally, in a separate chapter, *de baptismo*, in their ponderous volumes in description of all the rites and ceremonies of the Roman ritual. These treatises on baptism have very little of the controversial character of modern productions ; they do, indeed, often refer to the adverse views of the heretics, and their arguments against admitting infants to the sacred rite, as being unconscious of its requirements, and incapable of its duties ; and in this way we pick up what little we know of the prevalence of baptist sentiments, for many centuries, in the dark ages ; but in no case do we find any complaint of their mode of baptizing, as a departure from the catholic model of performing this ceremony.

Mr. Robinson, in his two great works, *The History of Baptism*, and *Ecclesiastical Researches*, refers to a multitude of these old catholic authors, but the number or names I shall not attempt to give.

When we come down to the Reformers, we find a flood of productions against anabaptism and the anabaptists, and besides those who wrote expressly on these subjects, nearly all the fathers of the Reformation, whether among the Lutherans, or Calvinists, or Churchmen, in their annotations and expositions on the scriptures ; in their systems of divinity ; in their public lectures and ad-

¹ St. Austin's Epistle to Dardanus, as quoted by Dr. Featley, pp. 60-66.

² Tombee's *Anti-pedobaptism*, 1657, p. 755. My plan is, in this catalogue, to give titles, authorities, and selections, without any efforts of my own to neutralize their force. This I shall do in my closing remarks on the whole baptismal controversy.

dresses on theological subjects, interspersed very free and candid remarks on baptism, both as to the subjects and mode; and as honest expounders of the bible, and ecclesiastical history, have recorded statements which all who take the baptist side of the baptismal controversy have made a free use of in all succeeding ages. These remarks will apply not only to Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, &c., but to a host of pedobaptist writers in all churches in after ages.

Writers against Anabaptism and the Anabaptists, mostly on the Continent.

Luther, against the celestial prophets; another name for the anabaptists.

Zuinglius. De Baptismo, contra Hubmeyrum, on baptism, and against Hubmer, a distinguished anabaptist; and

Melancthon's Refutat. erroris Serveti et anabaptistarum, were very early works on this subject.

Osiander, one of Luther's first disciples, and

Cassander, a cotemporary, both wrote expressly *de baptismo*, and in defense of pedobaptism. They were both professors in the Lutheran universities, and died about the middle of the sixteenth century.

*De Anabaptistorum ortu et Progressu.*³ By Nicholas Gerbelius. The date I do not find. It was probably written soon after the tumults at Munster, as he died very old, at Strasburg, where he was professor of law 1560.

*De Miserabili Monasteirum Anabaptistorum obsidione, excidio, memorabilis rebus tempore absidionis in urbe gestis Epistola.*⁴ By Anthony Corvinus. Wittemberg. 4to. 1536.

A short instruction for to arme all good christian people agaynst the pestiferous errors of the common secte of Anabaptists. By John Calvin. London. 8vo. 1549.

A Preservative, or Triacle against the poison of Pelagius, lately renewed and stirred up again by the furious sect of the Anabaptists. By William Turner, M. D. London. 12mo. 8vo.⁵ 1551.

Henry Bullinger's works against the Anabaptists.

1. Three Dialogues between the seditious, libertine, or rebel Anabaptists, and the true, obedient christian. 8vo. 1551.

2. A Wholesome Antidotus, &c. 8vo. 1554.

3. *Adversus Anabaptistes*, &c. 8vo. 1560.

4. A most rare and strong defense of the baptism of children, against the Anabaptists. London. 8vo. No date.

John Knox, against the Anabaptists. An answer: a great number of blasphemous cavillations, written by an anabaptist; an adversary to God's eternal predestination, and refuted by John Knox, minister of God's word in Scotland, wherein the author discovereth the craft and falsehood of that sect, that the godly, knowing that error, may be confirmed in the truth, by the evident word of God. Geneva. 16mo. London. 8vo. 1560. 1591.

*La Racine, source, et fundement des Anabaptistes notre temps, avec refutation des leurs arguments.*⁶ By Guy de Bres. 8vo. 1565.

This work is in French.

*Historica Anabaptistica.*⁷ By Arnold Meshovius Col. 4to. 1617.

³ Concerning the rise and progress of the anabaptists.

⁴ A remarkable account of the distressing siege and destruction of the anabaptists, and of the management of their affairs in the city during the time of its blockade.

⁵ This zealous Dr. Turner is referred to in the H. Knolly's work.

⁶ The root, source, and foundation of the anabaptists of our time, with a refutation of their arguments.

⁷ An historical account of the anabaptists.

*Disputationes Tres contra Anabaptistes.*⁸ By John Asueres Ampsingius. Lugd. Bat. 8vo. 1619.

*De Pedobaptismo contra Anabaptistes.*⁹ By John Bogenheigijs Hafnia. 8vo. 1632.

*Tumultuum Anabaptisterum liber unus.*¹⁰ By Lambert Hortensius. Amsterdam. 8vo. 1636.

Of the origin and progress of the sect of Anabaptists; translated into English. By Frederick Spanheim, Prof. of D. at Leyden. London. 4to. 1646.

Both the Spanheims, Ezekiel and Frederick, father and son, were zealous opposers of the anabaptists; the first, in his Diatribe, which has just been referred to; the other in his Elenchus. They lived about the middle of the seventeenth century, and had much intercourse with the English presbyterians.

John Gerard Vossius, of the Dutch church, was a very learned man, and a famous author on infant baptism. He died 1649.

John Henry Ottius published his Annals of the Anabaptists at Bazil,¹ 1682.

This work is quoted as a prominent one on this subject, by Mosheim and Robinson.

In addition to all these, it appears that Cloppenburg, Hornbeck, Matthæus, Schelhorn, Arnoldus, Fuislen, Sleidan, Gastius, Jehring, Wigandus, Catreu, Walchius, *cum multis aliis*, have at different periods opposed the innovations and the reputed errors of the anabaptists.

According to Mosheim, the writers for and against the anabaptists are amply enumerated by Casper Saggiarius, and Chris. M. Pfaffius, in their introductions to their historical works. They were both Lutherans, of the seventeenth century.²

For a portion of the information which enabled me to construct the foregoing catalogue, I am indebted to an article in the Carolina Baptist, published by Rev. T. W. Haynes, of Charleston, S. C. This list, by the aid of Drs. Sears, Williams, and others, will be continued towards the close of this volume.

ENGLISH AUTHORS IN DEFENSE OF PEDOBAPTISM.

I am confident there were writers on both sides of the baptismal question in the 16th century; this is strongly indicated by some remarks in the writings of bishop Burnett and other old historians, but I have not been able to obtain any account of them except the following:—

Thos. Becon's Catechism, and *Peter Martyr's Letter in defense of infant baptism*. This Becon was chaplain to arp. Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI. His catechism was a large book of more than three hundred pages, and the few quotations I have seen from it are full of wrath and fury against the opposers of infant baptism.³

The first clear view I have got of any other controversial works on this subject, is among the Brownists. This company of seceders from the national church, soon after they settled in Holland, became divided in their opinions on this ancient rite very early in the 17th century. John Smyth published his dialogue in defense of the principles of the baptists in 1609, while Clifton, Johnson, and Ainsworth, advocated the old system, after divesting it of sponsors and other appendages to which they had been accustomed.

Christian Plea; containing three treatises against the anabaptists, the Armenians, and some other things which concern the Reformed churches. By Rev. Francis Johnson. 4to. 1617.

⁸ Three disputations against the anabaptists.

⁹ A defense of pedobaptism against the anabaptists.

¹⁰ One book concerning the tumults of the anabaptists.

¹ Robinson's Hist. of Baptism, old work, p. 466. ² Mosheim's Eccl. Hist., Vol. IV., p. 427.

³ Hansard Knolly's publications, Vol. I. Introduction, pp. 71, 96. Stovel's Lectures, p. 21.

Ainsworth's Dialogue against the anabaptists came out soon after.

Of Clifton's work I have no account.

Dod and Cleaver came out with a small but famous work under the title of *The patrimony of christian children.* 1624.

During the time of the civil wars and the commonwealth, writers on both sides of the baptismal controversy were greatly multiplied. Churchmen, presbyterians and baptists came in frequent conflict; by the two latter denominations, however, most of the publications on baptism were issued.

I shall now make selections from, and give the titles of a few of the most prominent writers on the pedobaptist side, and close this article with a list of all the names which I have been able to ascertain as coming under this head. I shall begin with

Rev. Richard Baxter. His works on baptism were so frequent and severe, that he acquired the title of the *great maul* of the anabaptists. Tombes and D'Anvers were his principal opponents. The following passage in reply to D'Anvers has often been quoted by succeeding pedobaptist writers: "For my part I cannot find, in my small reading, that any one divine, or party of men, did certainly oppose or deny infant baptism for many hundred years after Christ. And again; that the world may now see what a cause you put such a face upon, when you cannot bring the least proof, so much as of one man (much less societies, and least of all, godly societies) that did once oppose or deny infant baptism, from the Apostles' days, till about Luther's time. And further, I am fully satisfied, that you cannot show me any society (I think not one man) that ever opened their mouths against the baptism of infants till about two hundred years ago or thereabouts; which confirms me much that it is from the Apostles' time, or else some one would have been found as an opposer of it."⁴

The Dippers dipt; or, the Anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears, at a disputation in Southwark. By Daniel Featley, D. D. London. 4to., pp. 2207. 1645.

The work is as severe as its title would lead us to expect; besides the account of the disputation at Southwark, the Dr. descants in his peculiar style on the writings of a number of baptist authors, as Barber, Cornwell, A. R., and others—defends the episcopal form of prayer in opposition to the anabaptists—the union of church and state—denounces the advocates of a millenium—and the opponents of capital punishment, oaths, &c.—and *proves* by irrefragible testimony, of his own historical showing, that the anabaptists were:

1. *An illiterate and sottish sect.*
2. *A lying and blasphemous sect.*
3. *An impure and carnal sect.*
4. *A cruel and bloody sect.*
5. *A profane and sacrilegious sect.*

For the honor of the British baptists, none of these charges are laid directly against them, but the scenes are all laid in Germany, and his proofs are drawn from old writers against the German anabaptists.⁵

Although Dr. Featley is so severe upon the anabaptists in his historical details, yet when he reports their syllogisms on the various matters in dispute

⁴ Plain scripture proof of Infant Baptism, pp. 157, 261, 266, as quoted by D'Anvers, p. 367.

⁵ Dr. Featley's principal authorities are Gastius and Sleidan.

When I have formerly read the high-toned language of vituperation as ascribed to this famous episcopal divine in Crosby, Ivimey, Wilson, &c., I thought there must have been some exaggeration or mistake; but when I obtained the book, there I found it, *verbatim et literatim*, first in his table of contents, and then carried out in *extenso*, in his historical details. I have before me the identical passage where this zealous defender of the church against the heretics and schismatics of the times, honestly admits that he "could hardly dip his pen into any other liquor than the juice of Gall."

with them, he makes unusually fair statements of their main positions, and generally gives them the better of the argument.⁶

A looking-glass for the anabaptists and the rest of the separatists. By Josiah Bicroft. London. 4to. 1645.

Defense of infant baptism against the anabaptists. By Rev. Thomas Bakewell. London. 1646.

Anabaptismarum scrupuli; an answer to a Kentish anabaptist, made in 1649. By John Couch. London. 4to. 1650.

The Separatists' answer to the anabaptists' arguments concerning baptism. By Rev. Samuel Chidley. London. 4to. 1651.

The anabaptists washed and shrunk in washing. By Rev. Richard Carpenter. London. 1653.

Wells on Infant Baptism. 1. Infant baptism asserted and vindicated. By Rev. Obediah Wells. London. 8vo. 1674.

2. A vindication of said treatise. Do. do. 1675.

3. Censure of the censure against D'Anvers. Do. do. 1676.

Dr. Hammond's work was intended to neutralize the influence of the concessions of Drs. Taylor and Barlow in favor of the baptists.

From two very distinguished writers among the British pedobaptists I shall select more freely than I have thus far done from any other, that my readers on both sides may see how the subjects of infant baptism and infant communion were handled in the times in which they lived.

History of Infant Baptism, by William Wall, D. D., vicar of Shoreham, in Kent, "being an impartial collection of all such passages in the writings of the first four centuries, as do make for or against it;" in two volumes.

This work was first published in 1705; the copy I quote is the third edition. London. 1720.

This is a store-house of facts in which all parties may find their denominational relatives and friends; where the advocates for immersion and aspersion, and the opponents of baptism in all modes, may see their prototypes in abundance.

Dr. Wall was a man of great industry and learning, of a mild spirit, and of uncommon fairness in his representations.

A few sentences from his preface will show the course he meant to pursue. After mentioning the names of Cassander, Vossius, Hammond, Walker, Calvin,⁷ Bullinger, Featley, Tombes, Marshall, Cobbett, Baxter, D'Anvers, Wills, &c., all pedobaptists but Tombes and D'Anvers, he honestly and candidly confesses that he intended to be more impartial than they had been; "for most of them made only such quotations as made for the side of the question which they were disputing." He continues, "I have recited the places more at large than others have done; one single sentence, or, as they frequently cite a bit or scrap of a sentence, gives but a very imperfect, and oftentimes a mistaken account of the author's meaning; but the context added shows the tenor and scope of his discourse. And this profession the Dr. lived up to with great

⁶ Two syllogisms on baptism, from Dr. Featley's book, one on each side.

"All christians ought to hold the traditions which have been taught them by the apostles, either by word or epistle.

"But the baptizing of children is a tradition received from the apostles, as affirmed by *Origin* and *Austin*.

"*Ergo*, The baptizing of children ought to be retained in the christian church."

On the baptist side. "That which God hath joined together, no man ought to separate.

"But faith and baptism God hath joined together;

"*Ergo*, Faith and baptism no man ought to separate."

This is taken from Cornwell's Royal Commission of King Jesus.—*Dippers Dipt*, p. 66.

⁷ Calvin, according to Dr. Wall, was the first man in the world who drew up a liturgy or form of baptism, which prescribed affusion absolutely, without any reference to immersion. Vol. 2, p. 266.

idelity and care ; in this way he was led to publish a multitude of facts of great importance to the baptist cause.

"One thing," says he, "I resolved, that if I wrote anything, it should be something which should give nobody any occasion to force me to write again." Here he might have had in view the course pursued by Taylor, Barlow, &c.*

Omission of pedobaptism among the early fathers, emperors, and others. Dr. Wall has taken abundant pains to neutralize all the arguments of the baptists under this head. He succeeds tolerably well with his statements of facts, in opposition, however, to many very learned men on his own side, until he comes to St. Basil, and his case, he candidly admits, caused him some embarrassment.

St. Basil. "A few extracts from the writings of this father on the subject of baptism, may be interesting to the reader. They are from an oration, or sermon, in which he exhorts his hearers against a dangerous delay in coming to the baptismal font. This he does by the most winning persuasions, and the most alarming considerations which his superior eloquence could command. And after having insisted on the advantage of Christ's baptism above that of John's, and how all are invited to it, he thus addresses them :—

"Do you demur, and loiter, and put it off, when you have been, from a child, catechized in the Word. Are you not yet acquainted with the truth? Having been always learning it, are you not yet come to the knowledge of it? A seeker all your life long? a considerer till you are old? When will you be made a christian? when shall we see you become one of us? Last year you were for staying till this year; and now you have a mind to stay till next. Take heed, that by promising yourself a longer life, you do not quite miss of your hope. You do not know what change to-morrow may bring."

"When I first copied out this passage, says Dr. Wall, to put it into this collection, I thought it to be the strongest evidence against the general practice of infant baptism in those times of any that is to be found in all antiquity (though it has not, I think, been taken notice of by any of the anti-pedobaptists), for it plainly supposes that a considerable part of St. Basil's auditory, at this time, were such as had been, from their childhood, instructed in the christian religion (and consequently, in all probability, born of christian parents), and yet not baptized.

"St. Basil has also two other pieces about baptism, written at the desire of some that put questions to him: some, concerning baptism, and some, on other subjects (being, probably, persons that were preparing themselves to be baptized). But all the discourse is (as the occasion was), of what is proper for adult persons to know and consider, when they come to be baptized; and has nothing that peculiarly concerns infants."

This scene is laid down by Dr. Wall two hundred years after the apostles. This is his uniform manner of fixing his dates, with a view, no doubt, to get as near as possible to primitive times. Basil died in 375, at the age of 53.

The Dr. was a zealous churchman, fond of national churches, and of all the ecclesiastical lore of antiquity; a great admirer of the fathers, and more especially of Austin; an uncompromising defender of the pedobaptist system; a strenuous advocate for baptismal regeneration, and for the literal exposition of John iii. 5: "*Except a man be born of water and of the spirit, he cannot be saved.*" And yet he generally treats the baptists with mildness and decorum. D'Anvers, Tombes, Stennett, Denne, and Gale were his principal opponents.

Dr. Wall admits that a number of very eminent men on the pedobaptist side opposed the doctrine of infant baptism as being an apostolic institution, and maintained, as many of its supporters do at the present time, that it had its origin at a later age, while others assumed the position that it was a matter of indifference, and all were left to their free choice,—to baptize their children, or

* These men found it needful to write again to satisfy their friends, that notwithstanding all they had said against the antiquity of infant baptism, that they were still the supporters of the system.

not. According to him, these views were entertained by Strabo as early as the eighth century, Hincmar in the ninth, and all along, from that period up to the seventeenth. The principal men named by him were Lud. Vives, Curcelleaus, Rigaltius, Dr. Hammond, Abbott de Bill, Salmasius, Dr. Field, Bishops Taylor and Barlow, Thorndike, Dailliè, Hugh Grotius—whom he considers a ringleader in this opinion—Cajatan, Cardinal Perron—"who pleaded the cause of the anabaptists with all his might"—Mr. Baxter, and many others, whose names are less known.

Dr. Wall's ninth chapter in his second part, or volume, is a perfect anomaly of its kind; and, in marching and counter-marching from the bath to the basin,* exceeds anything I have met with in any pedobaptist writer.

The title of the chapter is, "*Of the most ancient mode of baptism;*" and respecting the early christians, he says:—

"Their general and ordinary way was to baptize by immersion, or dipping the person, whether it were an infant or grown man or woman, into the water. This is so plain and clear by an indefinite number of passages, that as one cannot but pity the weak endeavors of such pedobaptists as would maintain the negative of it, so also we ought to disown and show a dislike of the profane scoffs which some people give to the English anti-pedobaptists merely for their use of dipping. It is one thing to maintain that that circumstance is not absolutely necessary to the essence of baptism, and another to go about to represent it as ridiculous and foolish, or as shameful and indecent, when it was, in all probability, the way by which our blessed Saviour, and, for certain, was the most usual and ordinary way, by which the ancient christians did receive their baptism. I shall not stay to produce the particular proofs of this. Many of the quotations which I brought for other purposes, and shall bring, do evince this. *It is a great want of prudence, as well as of honesty, to refuse to grant to an adversary what is certainly true and may be proved so.* It creates a jealousy of all the rest that one says.

"Before the christian religion was so far encouraged as to have churches built for its service, they baptized in any river, pond, &c. So Tertullian says: 'It is all one whether one be washed in the sea, or in a pond, in a fountain, or in a river, in a standing, or in a running water. Nor is there any difference between those that John baptized in Jordan, and those that Peter baptized in the river Tiber.'

"On the other side, the anti-pedobaptists will be as unfair in their turn, if they do not grant that, in the case of sickness, weakness, haste, want of quantity of water, or such like extraordinary occasions, baptism by affusion of water on the face, was by the ancients counted sufficient baptism."

In this way he goes on to speak in favor of immersion and affusion—shows when dipping was left off in the west, in France and Germany; how long it continued in England; which according to his statement was in the time of Queen Elizabeth—what churches still dip infants—and the summary statement under this head, I will give in the Dr.'s own words:

"All those nations of Christians that do now, or formerly did, submit to the authority of the bishop of Rome, do ordinarily baptize their infants by pouring or sprinkling. And though the English received not this custom till after the decay of popery, yet they have since received it from such neighbor nations as had begun it in the times of the pope's power. But all other christians in the world, who never owned the pope's usurped power, do, and ever did, dip their infants in the ordinary use.

"And if we take the division of the world from the three main parts of it; all the christians in Asia, all in Africa, and about one third part of Europe, are

* I use the word basin for the sake of balancing the sentence, but I should think that Dr. Wall did not approve of the modern mode of sprinkling; he certainly speaks lightly of the doings of the General Assembly of Westminster on the subject of baptism. His words are: "So parallel to the rest of their reformations, they reformed the font into a basin."—Vol. II., p. 368.

of the last sort; in which third part of Europe are comprehended the christians of Grecia, Thracia, Servia, Bulgaria, Rascia, Walachia, Moldavia, Russia, Nigra, &c., and even the Muscovites, or Russians, who, if coldness of the country will excuse, might plead for a dispensation with the most reason of any."

This, in a brief manner, is a fair representation of the famous work of Dr. Wall. Probably on no one book do the pedobaptists place more reliance for the defense of their system. At the same time, I have observed, that so far as the mode of baptism is concerned, the baptists quote him as one of their most clear and substantial authorities.

"Bishop Taylor, in his rule of conscience, and also Mr. Dan. Rogers, in his treatment of sacraments, have said so much on this head, that D'Anvers, the anti-pedobaptist, catches hold of their words, and brings them among his authorities, that to baptize is nothing else than to dip. But he is forced to curtail and misrepresent their words (which he has left out), and own that baptism by affusion, is true baptism. But so much is true, that they do both of them plead hard that it ought not to be used but in case of necessity, and that the ministers should in no other case dispense with the act of immersion. And indeed, as the Rubric then stood, it required immersion positively, unless the child were weak. Here, by the way, I cannot but take notice how much trouble such an adventurous author as this D'Anvers is able to give to such a careful and exact author as Mr. Walker. D'Anvers does, in this place, deal with above twenty other writers, after the same rate as he does with the two I have mentioned, viz. : Scapula, Stephanus, Pasor, Vossius, Leigh, Casaubon, Beza, Chamier, Hammond, Cajetan, Musculus, Piscator, Calvin, Keokerman, Diodat, Grotius, Davenant, Tilenus, Dr. Cave, Wal. Strabo, and abp. Tillotson. He does, in the space of twelve pages, quote all these in such words as if they had made dipping to be of the essence of baptism."

The Dr. proceeds to show that all these men, like himself, were the advocates of immersion as the primitive mode, yet they all admitted the validity of pouring, in extreme cases, and that it "cost Mr. Walker (a famous writer on that side) three large chapters to set Col. D'Anvers right." And what is somewhat singular, this same Mr. Walker, "in several places declares in favor of immersion for ordinary use." In the same connection he names Dr. Towerson, Sir Norton Knotchball, Dr. Whitby, Sir John Floyer, Scotus, and Mr. Mede, as men who plead for the restoring of dipping; the last of whom says "that there was no such thing as sprinkling or rantism used in baptism in the Apostles' days, or many ages after them."

These remarks, we must bear in mind, were made by a man who for almost a century and a half has been quoted by all writers in defense of pedobaptism and of sprinkling, in opposition to immersion.

Dr. Wall's Defense of the history of infant baptism against the reflections of Dr. Gale and others. London. 4th Ed. 8vo. pp. 391. 1819.

This third volume of Dr. Wall's work on baptism assumes very few new positions; his principal object seems to have been, as its title shows, to defend the statements in his former publications from the attacks which had been made upon them by Messrs. Gale, Barnard, Emlin, Whiston, and Davye.

Mr. Barnard was a pedobaptist of Holland, probably of the presbyterian class. His principal complaint against Dr. Wall appears to have had respect to his favorite doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which he maintained to be the veritable thing itself, without any paraphrase or metaphor. The rest of Dr. Wall's opponents all assail him on anti-pedobaptist principles. In that age, however, and long before, the baptismal question was debated in a very different manner from the present. There was a general agreement, so far at least as episcopalians were concerned, in favor of immersion as to ordinary baptism. The principal points of debate were as to the subjects of the rite—its mysteri-

ous efficacy, and its absolute necessity for salvation for all mankind, whether infants or adults.¹⁰

Some incidental remarks are made on the works of D'Anvers and a number of older writers, but Gale was Dr. Wall's principal opponent, and to his *Reflections*, most of his Defense is devoted. He candidly admits that he was distinguished for his skill in philology, but at times he is no little vexed with him for his provoking freedom with all the historical and logical machinery with which, in his estimation, he had elaborated the pedobaptist system and settled it on a firm and immovable basis.

A very few extracts must suffice for what more I shall say of the closing labors of this distinguished champion of infant baptism.

Of no one statement in Gale's *Reflections* does Dr. Wall more loudly complain, than where he asserts that he has given up any direct proof from the scriptures, &c. ; and yet, in the end, he comes back to about the same position.

He evidently felt concerned for his reputation among his brethren, if it should be clearly proved that such a concession was made by him, in a full and unqualified manner.

Had he lived in our day, when the most renowned doctors of the pedobaptist party of different churches do not hesitate to make similar concessions, and prove the point from circumstantial and collateral testimony, he would not have been so much alarmed.¹

Dr. Wall's concessions relative to the infants mentioned by Irenæus. "Now, supposing that in Irenæus' use of those words, a person were continued to be called an *infant* till he was ten, and a *little one* till twenty, and a *child* till thirty, and a *youth* till forty, as he does, indeed, toward the end of that chapter make the interval between youth and elder age to be ten; but to call them *infants* till ten, and *parvulos* till twenty, and *pueros* till thirty, is something more contrary to the common sense of words than the other; and I think to discourse that matter with Mr. Gale, the first inventor of that *salvo*; but supposing it were so, the word *infant* does still include all the time from birth to ten years; and there is no reason to take it here for *only* those of ten years, with an exclusion of mere infants, especially when Irenæus' argument at that place runs upon a supposal of taking in every period of man's age, and every step of that period.

Dr. Wall's distinction between bapto and baptizo. "Mr. Gale undertakes to make it appear plainly that the word does necessarily include *dipping* in it its signification, and never denotes anything less. To this purpose he makes a tedious recital of sixty or seventy places, most of them out of the Greek poets that never heard of any sacrament; and, at last, to one's great amazement, there is not one quarter of the places that have the word *baptizo*, or any derivative of it, in them. Instead of that, they have the word *bapto*, a word

¹⁰ The old theory was, that infants, dying unbaptized, would go neither to heaven or hell, but into a neutral region, where there was no pain, nor not much enjoyment. This opinion Dr. Wall seems to have viewed with much favor, if he did not fully adopt it. An imaginary *limbo* was the place assigned by the ancients to unbaptized infants; while an equally fictitious purgatory was allotted to all who wilfully neglected the salutary bath.

¹ For the gratification of my readers, I will make a few selections from Dr. Gale's book. He quotes to the pages in Dr. Wall's work for proof of his statements:—

"He first very freely allows (and, indeed, what unprejudiced man would venture to assert the contrary?) that it cannot be made to appear from the scriptures that infants are to be baptized. 'For in the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, there is no particular direction given what to do with reference to the children of those that received the faith. Nor is there in any other place, among all the persons that are recorded as baptized by the apostles, express mention of any infant. And the proofs, drawn by consequence from some places of scripture, are not so plain as to hinder the arguments drawn from other places, for the other side, from seeming still considerable.' All which is, in short, to grant that infant baptism cannot be proven from scripture. To balance which he likewise supposes that it cannot be proved they were not to be baptized.

"This is his first position, and the ground of the whole superstructure. For hence he infers, in the next place, that recourse must be had to some other means, which may serve to clear up and interpret the law, and fix the sense, which he thinks is not so free from ambiguity as it ought to be.

"Mr. Wall confesses all the passages in scripture relate to the baptism of adult persons, and gives this as a reason why the anti-pedobaptists are so successful in their public disputations. *Hiring plain places of scripture, says he, to produce concerning adult baptism, and several examples of it, they work much on such of the people as had not minded this before, and had not had a right state of the question between pedobaptists and the anti-pedobaptists: wherein the former grant, that in a nation newly converted to christianity,—and such are all the cases mentioned in scripture,—the adult people must be baptized first, before their infants can be baptized.* But this, he supposes, is no proof that their infants were not to be baptized at all."—*Wall's Preface*, p. 3. Vol. II., p. 276, as quoted by Gale, pp. 221. 224.

never used in scripture with any relation to baptism, and so nothing to this purpose. Of the rest which have the word baptizo, it is in some of them used for such washing as is by dipping, or putting the thing spoken of all over into the water, and in some of them not; which comes up to all that I had said, that the word *to baptize* has beside the signification *immerge*, that of *lavo* in general.

Sprinkling condemned by Dr. Wall. "He," Mr. Gale, "repeats, as he had three or four times before, the slander on me which I mentioned, 'That I do pretend that baptism may be administered *indifferently* in any manner.' I think he judges, that a false thing, by being often repeated, will become true. I have always held and taught, that where it may with safety be administered in that way of dipping which St. John and the Apostles in those hot countries used, that way ought to be preferred: in cases of haste, want of a quantity of water, or danger to health, *pouring* of water to be sufficient; and, indeed, in the case of danger of health, the best way; for *God will have mercy and not sacrifice*. As for *sprinkling*, I say, as Mr. Blake² did at its first coming up in England, "Let them defend it that use it.

How sprinkling was introduced into England. "I am clearly of opinion that it was not any scruple or offence taken at the baptizing persons in infancy, that raised this schism; as that has been from the beginning, in our church and in all churches,—the unity and satisfaction of all people in it, from the beginning till of late, is a proof that it must be some new thing at which the offence was taken. There has no novelty or alteration, that I know of, in the point of baptism, been brought into the church, but in the *way* or *manner* of administering it. The way that is now ordinarily used we cannot deny to have been a novelty brought into this church by those who had learned it in Germany, or at Geneva; and they were not contented to follow the example of pouring a quantity of water (which had there been introduced instead of immersion), but improved (if I may so abuse that word) from pouring to sprinkling, that it might have as little resemblance of the ancient way of baptizing as possible.

"It is that, I verily believe, that has given the occasion; and by all the search that I have been able, in discourse with the vulgar people, to make into the grounds of the disaffection which they have conceived concerning their baptism received in the church in their infancy, the main hinge has turned, not upon time, but the manner of its administration. Mr. Gale (as well as the rest of their writers) seems to have been sensible of this, and, therefore, though he entitled his book *Reflections* on mine, which had not meddled (or but in a few lines) with the *manner* of baptism, he sought his advantage by drawing in, by head and shoulders, a dispute about that *wherein he knew that the examples of scripture and other antiquity, and the full persuasion of that people, and of all the eastern church to this day, is on his side*; and I had the disadvantage to plead for a way of baptism, of which, the best I could say, was, that it is sufficient for the essence of baptism; but could not deny the other (except in the case of danger of health) to be the fittest.

"The solemnity of the circumstances in the administration of baptism (as also of the other sacrament) does very powerfully strike and affect the mind of any devout christian that sees it administered. *The baptism of an infant cannot have all the solemnity which that of an adult person may have.* The previous fasting and prayer, the penitent confessions, the zeal, humility, and deep affection of the receiver may be visible there, which cannot be in the case of an infant; but for that very reason, we ought not to deprive the administration of this sacrament to infants of any solemnity of which it is capable.

"*The immersion of the person (whether infant or adult,) in the posture of one that is buried and raised up again, is much more solemn, and expresses the design of the sacrament, and the mystery of the spiritual washing much better than pouring a small quantity of water on the face; and that pouring of water is much better than sprinkling, or dropping a drop of water on it.*

"If it be done in the church, in or at the font, and the congregation do join in the prayers there used, it is much more solemn than in a bed-chamber, out of a basin, or pipkin, a tea-cup, or a punch-bowl; and a bed-chamber is, perhaps, not quite so scandalous as a kitchen or stable, to which things look as if they would bring it at last.

"Suppose that such a washing by sprinkling, or a drop be sufficient in case of some necessity that may happen (as I hope it is), shall we, thereupon, in ordinary cases, go as near to the breaking of Christ's command as possibly we can? *Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?*

Causes of so many deserting infant baptism. "I know that some midwives and nurses do, on the christening-day (which they think is observed, not so much for the sacrament itself, as for their showing their pride, art, and finery), dress the child's head so, that the face of it being hid deep under the lace and trimming, which stands up high on each side, the minister cannot come at the face to pour water on it so as that it may run off again; but what water he pours will run in among the head-clothes, which really is likely to do the child more hurt than dipping would have done; but he must make them remedy this inconvenience, and give them to understand that if they will have their children baptized, they must bring them in such a dress as to be capable of it. Those who, in such cases, are chosen for godfathers and godmothers, are generally persons ignorant of the terms of the baptismal covenant them-

² Rev. Thos. Blake, an episcopal clergyman, and a famous writer on the pedobaptist side, in the age of Charles I.—*Furman on Baptism*, p. 50. His work was published in 1645.

selves; and when they should make answer in the name of the child to the holy interrogatories, they neither mind the substance of the thing asked, nor do know what answer is fit to make; but do only, in a ridiculous manner, give a bow, a courtesy, or a nod, and that often not without apparent signs of mockery; and they frequently show a very vain, irreverent, and wanton behavior before, and in, and after the sacred administration. Is this not enough to turn the stomach of any serious christian that is present?—and if they reflect with themselves, and think, ‘Is this the way that I was baptized in?’ to occasion, perhaps, their falling into the error we are speaking of, and resolving to be baptized again? Can a minister of Christ take any comfort, or can he think that the dignity of the holy office which he is performing is preserved in such a management?

Presbyterians seduce the episcopal members. “What must be done, or can be done, in places where Presbyterians lie in wait to draw people from the church into separations, and do offer their service to any capricious man or woman, that if the parish curate will not baptize their child at home, they will, is more than I am able to determine; it must be left to the bishop of the place to direct which of the two evils must be chosen. I have been credibly informed that the late pious bishop of London found it necessary to advise his clergy in the city to comply in this matter with their people, rather than let them fall into the hands of those seducers; but that, in his visitation in the country places, he advised them to keep steady to the rubric.”

A large portion of Dr. Wall’s closing chapter in his Defense, is taken up with remarks similar to those which we have here presented. In many of them, it is true, he uses no small share of the *ex cathedra* style in maintaining his positions, and in repelling the attacks of his young opponent,³ but also in pointing out the faults of his own church; the evils often attending christening scenes; the superior advantage of the baptism of believers; and, in general, the facts and arguments which make for or against the different classes of subjects, he is open and artless, and has set a pattern worthy of imitation.

Dr. Wall’s main positions. As to the mode of baptism, I think it is not too much to say that his preference was decidedly in favor of immersion. But for the baptism of infants, no man could be more inflexible, and his arguments may be reduced to the following heads:—

1. The early and almost universal practice of what in ecclesiastical language is denominated *the church*, and especially of all national churches.
2. The testimony of the fathers, and St. Austin in particular, who said that infant baptism was not established by any council or synod, but was always in being from the apostles’ time.
3. The covenant of circumcision, and its identity with christian baptism.
4. Proselyte baptism among the Jews.
5. Its urgent necessity in the work of salvation, and its great utility to the infant race. His views do not appear to have been confined to believing parents.
6. The great number of men of piety and talents by whom it has been sanctioned and maintained, whose opinions ought to outweigh all the arguments of a few inconsiderable, and, for the most, illiterate opposers.
7. Although there is no express mention in the scripture of any infant being baptized, yet the thing may be reasonably inferred from the Commission: “Suffer little children,” &c.; “Except a man be born of water,” &c.; “Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy,” &c. These two last passages the good old Dr. applies without any qualification to the baptismal rite. This, I believe, is a fair and faithful exhibition of Dr. Wall’s principal arguments for the support of the pedobaptist cause.

Although the vicar of Shoreham was a decided opponent of the baptists, so far as infants are concerned, yet, on the mode of baptism, we may truly say of him, as Rev. A. Campbell does of Prof. Stuart, he has said all that a man can say, and remain on that side.⁴

Peirce on Infant Baptism and Communion. An Essay in favor of the ANCIENT PRACTICE of giving the Eucharist to children. By Rev. James Peirce, of Exon, England. London. 8vo. pp. 183. 1718.

³ Dr. Wall was sixty years old when he published his two first volumes, and upwards of seventy when he wrote his Defense, &c. Dr. Gale was but thirty-one when he entered the lists with this aged champion. The venerable vicar a number of times complains of it as a hard case, that so young a man should set upon him with so little ceremony and so much zeal. Dr. Gale was a General Baptist; more account of him will be given in my biographical work.

⁴ The foregoing selections from Wall’s Defense, &c., are from the fourth edition, pp. 35, 81, 123 349-357.

This I believe is the only work of modern times, which is expressly devoted to this subject. It is a candid and laborious production, and shows the author to have been a man of learning, and of extensive research into the writings of the early and middle ages. Indeed, nothing which bears upon infant baptism and communion among the Greek and Latin fathers, and in all after times, appears to have escaped his attention. Cyprian and Austin are his principal authorities among the ancients.⁵ Æneas Sylvius, Cassander, Grotius, and Wall, in modern times.

Mr. Peirce, in his preface, gives his readers a history of the long and severe struggle of his mind while pursuing a train of reasoning in opposition to his own preconceived opinions and those of his protestant brethren, and canvassing the testimony for and against the propriety of this ancient and long-continued custom of the catholic church, where it prevailed for six centuries at least. This length of time is admitted by Dr. Wall, while Mr. Peirce augments the number of centuries to ten, and makes the practice coeval with the apostolic age. He also expatiates with much satisfaction on the fact, that while the doctrine of transubstantiation caused the practice of infant communion to be laid aside in the church of Rome, in the Greek church, in all its branches where this doctrine does not prevail, the custom is still continued.

This work consists of four parts :

The first part is occupied with historical details in proof of the fact of the early and long continued practice of *infant communion*.

The second part, under ten heads, contains elaborate arguments in favor of this practice.

"1. The baptism and communion of infants stand upon the same foot, and therefore they who admit the one ought to admit the other also.

"For the confirming this argument I will shew,

"*First*, That the same reasons which are brought for infant baptism, are in like manner applicable to infant communion.

"*Secondly*, That the objections against infant communion will admit of the same answers as those against infant baptism.

"*First*, That the same reasons which are brought for infant baptism, may with equal force be produced for infant communion. Let the reader consider with me some of the arguments produced in the one case, and try whether they are not as valid in the other."

The third part, answers the usual objections against children's receiving the Lord's supper.

"1. 'Tis objected : That children, and especially infants, cannot *do this in remembrance of Christ*; and therefore the nature and design of the Lord's supper shows they are not qualified to join in it, since our Saviour, when he instituted it, expressly required his disciples to *do this in remembrance of him*.

"In answer to this objection, I offer these following things to the reader's consideration.

"1. That such kind of objections will as soon overthrow infants' right to baptism as to the eucharist.

"2. Children are not capable of performing the duty of self-examination, which is prescribed as previously necessary to a person's receiving the Lord's supper. *But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup*. And if a man must so, and no otherwise, *eat of that bread*, 'tis evident children must be excluded, because they cannot possibly examine themselves. I answer,

"1. If I should allow the words of the apostle to be taken in their true sense in the objections, yet the *pedobaptists* must own that the texts I mentioned before, may be as strongly urged against infant baptism, as this can against infant communion."

⁵ One of the mottos of this work is taken from Cassander, *De baptismo infantium*.—Colonge, 1563. Mr. Peirce was a clergyman of the church of England.

The fourth part illustrates the advantages which, in the opinion of the author, would follow the revival of the ancient practice of infant communion.

These advantages are enumerated under ten heads, only three of which I shall refer to.

"1. It may be reckoned no small advantage in this case, that we shall become more consistent with ourselves in maintaining infant church-membership and right to baptism. The *anti-pedobaptists* hardly say anything more plausibly upon this head, than when they argue from our own proceedings, and ask us why we don't administer the Lord's supper to infants, as well as baptism? By our retaining the custom of the church of *Rome* in taking away the eucharist from children, notwithstanding we have laid aside the doctrine of transubstantiation which was the occasion of it, we have laid a stumbling block, I fear, in the way of some. And 'tis very possible when that is removed out of their way, and the reasons for giving infants the other sacraments are more thoroughly considered, they may be the more ready to fall in with us in our notion of infants' right to baptism.

"3. The consequence of this would be, that our communions would then be much fuller than they are. For beside the addition of the young communicants, if the adults were freed from their discouragements, they would be more free to come, and we should not so often miss their company.

"6. This practice would bring young persons more under discipline, and give the rules of the church a greater advantage for dealing with them.

"The church of *England*, indeed, admits them to a communion in her prayers upon a right foot, that is, as members of the church by baptism. But I can't find she requires their coming to the Lord's table, before they are sixteen years old; nor have they any discipline, that I know of, to exercise upon them till they come to that age. The *independents* pretend not to have any authority over them, or any right to call them to an account, or indict any censure upon them for their miscarriages, till they are grown up and admitted into their churches, and are in full communion with them. The *English presbyterians* seem to have fallen very much into the same notion and practice. Now this seems to me utterly unaccountable. If children are by baptism entered into the christian church, as the members thereof, they must certainly, as such, be subject to that rule and government which Christ has appointed in his church; and the rulers of his church must have a right to exercise a discipline in their case, and to proceed against them, when they give offence, as well as any other members whatever. 'Tis absurd to say, they are members of the society, and yet not subject to the laws of it."

A List of British authors in defense of Pedobaptism, from the Reformation to the present time :—

<p><i>From the earliest that can be found to 1700.</i></p> <p>Thos. Becon, Peter Martyr, F. Johnson, H. Ainsworth, R. Clifton, Dod and Cleaver, R. Baxter, Dr. D. Featley, Josiah Bicroft, Thos. Bakewell, John Couch, Saml. Chidley,</p>	<p>Richard Carpenter, O. Wells, Dr. H. Hammond, Stephen Marshall, Thos. Blake, Thos. Shephard, John Humphrey, Alex. Kelly, Saml. Newton, Wills, Blinman, R. Gray, John Green, Nathaniel Holmes, Geo. Phillips,</p>	<p>Giles Firmin, John Drew, Josiah Church, Zach. Crafton, John Goodwin, Wm. Lyford, John Brimsley, John Gerece, Cuthbert Sidenham, Wm. Carter, Saml. Rutherford, John Cragge, John Walker, Thos. Fuller, John Stratham,</p>
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Thos. Hall,
 Robt. Baillie,
 Henry Savage,
 Janeway,
 Wm. Cook,
 J. Horne,
 Peter Gunning,
 Wm. Burket,
 John Flavel,
 Shute,
 Rockwell,
 Exell,
 J. Whiston,
 Thos. James,
 M. Harrison,
 Bp. J. Taylor,
 O. Heywood,
 S. Petto,
 P. Stubbs,
 E. Thorpe,
 J. Wall,
 F. Mence,
 H. Vaughn,
 T. Potter,
 M. Fynch,
 S. Winter,
 Stevens,
 S. Chandler,
 Berault,
 Hawardine,
 Williams,
 J. Morgan,
 Thos. Bray.

From 1700 to 1800.

Hitchin,
 Brown,

David Russen,
 Dr. Wm. Wall,
 Jos. Stokes,
 Morris,
 John Brekel,
 F. Walker,
 Dr. D. Waterland,
 Deyling,
 R. Clayton,
 Ridgley,
 C. Fleming,
 J. N. Lake,
 Dorrington,
 Mayo,
 Cleveland,
 Dr. G. Watts,
 T. Bradbury,
 Eltringham,
 J. Bowen,
 Glass,
 Huddleston,
 Maurice,
 D'Assigney,
 Addington,
 J. Wesley,
 De Courcy,
 E. Williams,
 M. Towgood,
 Robbins,
 Pentycross,
 Horsey,
 M. Henry,
 Bingham,
 J. Carter,
 R. Elliot,
 A. Pirie,
 T. Sheraton,

Shrubsole,
 Dr. J. Priestley,
 H. F. Burder,
 T. Barker,
 Sam. Walker,
 S. Bottomley,
 Evans,
 Carter,
 D. Turner,
 Peter Edwards,
 James Sabine.

From 1800 to the present time.

Dr. R. Wardlaw,
 Dr. G. Ewing,
 E. Bickersteth,
 Dr. Pusey,
 A. Hall,
 J. H. Godwin,
 Charles Jerram, (of the
 Established church.)
 Thorn,
 W. Harness,
 W. B. Knight,
 Wright,
 Drew,
 Welsford,
 Stanley,
 H. Budd,
 C. Taylor,
 Wm. Ulrick,
 Dr. Halley,
 Jos. Jarrom, (a Dis-
 senter.)
 T. Jarvis,

A LIST OF AMERICAN WRITERS IN DEFENSE OF PEDOBAPTISM.

The oldest writers I have found on this subject in this country, were among the New-England Puritans; their names were Davenport, Cotton, Cobbett, Shepard, Mather, and Mitchell, all of the 17th century. Their works with their dates were as follows:—

Rev. John Davenport, of New-Haven, Ct. Mr. D. wrote against the promiscuous baptism of children while he was in Holland, before his removal to N. E. This was in 1634.

2. He wrote in favor of this rite being more generally extended to children than was then practised in Massachusetts.

The Dutch protestants, in his opinion, were too indiscriminate in their use of infant baptism. This we can easily understand by the rules laid down by Robinson, Dr. Owen and the old evangelical pedobaptists, who limited baptism to believers and their infant offspring. While the Mass. brethren, as he supposed, were becoming too remiss in this practice. This was in 1662.

Rev. John Cotton, of Boston. The Grounds and Ends of the baptism of the children of the faithful. 1647.

- Rev. Thomas Cobbett*, of Ipswich, Mass. Vindication of the covenant and church estate of the children of church members. 1648.
This is said to be an elaborate work, which is much commended by Mr. Cotton in his preface to Norton's answer to the inquiries of Appollonius.
- Rev. Thomas Shepard*, of Cambridge, Mass. The church membership of children and their right to baptism. 1663.
- Rev. Increase Mather*, Pres. of Harvard College. Divine right of infant baptism. 1675.
- Rev. Jonathan Mitchell*, of Cambridge, Mass. A letter on the subject of infant baptism. 1675.
- Mr. Mitchell was a zealous promoter of what among the Mass. congregationalists is called the half-way covenant.
- Rev. Cotton Mather*, of Boston. 1. Baptistes; or, a conference about the subjects and manner of baptism. 1704.
2. Baptismal Piety. 1727.
- Rev. Jonathan Dickinson*, the first president of Princeton College, N. J. 1. On baptismal regeneration, against Dr. Waterland. 1742.
2. Reflections on Mr. Wetmore's defense of Dr. Waterland. 1745.
3. A pamphlet in favor of infant baptism. 1746.
- Rev. Samuel Finley*, afterwards Pres. of the same college. 1. A charitable plea for the speechless, against Abel Morgan's Anti-pedorantism. 1747.
2. A vindication of the same. 1748.
- Rev. Peter Clark*, of Danvers, Mass. The defense of the divine right of infant baptism. 1752.
- Rev. David Bostwick*, of New-York. A fair and rational vindication of the rights of infants to the ordinance of baptism,* about 1764.
- Dr. S. Webster*, of Salisbury, Mass. Two discourses on infant baptism. Third edition. 1780.
- Dr. Jos. Huntington*, of Coventry, Conn. An address to his anabaptist brethren. 1783.
- Rev. John Cleveland*, of Ipswich, Mass. A treatise on infant baptism. 1784.

The rest of American authors on infant baptism and communion I shall name as near as possible in a chronological order, without distinction of denomination. I shall give the names and titles where they can be ascertained; also designate the States or section of country where they resided.

In this list I shall include the earliest writers which have already been named.

John Davenport, Conn.	I. Foster, Mass.
John Cotton, Mass.	Holly, "
Thos. Cobbett, "	Dr. B. Lord, Conn.
Thos. Shepard, "	Jos. Fish, "
Increase Mather, "	J. White, Mass.
Jon. Mitchell, "	E. Fish, "
Cotton Mather, "	Dr. M. Hemmenway, "
Jon. Dickerson, N. J.	Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, "
John Cotton, Esq., Mass.	Dr. Jas. Lathrop, "
A. Stewart, "	N. Worcester, N. H.
Samuel Finley, N. J.	Dr. N. Perkins, Conn.
P. Clarke, Mass.	G. H. Cowles, N. Y.
Dr. S. Webster, "	Dr. S. West, Mass.
Dr. J. Huntington, Conn.	Dr. C. Strong, Conn.
Dr. Jon. Parsons, Mass.	Jon. Miller, N. Y.
J. Cleveland, "	Fish & Crane, Mass.
T. Palmer, N. Y.	Dr. S. Worcester, "

* This work was compiled from several of his discourses after his death.

Dr. S. Austin,	Mass.	Dr. Rice,	Ky.
Dr. R. Anderson,	"	Dr. E. D. Griffin,	Mass.
Dr. D. Osgood,	"	G. L. Beckwith,	"
Dr. J. Reed,	"	Wm. M'Calla,	uncertain.
Dr. T. Dwight,	Conn.	O. C. Bartlett,	Mass.
Dr. D. Porter,	N. Y.	G. W. Langhorn,	N. C.
Dr. J. M. Mason,	"	T. P. Hunt,	"
J. Crane,	Mass.	F. Ewing,	Ala.
Dr. L. Dow,	Conn.	J. J. Triggs,	Geo.
Dr. Buckminster,	Mass.	Wisner,	N. Y.
Jas. Russell,	Geo.	Bp. Kendrick (Cath.),	Pa.
A. Hay,	Va.	A. B. Smith,	S. C.
A Lewis,	"	J. W. Woods,	N. J.
A Abbot,	Mass.	N. Adams,	Mass.
Graham,	"	Freeman,	N. E.
D. Jarratt,	N. C.	Cooke & Towne,	Mass.
Tenney,	N. E.	Hamilton,	N. J.
Chaplin,	"	Hall,	N. E.
Moore,	"	J. Mines,	Md. ?
Thad. M. Harris,	Mass.	E. House,	N. Y.
Mulligan,	N. E.	P. Cooke,	Mass.
Gilbert,	"	J. Johnson,	Uncertain as to State.
Dr. L. Woods,	Mass.	Clinton,	
Prof. Stuart,	"	J. Elles,	
Dr. E. Pond,	Me.	C. Bogardus,	
Dr. Rice,	Va.	Taylor,	
Slicer,	"		
Dr. S. Miller,	N. J.	Van Vranken,	N. J.
O. Fowler,	Mass.	Ross,	N. S.
A. Burgess,	N. H.	Robertson,	"
Dr. Brownlee,	N. Y.	Bullock,	"
Dr. J. T. Pressley,	Pa.	Munroe,	"
Pres. Beecher,	Ill.	Gray,	"

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC DEBATES ON BAPTISM.

These debates may be traced back to a very early period among the Waldenses, Albigenses, and German anabaptists. But in those early times they were attended with much hazard and vexation, which, however, the brethren freely exposed themselves to for the purpose of diffusing light and information on the great principles of the gospel among their countrymen, who were overwhelmed with darkness and error.

Although the catholics treated all whom they denounced as heretics, with most tantalizing and oppressive cruelty, yet they generally made a show of fair dealing in giving them an opportunity to expound their principles of dissent, and to make their own defense. This was required by the rules of the inquisition, for the purpose of neutralizing the complaints of the people that they were condemned without a hearing. But it was a mockery of fairness, as their doom was settled beforehand.

The company of Waldenses at Cologne, in 1140, and of the Albigenses in France, about 1200, of which we have given an account, had much disputation with their opponents and persecutors; and the latter company had entered into a very formal arrangement for a long discussion on all matters of dispute, when, by a most consummate and villanous piece of treachery, the furious crusaders were upon them, and cut short all arguments with the instruments of death.

The German anabaptists and the catholics, as we have seen in the long accounts we have given of that people, were in perpetual debates with each other, generally, however, in a desultory and informal manner. And infant

baptism was never lost sight of by the one party, nor left without severe animadversions by the other.

When we come down to the opening scenes of the Reformation, the anabaptists and their opponents were often found in conflict, not only on infant baptism and the practice of rebaptizing, but on all the principles of the secular policy which the Reformers too generally pursued. A portion of those who adopted anti-pedobaptist views were men of talents and information. They were anxious to carry out the principles of the Reformation to the letter, and reject every rite and ceremony which was not clearly contained in the bible.

In one case, at Zurich, they had ten different disputations, which, as I suppose, were held on so many different days, in succession. Zuinglius appears to have been one of the principal disputants in favor of transferring infant baptism into the Reformer's creed, while Hubmor, or Hubmeyr, with some others, took a decided stand against it. As it generally happens, in such cases, neither side would yield the point in debate, but opportunely for the pedobaptist party at this critical juncture, the secular power, which was now in the Reformer's hands, gave their casting vote, and thus closed the debate. The senate passed a decree which doomed all who adhered to one side, to death. Such closing arguments in baptismal controversies, for the honor of protestant pedobaptism, I believe were confined to Switzerland.

Baptismal debates in England. The Oxford company of anabaptists, in the 12th century; that at Chesterton, near Cambridge, in the 15th, and the one at London, in the 16th, all held debates with their opponents; not, however, in a very formal manner, and always under every disadvantage.

When the baptists began to enjoy some portion of freedom in the exercise of their opinions in the mother country, they often met the challenges of their opponents to defend their adverse views, and debates at different times ensued. The first I shall name took place Oct. 1642.

This famous dispute was between Dr. Featley and four baptists, somewhere in Southwark, at which were present Sir John Lenthal and many others.

The Dr.'s version of the affair in his own peculiar style is found in his *Dippers Dipt; or, the anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears, in a disputation at Southwark*. The speeches on both sides are given somewhat in detail; but as the Dr. managed the story all in his own way, and as he then felt towards his obnoxious opponents, we should naturally expect that they would come off but second best. But under all these disadvantages, the baptists, who made no display of learning, by the Dr.'s own showing, on the main questions at issue, had the better of the argument; as they kept close to the scriptures and demanded plain bible proof for infant baptism, and all his other main positions.

Dispute between Dr. Featley and Henry Denne. This took place in 1643, in a prison in London, where both the gentlemen were at the time confined; Mr. Denne for preaching against infant baptism, &c.; Dr. Featley on account of some difficulty with the parliament. This dispute was but partially carried on in an oral manner; it led, however, to publications on both sides.

Mr. Denne had another famous dispute on baptism with Dr. Gunning, an episcopal clergyman, at St. Clement's church, London, in 1658.

A history of all the public disputes between the baptists and their opponents in the free discussions which were everywhere maintained, from the commencement of the civil wars until the restoration of Charles II., would make a book of no inconsiderable size. A number of them have already been referred to in the accounts of baptist authors.

Tombes and Baxter were for a long time regarded as champions on their respective sides, both in oral contests and written productions; each of whom had coadjutors of talents, industry and zeal; so that if the whole ground of the baptismal controversy was not thoroughly canvassed in this free state of English affairs, it was not for the want of an ample corps of combatants on either side.

From the restoration to the revolution, the public discussions of the kind

under consideration, were less frequent than they had been for twenty years before ; indeed, but few of them have occurred among the English baptists for almost two centuries past. The regular issue of books has taken the place of the verbal argumentations of former times. One more important debate of this kind remains to be named, which from its locality, was called

The Portsmouth Disputation. All the English Baptist historians have given more or less information respecting it ; but I will select the few following particulars from Taylor's History of the General Baptists. One of their principal men at the time (Dr. Russel) was a leader of the baptist side in the whole affair. Mr. Taylor's account is as follows :—

“ Rev. Mr. Chandler, a pedobaptist minister, had established a course of lectures in this place, in some of which he treated with much severity the principles and practices of the baptists. At the close of one of these assaults on their principles, which a company of the denomination had assembled to witness, a desultory discussion commenced on the spot, which led on to the arrangement for the famous and formal debate. The disputants on the pedobaptist side were Rev. Messrs. Chandler, Leigh, and Robinson, all eminent presbyterian ministers.

“ On the part of the baptists were Dr. Russel, of London, and Rev. Messrs. Williams and Sharpe.

“ The whole was conducted under a license from the king, at the instance of the pedobaptists, under the plea of vindicating the common cause of the reformed churches, &c.

“ The scene of combat was the presbyterian meeting-house at Portsmouth. There, in the presence of the governor, lieutenant-governor, mayor, and magistrates of Portsmouth, and a large and respectable auditory, attended by the civil and military power, to preserve order, the champions entered the lists ; and, for upwards of nine hours, amused the spectators with all the manœuvres of polemics ; the particulars of which would neither be interesting nor edifying. Both parties, as usual, claimed the victory ; and a fierce paper-war ensued ; in which many bitter things were said of each other, and much injury done to the cause of true religion.”⁷

AMERICAN DEBATES ON BAPTISM.

In but a few cases have verbal controversies in this country been carried on with much effort, or been very famous for their management or results.

In very early times the baptists were often challenged by their opponents to public discussions on baptism, but the challengers either backed out before they came in close conflict, or else, by the power and prejudice which they could easily command, made them altogether *ex parte* affairs.

Dr. John Clarke, while in prison in Boston, with O. Holmes and others, *all but* drew Mr. Cotton into a public debate on baptism, which, however, was finally declined, although Mr. Cotton's own party were the movers of the measure.

Rev., afterwards Pres. Samuel Finley, held a baptismal debate with Abel Morgan, at Cape May, N. J., about 1740, which resulted in publications on both sides, as has already been related. Other disputations were no doubt held in different parts of the country, but I have heard of none which seem to claim particular attention.

The western states, within a few years past, have been the most distinguished for baptismal controversies, and Campbell and Waller on the side of the baptists, and Rice and — for the pedobaptists, have made displays of no small share of historical research, of critical skill in philology, and of logical powers in their respective departments.

⁷ This debate was held in 1689. Out of it grew a very considerable number of printed works, as narratives, replies, &c., on both sides.

The debate between Messrs. Campbell and Rice, at Lexington, Ky., in 1843, has been noticed under the head of the article, *Campbell on baptism*. Before this, Mr. C. had similar debates with Messrs. Walker and McCalla.

RECAPITULATION OF ALL THE WRITERS ON THE BAPTISMAL CONTROVERSY
—THEIR MAIN POSITIONS ON BOTH SIDES.

I have given the names, as far as I could ascertain them, of all who have issued publications, whether great or small, for or against the system of infant baptism, back to as early a period as they could be traced. All the disputes about the mode of baptism, and the arguments for and against immersion, affusion, or aspersion, between what Mr. Tombes denominated the *cis* and the *trans*-Jordan combatants, are exhibited in the various works which have been brought under review; and although those on the pedobaptist side have not been so fully detailed as those of the baptists, yet their main positions have, in multitudes of instances, been very fully and fairly stated by their opponents for the purpose of answering them, and showing their unsound and unscriptural character.

In making my selections from baptist authors, I have endeavored, as far as possible, to avoid repetition; this, however, I have found a very difficult task, in so many cases do they run into each other in their arguments and authorities.

The comparative merits of the different works I have not attempted to give; this would be a labor so difficult and delicate that I could not enter into it, so that my notices have been almost literally without note or comment, leaving the reader to judge for himself.

Most of my readers will probably be surprised at the great number of men who have appeared in defense of the principles of the baptists, and also with the vast amount of labor which they have performed. I had no adequate conception of it myself previous to going through the long and laborious investigations which has enabled me to furnish the information on this subject which has already been exhibited. As the plan was a new one, and the materials were widely scattered, the tax on my time and attention has been unusually severe, but I have succeeded much beyond my own expectations, and those of my friends and correspondents who are the most familiar with studies of this kind.

The main positions of the different parties.

I. On the baptist side of this subject, never was a society so uniform and united. Although greatly divided in their theological dogmas—ranging from the humanitarian theory, which makes Jesus Christ a mere man, to the highest strains of the Calvinistic and Athanasian creeds—yet, on the subject of baptism, they all reason alike, and all contend most strenuously for professed believers as the only suitable subjects of this New Testament rite, and immersion as the only scriptural mode of its administration.

When we travel downward, through all countries and ages, to the remote depths of antiquity, we find them always and everywhere appealing to the bible as the only standard to settle the nature of divine institutions, and rejecting all the arguments drawn from tradition, expediency, inference, or general custom.

The pedobaptists, on the other hand, have been greatly divided in their mode of reasoning on this subject. Their main positions in defending the institution of pedobaptism may be reduced to the following heads:—

1. They claim it as a tradition handed down from the apostles, which the christian church have always practised, and which ought still to be continued, although not expressly enjoined in the scriptures. These were the arguments of Cyprian, Austin, and most of the early fathers who mention the subject.

2. They plead for its absolute necessity for the removal of the otherwise fatal malady of original sin.

3. They believed in its saving nature to all to whom it was canonically applied, whether the parents be believers or not.

These three positions, in which, of consequence, is embraced the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, were very early established in the catholic church; they extended to the Greek church and all its branches; and, in substance, they have been incorporated into the creeds and formulas of most national churches.

4. A portion of the protestants at the Reformation assumed an entirely new position for the defense of pedobaptism; they rejected the baptismal regeneration of the church of Rome, her dependence on tradition for the support of this and all her multiplied rites and forms, and contended that the bible alone would support them in the practice. All other arguments they professed to regard as merely collateral and subsidiary.

5. This protestant position was sustained by exhibiting a parallel between baptism and circumcision, the rights and privileges of the Old and New Testament churches, the similarity of the treatment of the offspring of church members under both dispensations, &c. It was also strengthened by the fact of the Jewish proselyte baptisms before the christian era, for which many protestant divines, as they supposed, have exhibited indubitable proof—the baptism of households—the federal holiness of the children of church members—the Saviour's treatment of the little children brought to him—the promise is unto you and your children—the olive-tree, &c., &c.

6. While all parties of pedobaptists are zealous advocates for the practice, yet, as to the reasons why infants should be baptized, the benefits conferred on them by baptism, and the relation in which they stand to the church after the rite is administered to them, on all these points their positions are about as various as their creeds and denominations. The advocates of baptismal regeneration comprise, in all probability, nine-tenths of what is called the christian world. Their position is very plain and simple, and is held on to with great tenacity.

The faith of infants. The church of Rome contends that infants are baptized on the faith of the church; the old Lutherans plead that they had a semi-faith which descended to them from believing parents, &c., &c.

It would be tedious, and perhaps offensive, to give but a tithe of the arguments which have been produced for the practice in question under this head, irrespective of all scriptural authority.

I will now come down to that class of pedobaptists who repudiate all these ancient theories, and who reason in defense of the institution in question on bible principles, and will also exhibit a few of their positions as laid down in their recent works.

A few households, a few councils, original sin, and fifteen centuries, are positions all-sufficient with the catholics. But evangelical protestants want something more;—they seek for what Baxter calls “plain scripture proof for infant baptism,” from either precept, example, inference, or analogy.

Infant church-membership. The strongest position I have found in the writings of any modern author of the class above-named, is thus laid down by one of the best of men, who is also the accredited organ of a large body of orthodox christians. “Let all baptized children, from the hour of their receiving the seal of God's covenant, be recorded and recognized as infant disciples. Let the officers of the church, as well as their parents according to the flesh, ever regard them with a watchful eye. Let christian instruction, christian restraint, and christian warning, entreaty, and prayer ever attend them, from the mother's lap to the infant school, and from the infant school to the seminary, whatever it may be, for more mature instruction.

• • • • • “If instruction and exhortation be disregarded, and a course of error, immorality, or negligence be indulged in, let warning, admonition, suspension, or excommunication ensue, according to the character of the individual, and the exigencies of the case. ‘What!’ some will be disposed to say, ‘suspend or excommunicate a young person who has never yet taken his

seat at a sacramental table, nor even asked for that privilege? Certainly. Why not? If the children of professing christians are born members of the church, and are baptized as a sign and seal of this membership, nothing can be plainer than that they ought to be treated in every respect as church-members; and, of course, if they act in an unchristian manner, a bar ought to be set up in the way of their enjoying christian privileges. If this be not admitted, we must give up the very first principles of ecclesiastical order and duty.'

"The children of professing christians are already in the church. They were born members. Their baptism did not make them members. It was a public ratification and recognition of their membership. They were baptized because they were members. They received the seal of the covenant because they were already in covenant by virtue of their birth. This blessed privilege is their 'birthright.' Of course, the only question they can ask themselves is not—shall we enter the church, and profess to be connected with Christ's family? but—shall we continue in it, or act the part of ungrateful deserters? 'Shall we be thankful for this privilege, and gratefully recognize and confirm it by our own act, or shall we renounce our baptism; disown and deny the Saviour, in whose name we have been enrolled as members of his family, and become open apostates from that family?' This is the real question to be answered,—and truly a solemn question it is."*

Another distinguished writer on infant baptism defines the position of baptized children as follows:—"From the view here taken, the relation of the baptized infant to *the church* is very obvious. It is not, indeed, at present, an actual church-member. Still, it holds an important place in the covenant of the church. Both the promises and requisitions of the covenant have respect to it. The parent consecrates the child to Christ, and promises to train it up for him according to covenant. And God says, 'This do, and your child shall live. This do, and your child is secured to Christ and the church forever.'"

I will make one more selection from another author of high standing among evangelical pedobaptists, which shows how, in his opinion, infant baptism can be defended after candidly admitting that

The New Testament is silent on the subject. "This circumstance has already been noticed in another connection. But I wish to dwell upon it more particularly here, as I think it must appear, on the whole, to be a circumstance in favor of our doctrine.

"I can by no means admit, as I intimated in a previous lecture, that the New Testament does not contain anything which fairly implies infant baptism. Still, it is evident that infant baptism is not introduced as a subject of *particular discussion* in the New Testament; that it is neither explicitly enjoined nor prohibited; and that neither the practice of baptizing children, nor the absence of such a practice, is expressly mentioned.

"But the fact, that infant baptism is not expressly enjoined as a duty, that the principle involved in it is not particularly discussed, and that the practice is not expressly mentioned, is no argument *against* infant baptism.

"This general fact cannot be urged as an argument against infant baptism, because, as circumstances were, there was no occasion to enjoin it, and no occasion to discuss the subject, or even to mention it. These circumstances have already been brought into view. The Jews had always been accustomed to have their children consecrated to God by the same rite, as was appointed originally for Abraham and his seed, and, afterwards, for all men from among the Gentiles who should become proselytes to the true religion. They had always been accustomed to see children treated as a *holy seed*, and members of the society of God's people. They had never heard the propriety of this questioned, and had never been acquainted with a contrary practice. In these circumstances it was, I apprehend, *a matter of course*, that they should understand the divine appointment of baptism for christian proselytes, as including their *children*.

* Dr. Miller on Infant Baptism, pp. 48, 49, 58. * Dr. Pond on Christian Baptism, p. 126.

And it being a matter of course that they should so understand the subject, there was not the least necessity that the baptism of children should be expressly required, or even mentioned."¹⁰

The Covenant of Circumcision. This, after all, has been the main position in defense of infant baptism, by all who reject tradition and church authority in the business of creeds and forms, from the time of Zuinglius, Calvin, and their associates, to the present time.

New positions on the subject. Dr. Emmons, a very distinguished New England divine, in answer to Dr. Hemmenway, one of his own brethren, in 1793, repudiated all arguments drawn from this Old Testament document, and plead that the ordinances of the gospel should be ascertained from the gospel itself.¹

Dr. Halley, of England, has lately, in a very formal manner, taken the same ground, as the following paragraph will show :

"I have, and I ought to confess it candidly, some serious objections to the acknowledgment of baptism as the substitute for circumcision.

"The general opinion that baptism is substituted for circumcision, as a kind of hereditary seal of the covenant of grace, appears to be ill sustained by scriptural evidence, and to be exposed to some very serious, if not absolutely fatal objections."

After I had written thus far, I received from England, Mr. Stovel's work in answer to Dr. Hally, and in season to place it in its proper place among baptist authors.

Mr. Stovel makes free quotations from the writings of his learned opponent, from which it appears that he is very decided in his opposition to any dependence on any Hebrew covenants for the defense of infant baptism.

8. *Infant baptism not instituted by Christ or the Apostles.* My pedobaptist readers must bear in mind that I quote the above head as the language of men on their own side. It is becoming very common among German writers, who are, notwithstanding, very zealous supporters of the infant system as a useful custom which ought to be retained.

The substance of the arguments of Neander, and many others, are as follows : That although infant baptism is not found among the primitive institutions of christianity, and that it had no existence for the first hundred and fifty or two hundred years, yet it was developed and evolved out of the principles of the gospel, and having become established in the church, ought not to be laid aside.

Positions on the mode of baptism. The baptists on this subject are literally men of one idea ; they are also, so far as their mode of reasoning is concerned, true catholics ; for they never change. In their estimation, all the canons of philology, all the facts of history, the authority of all lexicons, and all the accounts of the New Testament, which relate to baptism, settle the point on their side. And although the concessions of learned men who practice differently are very abundant, yet they all provide for the lawfulness and validity of other modes in the following ways :

1. God will have mercy and not sacrifice. He will not hold his church in all climates and conditions to a mode of administering this rite which was perfectly agreeable and convenient in the warm countries, where the first baptisms were performed. This was the argument of Dr. Wall and a multitude of others.

2. That the want of explicitness in the Greek language will bear them out in the practice of affusion, aspersion, &c., that all modes of applying water are equally valid and appropriate.

3. That there is a marked difference in the use of Greek words in the clas-

¹⁰ Dr. Woods on Infant Baptism, pp. 104, 105.

¹ Dr. Baldwin, and some other baptists, complimented this zealous pedobaptist on account of his consistent views on this subject ; but he gave his friends to understand that the baptists need not think that he was about to leave the old system of pedobaptism, but should defend it in other ways. He resided within fifteen miles of me, and one of his pupils at the time, gave me this information.

sics, and the Bible, so that what is true among secular authors, may not be found so with the New Testament writers. This position opens a wide field of discussion; it is laid down very firmly by Dr. Henderson, of England—was broadly hinted at by Dr. Wall, and has been viewed with much favor by many other eminent men on the pedobaptist side.

4. Dr. Henderson, just named, admits the dipping character of *baptizo*, but zealously contends that it means a permanent submersion—to sink to rise no more; which proves too much for the exclusive dippers.

5. Dr. Ewing, of Scotland, and Pres. Beecher, of this country, have assumed positions entirely new, as to the proper meaning of *baptizo*. Dr. Ewing defines the primary sense of the term to be *pop*, or *pop* upon; Pres. Beecher gives it the sense of *purify*, and maintains that *baptismos* is a synonyme of *katharismos*, and does not refer to mode at all. *Baptizo* and *katharizo*, to purify, he also accounts synonymous terms.

To carry out this definition, the learned president maintains that the harbringer of our Lord should be denominated, “not John the immerser, or John the dipper, but John the purifier, a name peculiarly appropriate to him as a reformer.”

But I believe that few pedobaptist critics are inclined to countenance these novel positions. The gentleman next to be named speaks very lightly of the effort of his brother Ewing, to persuade the christian public, that *pop* is the true and proper definition of the Greek *baptizo*. Messrs. Henderson, Ewing and Beecher, were all answered by Dr. Carson.

6. Prof. Stuart is the only writer I shall yet name on the mode of baptism. His work is a very learned and candid production, and although, like Dr. Wall, by secondary meanings he justifies the practice of modern times, yet, like him, he gives it up “as a thing made out, that immersion was the primitive mode of baptizing.”

The whole passage on this subject reads as follows: * * *

“But enough. ‘It is,’ says Augusti (Denkw. vii., p. 216), ‘a thing made out,’ viz.: the ancient practice of immersion. So indeed all the writers who have thoroughly investigated this subject conclude. I know of no one usage of ancient times, which seems to be more clearly and certainly made out. I cannot see how it is possible for any candid man who examines the subject to deny this.”

He also gives up the long contested doctrine of Jewish proselyte baptism, as coming much too late for any benefit to the pedobaptist cause.³

In the close of this volume, I shall recapitulate, in a condensed form, the lists of all writers on the baptismal controversy on both sides, when I shall add all the new names which I have done, or still may ascertain as having written on this subject.

The effort was a new one, the materials were widely scattered, but by my own researches, and the assistance of good friends, I hope, in the end, to make the catalogue more full and complete than any other writer has done.

³ A number of our writers have combated the positions of this distinguished critic and historian; but I often wonder why they do so, as I agree entirely with Mr. Alexander Campbell, that “he has said all that a man can say, and yet remain on that side.”

SECTION V.

SUMMARY STATEMENTS ON THE BAPTISMAL CONTROVERSY—BAPTISMAL REGENERATION—POINTS NOT DEBATABLE—THOSE DEBATABLE—BAPTIS- TERIES—NAKED BAPTISMS—TO WHAT PARTY THE BLAME BELONGS—NOT TO THE BAPTISTS—BUT TO THE PEDOBAPTISTS.

In the desultory remarks which will follow, the positions will of course be arranged in conformity to my own views; and for the greater convenience of my illustrations, I shall enumerate those first which I consider of a non-debatable character.

My readers who have made any considerable research into this long-continued controversy, will be convinced that my labor in this department of my work has not been small. I have not only gathered the names of the authors and the titles of their works, but many thousand pages have I examined on both sides of the controversy, that I might be able to speak with confidence as an historian, and to make such statements as all unprejudiced men, who are well versed in this branch of ecclesiastical history, will acknowledge to be candid and fair.

Most of my readers, except my own brethren, will probably be of the evangelical class of pedobaptists who deprecate and abjure all the monstrous errors and absurd dogmas which for many centuries have been connected with infant baptism, as strongly as do the anti-pedobaptists. They may wonder why the whole story is told, and all the offensive doctrines of corrupt communities which practice infant baptism, should be held out in a prominent manner. The fact is, I know of no way to portray the evil tendency of the system, but to speak of it as a whole—to describe it on a broad scale—to give a historical view of its rise and progress in the wide range of christendom, and show how, by its secular influences—by its pretended sacramental efficacy—by becoming the connecting link between the altar and the throne—and finally by uniting the sceptre of the prince with the mitre of the pontiff, it has become the foundation of all the corrupt and oppressive hierarchies in christendom, and, in the language of Dr. Gill, *the main post and pillar of popery*. No party need to be offended, nor to take any more of the blame than belongs to them.

As anti-pedobaptists we protest against the whole system, even in its mildest forms, as a work of supererogation, as involving principles incompatible with the gospel, sound philosophy, common sense and republican freedom; whose tendency has always been evil—only evil, and that continually.

Baptismal Regeneration. This doctrine is the *ne plus ultra*, the very *summum bonum* of the baptismal rite. This theory makes it amount to something worth contending for. It clothes the ceremony with an importance which is calculated to give life and energy to the efforts of all who sincerely believe it, to have it applied to the largest possible number of the ruined race of man.

A ceremony which by its mysterious power, in an instant changes the destiny of an immortal being for time and eternity, and brings him, whether old or young, from the ruins of the fall into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, is certainly of a momentous character, and should by no means be neglected by those who have this view of its sacramental efficacy and saving power.

Presbyterians, Independents, and other evangelical supporters of pedobaptism, with pious abhorrence dissent from this high ground—this *ultima ratio* of the infant system, as maintained by the Tractmen; and are shocked at such a profanation and perversion of this mere symbol of salvation. They amuse themselves and the world with their lectures and homilies on Hebrew covenants—hereditary claims—baptismal dedication—hypothetical membership—and the strong probability of the *future regeneration* of their children thus dedicated, sealed and brought into covenant relations to God, his church, and his people.

Although I denounce all the systems of both the Tractarians and the Evangelicals as childish and unscriptural, yet I am compelled to say that the *High Church* party are the most consistent with themselves: there is unity and boldness in their plan, and a *quid pro quo* for their efforts which cannot be said of any other theory of infant baptism. And as to any deviation from the first principles of pedobaptism, this is an entire mistake. The practice was got up for the express purpose of saving infants from the damning power of original sin, and the Puseyites are bringing it back to where Cyprian, Austin, and their coadjutors left it.

It is furthermore certain that nine-tenths of all who still practice infant baptism, do it on the principle of *baptismal regeneration*.

I will here quote a few passages from Rev. Mr. Stovel's work on baptism, in answer to Dr. Halley, an Independent minister, which shows that the Puseyites, or Oxford Tractarians, have but revived this old doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

* * * * "During the last ten years, this conflict between the Tractmen of Oxford, and the Evangelical Pedobaptists, has increased in its extent and acrimonious hostility. Nothing could show more perfectly than this conflict the immutable perfection of truth; for, as each has been compelled to search for support in the divine oracles, each has been found to be wrong. The ceremony to be defended has been placed in danger by the conflict of its own advocates. The Tractmen profess to administer the rite more beneficially than the unanointed evangelicals; and the evangelicals have pleaded that they can administer it as *well*, and more unexceptionally, than their ordained brethren. During the conflict, baptists, reasoning from their mutual arguments and concessions, have shown that neither party can administer it with scriptural propriety at all. Hence the most urgent requirement of these times has been, a defense of infant baptism, which might, at least, seem to accord with our present knowledge of revealed truth: such a production had, indeed, been called for,¹ and was indispensable; and Dr. Halley has come forward to meet the demand.

The Resuscitation.

"It is not to be understood that the Oxford Tractmen are originals. This they do not profess. They have only given visibility to the doctrine and laws of the English hierarchy, which differ, on this point, in nothing essential from those of the Lutheran church, and that of Rome. Indeed, wherever the spiritual gift in baptism is taught, and its expectation is entertained, without faith in the subject, whatever name the advocate bears, and whatever his other peculiarities, he falls, with the Tractmen, into the same class of persons advocating baptismal benefits. This elementary error lay, for ages, almost unobserved, in canons, articles, and old controversial writings; few perceiving its malignity, and almost no one dreading its power. When forced upon public attention by these popular writings, every dissenter, at least, was ready to smile and say, The bible is abroad; we cannot fear anything of this sort *now*. But its way was prepared before it, and its victory has been singular. It has actually appealed to scripture against the hereditary scheme; and it has not appealed in vain. Its advocates have demanded, in its favor, the high import of scripture language; and they have urged obedience on the principle of faith only. Angry, as if outraged, the whole body of Evangelical Pedobaptists have protested and declaimed, but failed to meet the just demand of their opponents. Having no canons or councils to confine and regulate them, they have individually quoted scripture by piecemeal; and, by the variety of their views and declarations, have almost justified the worst allegations of the papists. The variations of defense and explanation respecting the rite were so great, and so frequent, that a friend could find nothing to stand by, and an objector to the theory had nothing tangible and recognised to refute. The same things were so often affirmed and denied, that no common starting point could be found in the discussion; and the inquirer found no pathway in the jungle. The Tractmen were condemned, sometimes with incivility; but the scriptures were not explained, and their consistent application to modern use, in reference to recognized disciples of Jesus, was not shown. These inconsistencies, and sometimes improprieties, in its advocates, do not prove that infant baptism is invalid; but they do show, most fully, that its defense and explanation imperatively claimed some such centralising and vigorous effort as that in which Dr. Halley has served the public."²

Although our sympathies are with the Evangelicals generally, yet as I have intimated, in our opinion the Tractarians and all parties who adopt their views of the saving benefits of infant baptism, build most literally on the principles laid down by the fathers and founders of the system.

¹ Stovel's Letters on baptismal regeneration, addressed, through Dr. Fletcher, to the Independents, in 1842.

² Stovel against Halley, pp. 8-10.

I shall now, under a number of heads, exhibit the positions in this controversy, which in my opinion do not admit of debate, and also those that do, and shall bring forward the non-debatable points first.

1. *That infant baptism was an apostolical institution*, is in my opinion not a debatable matter. It never was, and never can be found in the bible. None of the passages from the early fathers on which pedobaptists rely for aid to their cause, will bear the test of a thorough investigation. I have read with much attention all the labored discussions of Dr. Wall in defense of his favorite system of infant baptism, and am utterly astonished that so much reliance should be placed on his testimony. Literally, no stone was left by him unturned; every fragment from the fathers, has by him been called into requisition; and the same may be said of every reason that was ever given by catholics or protestants; and after all, his main dependence is on tradition—church authority—baptismal regeneration—Jewish proselyte baptism, and such kind of arguments as are more in character for a catholic than a protestant. Between the concessions of more modern pedobaptists and the unanswerable arguments of baptists, the Vicar of Shoreham would stand but a poor chance, were he now in the field; they would strip him of all his armor, and make a mere skeleton of his *History of Infant Baptism*; and what would be left would be much more available for the baptist than the pedobaptist cause.

A multitude of very learned pedobaptists who still contend for the system, and defend it on other grounds, have frankly admitted that no infants were baptized for the first hundred and fifty or two hundred years. The number of this class of men is continually increasing, and the deeper they investigate the writings of antiquity, the more unqualified and explicit are their avowals against the apostolic origin of the practice.

2. *The second non-debatable point is, that immersion was the primitive mode of baptizing, and continued the ordinary way of administering this rite for thirteen hundred years.*

Mr. Booth, in his *Pedobaptism Examined*, has produced a great number of witnesses, all on the pedobaptist side, who have conceded the point as to the high antiquity of immersion. He wrote about sixty years ago. I have been requested to continue the list down to the present time, and had made some preparations to do so, but on a review of the whole subject, I have concluded this would be a work of supererogation.

Concessions of this kind are the rule, any different positions are the exceptions. There are some men, it is true, of small calibre, or who have a large development of combativeness, who enter the field of controversy, and in opposition to all canons of philology—all the facts of history—the plain language of the bible, and the general consent of learned men of all parties, and maintain not only that pouring or sprinkling *may do*, but that the earliest christians were thus baptized.

Dr. Wall has said, with reference to this subject, that "it is unwise to deny to an opponent what can certainly be proved," and that he "cannot but pity the weak endeavors of some to turn to ridicule the anti-pedobaptists' way of baptizing, which in all probability was followed by Christ and the apostles." When we take into the account that all lexicons in their definitions of the true and proper meaning of the Greek terms which have reference to this disputed rite, that encyclopedias, annotators, paraphrasts, critics, and reviewers, all agree in sustaining the positions of the baptists on this subject, they cannot be accused of presumption or rashness in the course they have taken.

Dr. Ewing, of Scotland, who it is said was well qualified for the task, if I am rightly informed, made a lexicon in the midst of his debate with the late Dr. Carson, and although he provided for his cause by secondary meanings, yet in his first definition of the Greek terms for baptism, follows in the train of all his predecessors.

It is not, however, on language alone, that the baptists make their main dependence, to establish their modal position as to baptism; the whole range of

ancient history, civil and ecclesiastical, all converges to one point. Scarcely a book can be taken up from the earliest fathers, and onward, where anything is said about baptism, seriously or in derision, or in any way whatever, where the practice of immersion is not plainly discovered. If the heathen play-actors wished to make a mockery of the baptism of the christians, instead of the small utensils which would do to represent the modern practice, they would get a tub of water and plunge in it a companion, for the merriment of the spectators.

Baptisteries.

A few remarks on these ancient buildings, which mark more strongly than any historical statements can do, how baptism was administered in the early and middle ages, will close my comments under this head.

Mr. Robinson, in his History of Baptism, has gone very extensively into the description of baptisteries, and has given full accounts of those at Constantinople, Rome, Ravenna, Venice, Florence, Novara, Milan, &c. Although most of these peculiar edifices have undergone very considerable changes, yet what of them remains, shows most plainly that originally they were not only designed for baptism by immersion, but also for candidates of adult age.

In conformity to my plan, of obtaining statements from living witnesses, where they can be had, I requested one of our ministers who has lately traveled in Europe, to give me some sketches on this subject from his own knowledge and observations.

The article which he has kindly prepared for me, I will now insert.

BAPTISTERIES.

BY REV. ROBERT TURNBULL.

In the apostolic age of the church, so far as we know, no particular plan or building was set apart for the administration of baptism. John and the disciples of Jesus baptized in Jordan. Baptism was also administered in other streams or fountains, in private houses, and in baths. (See Acts vii. 36, 37; xvi. 1; x. 47, 48; xvi. 30-34.

This freedom of choice respecting the place of baptism continued in the age succeeding that of the Apostles. Justin Martyr informs us that the candidates were led out to some place where there was water; and Clement, of Rome, speaks of a river, a fountain, or the sea, as a suitable place, according to circumstances, for the performance of this rite. Tertullian says, that "it was immaterial where a person was baptized, whether in the sea, or in standing or running water, in a fountain, lake, or river."—*Augusti's Christian Antiquities*, by Coleman, p. 273.

In process of time, however, Baptisteries, or fountains for immersion were introduced into the churches, particularly in the cities. They began to be common in the fourth and fifth centuries. An improvement upon this, was, to build a chapel connected with the large or cathedral churches, having a font in the centre, in which the rite of baptism was exclusively performed. Some of these were so spacious that ecclesiastical councils were held in them.

"The common name of these edifices," says Augusti, "was βαπτιστήριον. It is also called φωνιστήριον, *aula Baptismatis*, Hall of Baptism, κολυμβήθρα, or *piscina*, the font, etc." p. 274.

Hence, when writers on ecclesiastical antiquity speak of Baptisteries, they do not mean fountains, but the edifices in which these fountains were placed. It is true that some of the old parish churches, both in England and on the continent of Europe had fountains in their interiors; but, generally speaking, those which survive to the present day are to be found in separate buildings, called Baptisteries.

As the practice of immersion has always prevailed in the Greek church, it

might naturally be expected that all their church edifices not in the vicinity of rivers or other bodies of water convenient for immersion, would be supplied with such fountains or baptisteries. This is the case to a considerable extent. But the very old Basilicas, or cathedral churches, are supplied with fountains much larger than those used at the present day, as adult baptism was more frequent, to say the least, in ancient times than it is now.

We read of an immense and beautiful Baptistery connected with the church of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, founded by Constantine, and adorned by his successors, and in which St. Chrysostom preached, and administered the sacred rite to thousands. It was so large that councils were frequently held in it. In the centre was the font, supplied with water by means of pipes, and sufficiently capacious for the immersion of numerous candidates, following close upon each other. Outer apartments were prepared for the changing of dresses, and so forth.

A similar Baptistery was connected with the See of Antioch. On one occasion no less than three thousand persons, of both sexes, were baptized here in one night by the bishop and his presbyters.

Several such Baptisteries, the most of which are very old, are yet extant in Europe. Some of them have been deprived of their fountains, but the places are yet shown where such fountains were placed. This is the case with the beautiful and spacious Baptistery near the Duomo, in Florence, which we have personally examined. It is now used by the Catholics as a regular place of worship; and infants are often brought there in large numbers to receive the rite of aspersion. But the font, sufficiently capacious for immersion, existed in the days of Dante, and even of Michael Angelo,—a striking proof of which is found in the fact, stated by Leigh Hunt in his *Life of Dante*, that this great poet, in attempting to save a child who had fallen into the font, and was likely to be drowned, broke the marble, for which he suffered punishment. This circumstance is beautifully referred to by Rogers in his poem of Italy:—

“—Enter the baptistry. That place he loved—
Loved as his own; and in his visits there
Well might he take delight! For, when a child,
Playing, as many are wont, with venturous feet,
Near, and yet nearer to the sacred font,
Slipped, and fell in, he flew and rescued him;—
Flew with an energy—a violence
That broke the marble.—A mishap ascribed
To evil motives.”

But there are several ancient Baptisteries, in which the fountains are yet preserved. We might instance quite a number; but we will confine ourselves to those we have visited.

Every one has heard of Pisa, not far from Florence, with its celebrated cathedral, *campanile*, and leaning tower, or belfry. Standing near these interesting objects, is a magnificent Baptistery, built in the eleventh or twelfth century. It is in the form of a polygon, elegant and lofty, with a marble font in the centre, raised above the floor, and adorned with beautiful *allu relievos*. In the centre of the font is a statue of John the Baptist, and on the outside, four niches, or openings, in which the officiating priests were accustomed to stand when performing the rite of baptism. The font is quite capacious,—from three to four feet deep, and sufficiently wide to admit of the immersion of the largest persons. We asked the Sacristan who showed it to us, in what manner they baptized in ancient times; to which he promptly replied, *Per immersionem*. Indeed, no one can look at the font a moment, and have any doubt upon this point.

But the most celebrated Baptistery is that of Constantine's, as it is called, adjoining the Basilica of St. John Lateran, the oldest church in Rome. It stands upon the site of the house of the Roman senator, Plautius Lateranus,—from whence it derives its name. In the fourth century, the Lateran house was given, by Constantine, to the bishop of Rome, for his episcopal residence. The foundations of the Basilica were those laid by Constantine himself. It has been much changed and modified by time, and the additions made by successive popes. Indeed, the old Basilica was nearly destroyed by fire in the pontificate of Clement V., by whom it was restored and remodelled. In the present day it preserves little of its original character; but the old columns, and other remains of the ancient building, are still discernible.

But we are at present concerned chiefly with the *Baptistry*, which is coeval with the church, and adjoins it. By going out of the door behind the great choir, you come into a court, enclosed with walls and buildings, in one of which is the Baptistery, a small octagonal structure of brick-work. That it was built by Constantine, and used in his day, there can be no question. It has been much ornamented by successive popes, but still retains much of its original character. On the sides of the entrance are two splendid porphyritic columns of the Composite order, half buried in the wall. A cornice runs round the building, supporting eight small columns of white marble, and sustained by eight superb columns of porphyry.

The baptismal font consists of an immense porphyry vase, occupying a great part of the floor, and "evidently intended for immersion." We quote the words of the author of Murray's Hand-book for central Italy, who is certainly not a baptist. Three steps lead down into it; its depth is somewhat over three feet; and as this bath was kept full of fresh water, nothing could be more suitable for the administration of baptism.

"It was in this vase," says the authority already referred to, "which has always been held sacred from the earliest times of christianity, as that in which Constantine received the rite of baptism, that Rienzi bathed, on the night of August 1, 1347,—the night before he appeared with his insignia of knighthood, and summoned by Clement XII. and the Electors of Germany to appear before him. He was then crowned, in the Basilica of the Lateran, with the seven crowns of the Holy Spirit, which he pretended to be typical of the gifts he had received from heaven. Before the close of the year, this pompous display terminated in his captivity at Avignon; and it was superstitiously believed by many of his own followers, that his downfall was a divine judgment for the profanation of this font. The Baptistery is now used only on the Saturday before Easter, for baptizing converted infidels and Jews."

The only other Baptistery we have seen is in the fine old city of Parma, in the north of Italy. In reference to this, we quote the following from our journal written at the time. Walked into the cathedral, an old and rather dusty looking Gothic edifice, with a noble cupola, painted in fresco, by Correggio. Adjoining the cathedral is an antique Baptistery, probably of the eleventh century, with a capacious marble font in the centre for immersion. This we should judge is larger than the fonts in the Baptisteries of Pisa and Rome. Its depth must be near four feet, its diameter from five to six. It is surrounded by a marble casing, within which the priests were accustomed to stand while officiating in the ordinance of baptism. The candidate, if an adult, knelt in the water, and the priest pronouncing the baptismal formula, gently bent the head forward, and thus immersed the whole body.

We regret much that while in Italy we did not take an opportunity of visiting the two Baptisteries in Ravenna, one of which dates as far back as the fifth century, and is one of the finest relics of antiquity. But we append the following description of it, by the accurate and learned author of Murray's Hand-book for Italy.

"The ancient Baptistery, called, also, '*S. Giovanni in Fonte*,' now separated from the cathedral by a street, is supposed to have been founded by S. Orso; it was repaired, in 451, by the Archbishop Neo, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It is like most Baptisteries of the early christians—an octagonal building; the interior has two circles, each of eight arcades, the lower resting on eight columns with different capitals, placed in each angle of the building; the upper are twenty-four in number, dissimilar in form as well as in the capitals. The lower columns are considerably sunk, and both these and the upper series are supposed to have belonged to some ancient temple. The cupola is adorned with well-preserved mosaics of the fifth century, representing in the centre Christ baptized in the Jordan, and in the circumference, the twelve Apostles, with other ornaments. The grand vase, which was formerly used for baptism by immersion, is composed of Greek marble and porphyry. * * * The ancient metal cross on the summit of the baptistery merits notice on account of its antiquity: it bears an inscription recording that it was erected in 688 by Archbishop Theodorus."

These few sketches most conclusively indicate a very different state of things both as to the subjects and mode of baptism, from what has prevailed in the christian world for a number of centuries past. No nation or religious community would ever think of such extensive and expensive preparations for the administration of the baptismal rite, where there is an all-sufficiency in such stinted supplies of the watery element as modern custom has introduced.

I will omit all the criticisms of baptist authors on history, philology, and all other matters, and as a full confirmation of my position on this subject, I will repeat the well known statement of Augusti, of Germany, which has been fully approved by Prof. Stuart, of this country: "It is enough: it is a thing made out, viz.: the ancient practice of immersion. So indeed all the writers who have thoroughly investigated this subject conclude. I know of no one usage of

ancient times which seems so clearly and certainly made out. I cannot see how it is possible for any candid man who examines the subject to deny this."³

And the continuance of this practice as ordinary baptism for thirteen centuries, at least, in the church of Rome, and in the Greek church to the present time, is as clearly proved.

With all these indisputable facts before us, as admitted by such eminent pedobaptist writers as those above named, I have been astonished that any men of general reading, and more especially that any professors of ecclesiastical history, whose every day reading must make them familiar with all matters of this kind, should publish such negative statements as some of them of late have done.

3. *No person is entitled to baptism without a credible confession of faith.* This position also I consider of the non-debatable class. *He that believeth and is baptized, &c.*, is the bible language on this subject, which runs through all the accounts that have any reference to the subjects of this rite. And it is a singular fact, that this principle is recognized in the creeds and formulas of all churches except those which have descended from Geneva. Wherever we find sponsors, we see the vestiges of the primitive regimen in the reception of church members. It is, indeed, a pitiful mockery of a religious profession, where all is done by proxy, and where there is such a disproportion between the solemn duty and the unconscious being who is called to perform it; but there is no question that the business of sponson came into use as a substitute for a personal profession of religion, and to preserve the shadow of the gospel model.

4. *Baptism did not come in the room of circumcision.* This position, with great confidence, I place under the non-debatable head. In the long catalogues of works on the baptismal controversy which I have brought under review, what a world of writing there has been *pro* and *con* on this subject. What a vast amount of labor has been performed by pedobaptist authors to establish infant baptism on this old foundation; and how vexatious and discouraging must it be to them at this late day, to have Dr. Halley, one of the last, most formidable and zealous advocates for the system, to place a solemn veto on all arguments founded on *Hebrew covenants* and *hereditary claims*!

What clashing and conflicting schemes have these Hebrew covenanters at different times projected in their attempts to *create* a parallel between the Jewish, and the christian dispensations, in their ritual observances, and to prove that the children of christian parents should be baptized, because the rite of circumcision was, of old, administered to the descendants of Abraham. Zuinglius and the Swiss Reformers are said to have first started the theory, for the purpose of sustaining the pedobaptist cause without the aid of tradition and church authority. They were attacked by the anabaptists on the one hand, who loudly called for bible proof for the practice; and they were challenged by the catholics on the other, for any plausible defense of the system, after their principles were abjured. And now, for more than three centuries past, this class of pedobaptists have been laboring with all their might, with all sorts of arguments and inventions, to bring out an analogy which never did exist, and never can be proved. The discrepancies are too numerous, and too great to admit of a reconciliation; the tax on the credulity of thinking men is too severe to be borne by any but those who have a paramount interest at stake.⁴

³ Prof. Stuart on the mode of baptism, in the Bib. Rep., p. 359.

⁴ As my readers on both sides may think it strange that I take such strong grounds on a point about which so much debate is still kept up, I will take the liberty to give something of my own experience in this business, and relate an incident of my early life, which led me to this unwavering conclusion.

When yet in my minority, I began seriously to inquire about religion, and to examine the creeds of the different parties among whom I resided. I had so often heard it said that *baptism came in the room of circumcision*, that I fully believed there was such an identical passage in the bible, but all my researches for it were fruitless; I rummaged the Concordance, and went over the New Testament from beginning to end, but no such passage, nor anything that looked like it, could I find. Still I supposed the fault was in me, and under this impression I went to the minister of the parish, and with entire honesty and simplicity, laid open to him my trouble, and requested him to point out to me where the passage in question could be found. He candidly informed me that just these

I will now give a list of such points in this controversy as may fairly admit of debate.

1. *As to the time when infant baptism was introduced.* Coleman, in his *Christian Antiquities*, gives the names of a considerable number of German authors, who deny the apostolic origin of infant baptism, but who entertain different views as to the time when it was introduced; generally, however, they do not ascribe to it a higher antiquity than the middle or the latter end of the second century. As all discussions of this kind are grounded on the different statements of early writers, and as it is often difficult to determine when these authors speak in plain and when in figurative language, relative to children, infants, &c., a wide field is opened for doubt and conjecture. Robinson supposes that infant baptism first began with minor and forward children who displayed unusual proficiency in acquiring the lessons which all the candidates for baptism were obliged to learn, and that from them it was hurried forward to unconscious babes.

Dr. Wall admits that W. Strabo, L. Vives, Curcellæus, and Rigaltius held, that no infants were baptized in the beginning of the gospel. Vol. II., p. 10.

2. *When infant baptism became general.* Coleman has shown us, that German pedobaptists differ widely on this subject. They generally agree, that for a long time it met with much opposition, and worked its way into the catholic church by slow degrees. Baumgarten-Crusius supposes that it had become *general* in the fourth century.

Rheinwold places this event at a somewhat later period. His description is as follows:

"Traces of infant baptism appear in the western church after the middle of the second century, i. e. within about fifty years of the apostolic age; and, towards the end of this century, it becomes the subject of controversy in Proconsular Africa. Though its necessity was asserted in Africa and Egypt, in the beginning of the third, it was, even to the end of the fourth century, by no means universally observed—least of all in the eastern church; and finally became a general ecclesiastical institution in the age of Augustine."⁵

Augustine was born 354, and died 430. Having been a profligate youth, he was somewhat advanced in years before he attained the zenith of his ministerial career. This being the case, it will be fair to date the general prevalence of infant baptism about four hundred years after Christ, so far as North Africa, the scene of Augustine's labors, was concerned. But in other parts of christendom it met with much opposition in the established church, for a much longer time.

3. *When they ceased to baptize adults.* I do not find this question discussed in any pedobaptist writings that I have seen; the author of the *Dutch Martyrology* refers to some men of this class, the principal of which are D. Vicecomes and Beatus Rhenanus, who expressly name the age of Albinus Flaccus and Charles the Great, about 800, as the time when they *ceased baptizing adults*.⁶

4. *There is room for debate as to the sayings of the earliest fathers on the subject of infant baptism.* The pedobaptists are entitled to a fair hearing on all the passages they quote from Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, &c. Coleman, in his *Ch. Antiquities*, has given a candid statement respecting them all. In all historical matters of this kind, where no certain tests can be applied, the positions of the different parties must still remain open for debate.⁷

words were not in the bible, and went on to show how the case was made out, and how infant baptism was proved. Never was a poor child so disappointed and disheartened; and from that time to the present, which is now almost half a century, I could never have any patience to read after pedobaptist writers on this subject; and I often wonder why the baptists spend so much time to refute a theory, which, in my opinion, is as groundless as the fabric of a vision.

⁵ *Ch. Antiquities*, p. 260.

⁶ *Martyrs' Mirror*, p. 176.

⁷ "Other authorities are sometimes drawn from the Shepherd of Hermas and Clemens Romanus; but these are too equivocal, and involved in too much uncertainty to be relied on in an argument of this kind. *Tenebris nigrescunt omnia circum*."—*Col. Antiq.*, p. 266.

There is no question that St. Austin, about four hundred years after Christ, claimed infant baptism as an apostolical tradition. A similar statement from Origen, about two centuries earlier, has been much disputed, and the more so, as it is admitted on all hands, that Rufinus, his translator, took unusual liberties with his author.

But supposing these men, and a thousand others, had said that infant baptism came down to them from the apostles; the assertion is one thing, and the proof of it quite another. Nothing is more natural than for men to appeal to those who have gone before them for precedents and examples. Every innovation that had then been introduced in doctrine or practice, or that has been since, has been supported in the same way.

That Austin was a zealous pedobaptist, on the plan of sacramental efficacy, and that he was engaged in a fierce and perpetual warfare with those who challenged his whole system, are points beyond all controversy. But as for the proof of his favorite theory, I have never seen any, that an evangelical christian would for one moment admit.

St. Austin declared his full *belief* in the apostolical origin of infant baptism; and what countless numbers since, have as sincerely made the same declaration! Their sayings are worth just as much as those of the bishop of Hippo, except that he had the advantage of them in priority of time.

5. *Does infant baptism confer any special spiritual benefit on its subjects?* All anti-pedobaptists decidedly deny any such results, and contend that the practice is neither lawful nor useful; and that the spiritual condition of children is not improved, but often made much worse by it, as it induces them to place a reliance on the supposed good estate into which their baptism has brought them, to the neglect of their own personal efforts. They are taught from their earliest years to declare themselves the children of God, and the heirs of heaven, all in consequence of their baptism.

Those who believe in baptismal regeneration and sacramental efficacy, as a matter of course, take the affirmative of this question, and they regard all who neglect to get their children baptized, or throw any discouragements in the way of the practice, as the worst enemies of the infant race.

The German divines take a milder view of the subject; although many of them at least, deny that infant baptism was instituted by Christ or the apostles, yet they maintain that the practice naturally grew out of the progressive influences of christianity; to use their own words, "it is one of the developments of the gospel"—it is a good system, and since it has come into use it ought to be maintained, as it throws around the minds of infants the influence of the christian religion, and operates for their peculiar benefit and advantage.

Modern evangelical pedobaptists are greatly divided on this subject, as well as to the station which baptized children hold in their churches. Some regard them as real *bona fide* members, not however entitled to come to the communion, until they are converted; others assign them an intermediate state, not as members in full, but the children of the covenant, and entitled to certain mysterious benefits, which according to my dull apprehension are very vaguely defined.

Some of their controversial writers have labored hard to make this matter plain and intelligible. I have followed their reasonings with much patience and assiduity, and honestly confess that I cannot see, by their own showing, what higher advantages their children have than those of their neighbors, who leave their offspring to act for themselves; to be baptized on their own profession of faith, and become church members as their own voluntary acts.

In former times, a very broad distinction was made between the children of pedobaptists and those who, in the language of modern writers on this subject, were unfortunately and most cruelly left, as lambs without the fold, to "the uncovenanted mercies of God." But all such insidious comparisons are wearing away—the finger of scorn is no longer pointed at the children of anti-

pedobaptist parents, as being poor unbaptized heathen, whose condition is deplorable for this world, and hopeless for the next.

There is one thing about this business, which produces no little embarrassment in my mind, viz. : how men of orthodox and evangelical principles, can believe that children are *born again* when they are baptized ; and again, how the same class of men, who maintain that the church of Christ is a spiritual building, can for a moment believe that a company of thoughtless and unbelieving children are real *bona fide* members.

I can comprehend how the dusty and objectionable dogmas of a creed, by long neglect, have so far become a dead letter as to be winked out of sight ; but why these same dogmas should be called up from their obscurity, and be presented in the front of the battle, by men who profess to be engaged in the fight of faith, is more than I can understand. Once more : how men who believe neither in salvation by works, nor falling from grace, can reconcile the strongest positions of pedobaptism, with their doctrinal creed, is to me very difficult to be explained. If the doctrine of baptismal regeneration be true, in the proper sense of the term, then every living being who is canonically baptized, is as much a subject of converting grace, as was the apostle to the Gentiles when the scales fell from his eyes ; and it is also true, that the great mass of the children born of christian parents, or those who are nominally such, are made christians by baptism. It is literally an *opus operatum*, a *quid pro quo* by the work done ; in the language of the fathers, they are *Deo renascuntur*, regenerated unto God. But this is not all ; myriads of these *regenerated* children never exhibit any of the traits of the christian character, and no small portion of them are found among the most base and profligate of mankind. The doctrine of transubstantiation does not impose a severer tax on human credulity than does the belief in these absurd positions.

Men of loose theological views, who make religion a mere business of education and moral training—the submission to certain forms and ceremonies ; and who above all, in this case, admit the doctrine of falling from grace, which I believe the catholics generally do, can the more easily escape from this dilemma, than can be done by those who hold the orthodox creed.

Before I dismiss this head, I will mention the singular fact, that so resolute have multitudes been in maintaining infant baptism, that they take the children others and baptize them by stealth or by force. The catholics have been famous for this strange proceeding. They practised it on the children of the protestants in early times, before the lines of demarkation were distinctly drawn between the two parties ; and their missionaries do a large business in this way still, with heathen children. And protestants are not wholly clear from this climax of absurdity, especially in Germany. One of the most grievous oppressions of our baptist brethren in that country, and of which they loudly complain, is, that the Lutheran ministers will steal, or force away their children, for the purpose of bestowing upon them the all-important sacrament of baptismal regeneration.

6. *Are baptized children, on account of their baptism, more likely to be converted and saved than others ?* If baptism is regarded as a part of a religious education, or if it is considered a part of a system of works, which go to make up a religious character, then unbaptized children are out of the fashion, and behind the times. But I would now address men of evangelical views, who have made careful observations as to the progress of genuine religion among the two parties, and I seriously inquire : do not baptist parents show as much concern for the spiritual welfare of their children, as their pedobaptist neighbors, and do we not all see as large a proportion of them become church members, and active and consistent christians, as of those who have been placed under what is called the seal of the covenant ? That all parents are too neglectful of the moral and religious training of their children, admits of no dispute ; but that their baptism makes them any better, or the want of it any worse, remains to be proved.

7 did the catholics make false charges against the Waldenses and others, when they accused them of opposing and neglecting infant baptism?

This position was assumed by John Paul Perrin, of Lyons, in France, a minister of the Waldenses more than two centuries ago. His expositions of this matter have been the basis of explanatory remarks by pedobaptist writers in every succeeding age. Lydius, who translated Perrin's *Histoire de Vaudois* from the original French into English, and Mellin, his coadjutor, have taken much pains to exculpate the old Waldenses from the imputation of anti-pedobaptism. Dr. Wall has done the same. This lame account or ill-told story, as D'Anvers calls it, is well discussed, p. 75, of this work.

That the catholics most basely calumniated this people, and made a multitude of charges against them, both false and foolish, no one who is competent to form a judgment on the subject will for a moment deny. But Dr. Allix and a host of other old writers on the pedobaptist side, give no intimations that those which had respect to infant baptism were of that kind.

Had the matter rested on the abstract denial of infant baptism, there would be some more ground for debate, as some allegory or figure might have been suspected; but their reasons assigned for this denial and counter arguments are produced, which are often incorporated in the bulls, canons and statutes of the times; the enormity of the offence and its inevitable tendency to spiritual infanticide are so fully set forth, in all the homilies, commentaries, and enactments of the defenders of the infant rite, as to leave no doubt of the literal facts of the case.

8. Ought baptized children to partake of the eucharist, or Lord's Supper, in consequence of their baptism? All anti-pedobaptists consider this a non-debatable question; they place a solemn veto on all plans of bringing any being, old or young, to any gospel ordinance without repentance and faith. And I do not know that any modern evangelical pedobaptists have any question on this subject, but all agree in denying their baptized children a seat at the communion table until they repent and believe; they reason precisely in this case as we do respecting baptism.⁹ But in most national churches the case is far otherwise. The Greek church, from an early period, adopted the practice of *infant communion*, which it still continues. In the Roman Catholic church infant communion and infant baptism were coeval and contemporary, and so continued for many centuries. An attempt was made to revive this ancient custom by Rev. James Pierce, of the church of England, something more than a century ago. This work has been referred to in the list of pedobaptist authors p. 274, where the whole mode of reasoning, *pro* and *con*, between the communion and anti-communionists is very fairly given at full length, and where also it is distinctly asserted that the supporters of infant baptism, to be consistent with themselves, must bring their baptized children to the Lord's Supper—that they are as well qualified for one ordinance as the other—and that the same arguments which are brought against the practice which has fallen into disuse, will apply with equal force against that which is so strenuously maintained.

The whole subject will be more fully discussed in my closing remarks at the end of this volume.

I shall now pass on to make some general and desultory remarks on the peculiarities of the baptismal controversy and of the writings on both sides.

Both baptists and pedobaptists follow close on the track of each other; they reiterate in perpetual succession what has been advanced by their predecessors, and very few new ideas have been brought forth on either side, for ages past.

⁹ After writing thus far, I took down a number of the works of late pedobaptist writers for the purpose of selecting something in their own words which bears directly on this point. But their reasonings are too diffuse and indefinite. The sum and substance of their comments are, that they must wait until they can come on their own personal profession of faith. *O si sic omnia!*

The baptist arguments are literally in a nut shell; and, as I have said in my comments on that work, Wilson's Scripture Manual contains in one small tract, all that need be said on their side. But as the pedobaptists have gone an extensive round of arguments, mostly, however, of a negative kind; as they have summoned to their aid all sorts of objective criticisms from languages, history and customs in all nations and ages; as they have, by most untiring industry and adroitness, endeavored to present difficulties and embarrassments on the one hand, and to create doubt, uncertainty and obscurity on the other, it seemed necessary for the baptists to follow them, and remove every stumbling block out of the way of the ancient, bible doctrine of believers' baptism by immersion.

The spirit and style of the controversial writers on baptism. In former ages, this, in many cases, was exceedingly severe, especially on the pedobaptist side. They were well aware that popular prejudice was very strong against their opponents, which they did not fail to cherish and invigorate. The baptists were not always free from the fault of severity and indecorum, but from the nature of the case, we should naturally expect the dominant party would be the most dogmatical and overbearing. But for a long time past a spirit of courtesy and kindness is spread over the pages of the writers of both parties.

The custom of fixing the dates of early writers. Dr. Wall, in his multitude of dates, with scarcely an exception, says, *from the age of the apostles*, which he estimates to have lasted about one hundred years; and modern pedobaptists have followed very closely his rule of reckoning.⁹ In this way they place some of the fathers nearly or quite in juxtaposition with the apostles, and then infer that whatever they said or did must, of course, be stamped with a primitive character.

Origen was born 185, and died 254. Pedobaptists would take the first date, and baptists the last; this makes a difference of about 80 years, in which time many important changes may have taken place in the doctrines and practices of the early christians.

In many cases, it is true, it is difficult to ascertain the dates of the works of ancient authors, which is the proper way of reckoning; but no great obscurity rests on the lives of the fathers, who are appealed to in the baptismal controversy, especially as to about the time when they wrote, or uttered the sentiments which we ascribe to them.

Buried with him in baptism—and other figurative expressions of this kind. There is a marked difference between modern pedobaptist writers, and those of former times in their comments and paraphrases on all passages of this description; old authors understood them, and commented on them precisely as the baptists do, while those of a modern date generally use strong efforts to neutralize all the evidence which is derived from them in favor of immersion.

Passages which by construction are produced in proof of the infant system.

Such as, except a man be born of water and the spirit—suffer little children to come unto me—the promise is unto you and your children—else were your children unclean, but now are they holy—the olive tree—the baptism of households, &c., &c.

With the old catholics the two first passages were regarded as scripture canons for infant baptism. If they wanted to produce any corroborating arguments in proof of the practice in question, in addition to *tradition* and *church authority*, they would resort to John iii. 7—Luke xviii. 16, and the baptism of households. All the other passages on which protestant pedobaptists place so much reliance, they seldom used. For infant communion, John vi. 53:

⁹ This famous author generally gives two dates: first, from the birth of Christ, and second, from the age of the Apostles. A few examples will illustrate this singular method of this learned historian. The Lateran Council, under Innocent II., condemned Peter Bruis 1139 (1039); Luther began the Reformation 1517 (1417); Mr. Blake wrote his pamphlet on baptism 1645 (1545), &c., &c.

Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you, was in their view evidence irrefragable and complete; and so continued, as Wall admits, for six centuries at least. Pierce and others extend the time to ten. One thing is certain, the practice was not wholly laid aside until after the council of Trent, about the middle of the sixteenth century, when an ecclesiastical prohibition was put upon it.

In the hands of protestant writers all the passages under consideration are very differently explained. Wall, and indeed most of those who hold the doctrine of sacramental efficacy, whether in fact or figure, do not differ widely from the catholics in their constructions, and render those which were of old looked upon as scripture canons much as Romanists do.

Respecting all the other passages, old pedobaptist writers, for the most part, gave them the same construction as the baptists have always done, and differed materially from writers on this side of a more modern date. They were not, however, always agreed, but often fell out among themselves, and thus weakened the hands of the pedobaptist party as a whole.

Bishop Taylor, and men of his school, threw all the fanciful paraphrases and forced constructions of other pedobaptists to the winds, and gave the passages a plain common sense construction, let infant baptism fare as it might.

Robt. Baillie gives an amusing account of a ludicrous blunder which was made by one of the members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, in his exposition of one of the passages above referred to: "Thomas Goodwin had engaged in a course of lectures against the anabaptists: it was said one day, that under pretence of refuting them, he betrayed our cause to them in commenting on Corinthians, *our chief ground for the baptism of infants. Your infants are holy*, he expounded by real holiness, and preached down our ordinary and necessary distinction of *real* and *federal* holiness. Being posed hereupon, he could no way clear himself, and no man took his part. God permitted these gracious men to be many ways unhappy instruments,"¹ &c. * * *

Different expositions of the opposition of Tertullian to the baptism of infants or minors. One of the most learned and candid writers in defense of pedobaptism in modern times, endeavors to turn Tertullian's opposition to the system to his own account. "This passage," says he, "clearly shows that *infant baptism* was commonly practised at the time when Tertullian lived, i. e., 100 years after the apostles."² Tertullian wrote his work *de Baptismo* about 200. But this, as I have already shown, is the mode of reckoning time by modern pedobaptist authors.

The baptist's comments on this passage are, that efforts were then being made to reduce baptism from adults to minors, and that this father wrote his short essay on baptism on purpose to nip the project in the bud, and succeeded so far as North Africa was concerned, in keeping off the innovation on primitive practice for many years.

Whatever comments may be made on Tertullian's testimony, it is certain that old writers generally, for a thousand years past, uniformly speak of him as an anti-pedobaptist, and the first that appears in the history of early times in so decided a manner.

As well as immersion. While pedobaptist writers generally admit the antiquity of this mode of baptism, they still contend that other ways of baptism *will do as well*. This might all pass off without the charge of inconsistency with those who believe the doctrine, did not many of these writers use their utmost endeavors to shame and defame the baptists for their dipping propensities.

If it is a fact, as these authors assert, that all modes are equally valid, and that it is a matter of choice and opinion which shall be preferred, then certainly

¹ This Goodwin belonged to the Independents; and Baillie, as a Presbyterian, looked upon them as nearly as bad as anabaptists.—*Baillie's Letters and Journals*, Vol. II., p. 218.

² Dr. Woods on *Infant Baptism*, p. 117.

the *immersionists* stand on equal ground with the *pourers* and *sprinklers*, and should be left to pursue their own chosen way without censure or rebuke, which in the abundance of works I have examined, is far from being the case. If it is said that they reject all modes but their own, this they have a perfect right to do, as they have never entered into any compact or agreement to do otherwise. Dr. Wall thought it was a hard case, after he had given up so much, that the baptists would not make some small concessions, so as to avoid a separation from the national church; but he did not follow them with ridicule and abuse, as thousands of anti-immersionists have done.

Churchmen and Methodists are in the most awkward position to ridicule or censure the baptists for their manner of baptizing, as their liturgies expressly enjoin *immersion* on all healthy candidates, whether old or young. Dipping certainly continued in use in England up to the time of Henry VIII., and three of the children of this monarch, viz. : Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, each of whom in succession ascended the British throne, were beyond all controversy dipped in the baptismal font.

Although the practice of the church has been changed, her baptismal service remains the same.

As to the Methodists, in many parts of our country they are almost as uniform in the practice of immersion as the baptists.³

Baptizing naked—when the practice began—how long it continued—and to the account of what party shall the custom be placed.

That this was an ancient and long continued practice is beyond all dispute; no writer that I have seen, however, enters into any minute details respecting its origin, continuance or end in the Latin church; in the Greek church it continues to the present time, so far as infants are concerned. Their adult converts are baptized the same as with the baptists, only they are subjected to three immersions instead of one, and their rituals prescribe an *undress* as a suitable preparation for the baptismal rite.

Mr. Robinson, in his History on Baptism, observes that there is no ancient historical fact better authenticated than the practice of baptizing naked. He ascribes it to the *primitive christians*, by which, however, he could not have meant those of the apostolic age, as there is nothing that looks like it in the new testament accounts of administering this rite; and the authors which he quotes in proof of the *nudity* of the persons to be baptized, were Ambrose, Basil, Cyril, and Chrysostom, all of whom flourished near the close of the fourth century. The well-known narrative of the disaster which happened to Chrysostom and his candidates for baptism on that night of the Easter festival when he and his clergy baptized three thousand by immersion, and when the women, in their fright, fled out of the baptistery, all naked as they were, without having time to consult the modesty of their sex, was the 16th day of April, 404.⁴

Coleman, in his Chr. Antiquities, gives the following account of this strange infatuation of that superstitious age, when everything pertaining to the plain principles and institutions of the gospel was perverted and abused:—

“From the third century baptism became one of the mysteries of the church. Such it continued to be until the middle of the fifth century, when christianity became so prevalent, and the practice of infant baptism so general, that the instances of adult baptism were comparatively rare. But during that period of time it was administered privately, in the presence of believers only; and the candidates, without respect to age or sex, were divested of all covering in order to be baptized, and in this state received the ordinance.”⁵

³ And yet many of their ministers are as zealous in their disputes and publications as any party of p-dobaptists.

The episcopalianians have taken but a small share in the baptismal controversy for a long time past; and I do not remember to have met with any violent pieces from them since the days of Featley and Burket.

⁴ Neander's Life of Chrysostom, Vol. II., p. 225. as quoted by Sears in the Ch. Review for March, 1838.

⁵ Ch. Antiq., p. 257.

According to this description, this singular custom continued between two and three centuries. Other accounts assign it a much longer duration; but after baptism was transferred from adults to minors, and from them to babes, the Latins would find no more difficulty in the naked operation than the Greeks do now. The subjects were happily unconscious of all sense of impropriety, and, as far as the administrators and attendants were concerned, custom and superstition would reconcile them to the practice.

Vossius, in his book *de Baptismo*, maintains that this practice of denuding all candidates for baptism, men, women and children, continued from the time of Austin, to that of St. Bernard, a period of between seven and eight hundred years. The authorities quoted by him, in justification of a superstition which all parties now look upon with ineffable disgust and contempt, are Cyril, of Jerusalem, Amphilochius, Elias Cretensis, Bernard, Alcuinus, Anselm, &c.

"So just was it," says D'Anvers, "with God, to leave men that went a whoring after their own inventions (forsaking the *word* of God to embrace the traditions of man), to such unseemly and unnatural practices."⁶

Such are the impressions which spontaneously force themselves on the mind of the reader; but James Basnage, as quoted by Robinson, observes, "after all, it is highly probable the utmost decency was preserved; that, though the upper and lower parts were uncovered, yet something was wrapped around the middle; and it is absolutely certain, the women were baptized in a baptistery apart from the men, and that deaconesses waited on all the sex during the whole ceremony."⁷

Bigoted priests may make foolish and absurd laws, and urge their ridiculous homilies on the people in favor of *putting off the old man*—of *laying aside their glory as our Saviour did*, &c.; but when their childish fancies led to a violation of the decencies of life, it was more than priests and monks could do to continue them in practice in their literal sense. Mankind always did, and always will find out ways to modify or avoid such inconvenient and indecent canons.

To make the best of a bad case, we must bear in mind, that while this unnatural practice was in vogue, the great national church was regarded as a *secret society*, whose operations, especially in the reception of members, were kept as much as possible from public view. Strong efforts were made to throw a charm around the process of initiation, and instead of baptizing as all immersionists now do, at all times and in all places where conveniences could be found, all was done in baptismal buildings, on great festivals, retired from public view. Females, as we have already seen, waited on their own sex, and either performed the whole baptismal service, or else left nothing for the priests to do but to stand outside the bath, and while the candidates were standing deep in the water, gently bend their heads forward in the consecrated element—pronounce the closing words of the ceremony, and then retire, leaving the fair attendants to manage all the rest.

And now for the denominational character of this ante-Munster affair, this compound of folly and fanaticism.

Thus far I have related the plain matters of fact as they appear on the face of history, relative to this monstrous and revolting perversion of a plain and beautiful institution of the gospel, and one of an entirely decorous character, when it is administered according to the original pattern.

⁶ D'Anvers' *Hist. of Bapt.*, pp. 118, 119, where the authorities are given at length from Vossius, pp. 31-36.

⁷ *Nudo capite, nudis pedibus, in fontem potuerunt immergi, cum tamen obtegerentur mediæ corporis partes.* They were prepared for immersion by making naked the head and feet, but the middle parts of the body were covered.—*Basnage Thesaurus Monument, as quoted by Robinson, Hist. Bapt.*, English ed., p. 86.

As modern pedobaptist writers often throw this custom at the baptists, and attempt to shame them out of the practice of immersion by representing the indecencies which sometimes attend this mode of administering the rite, and as no baptist writer that I have seen has met the thing full in the face, I have thought it proper in this place to show to both parties a brief account of the rise and progress and denominational character of this ancient custom, which no party at the present time, whether dippers or sprinklers, can look back upon without the most painful emotions of mortification and disgust.

All who are but moderately versed in ecclesiastical history must know, that the practice in question was a pedobaptist affair from beginning to end; it did not begin until the baptism of minors had been introduced; and the rapid spread of baptism from adults to the youngest class of catechumens, and from them to unconscious babes, did more than anything else to neutralize the evils, and free the catholic church from the intolerable burdens which this strange freak of superstition, under its most modified forms, must have imposed upon them.

The attempt to fasten the odium of this business on the baptists is an artifice of the unfairest and unkindest nature that I have met with in the whole range of the baptismal controversy. No party of them, ancient or modern, were ever justly chargeable with the practice. I have kept my eye close upon this matter in all the accounts of the Waldenses and other ancient sects, among whom we look for our denominational friends, and nothing of the kind appears in any of the details of their operations.

Baxter, it is true, about two centuries since, laid this practice to the charge of the English baptists of his day, but the good old pastor of Kidderminster made this false accusation in the heat of debate, and when his righteous soul was vexed at the rapid spread of baptist principles in his neighborhood. But he took it all back, as he did many other hard things which he had written against his fellow-dissenters, long before he went to that *Everlasting Rest*, which his treatise on the future felicity of the saints has so beautifully described.

St. Austin, the very Corypheus of the pedobaptist party, in the close of the fourth and in the beginning of the fifth century, is represented in an old picture, at Milan, as having been baptized naked. The baptism of this famous man, although his mother, Monica, is represented as a pattern of piety, it is well known, did not take place until he was at least thirty years of age. His son Deodatus, and his friend Alypius, are all described in the same predicament. This story may be found in the note below.⁸

The comments of some of the Latin fathers on this climax of absurdity, and their praises of a custom which brought members into the church as *naked* as they were born into the world, are as sickening as the contemplation of the thing itself.⁹

After this brief illustration of this most disgusting fanaticism of the ancient catholic church, I hope our modern pedobaptists will no longer attempt to make capital out of it against immersion.

⁸ In Ecclesia S. Augustini, quæ basilicæ Ambrosianæ proxima est, veteram picturam cernimus, ipsiusmet Sancti, et Deodati, ac Alipii baptismum exprimentem, in quo ecclesiæ consuetudinem ars secuta nudos mortalium oculis subjicit.

⁹ In the church of St. Austin, which is next to the royal one of St. Ambrose, we discern an ancient picture of the saint himself, of Deodatus and Alypius, in the act of being baptized; where the artist, in conformity to the custom of the church, has represented them *naked* in the sight of men.

Nudi in seculo nascimur, nudi etiam accedimus ad lavacrum. * * * * * Cyril.

Naked we were born into the world, naked we approach the sacred bath.

Nudi fuistis in conspectu omnium et non vos pudebat.

Ye were *naked* before all men, and were not ashamed.—*Chrysostom. Rob. Hist. of Bapt., English ed., pp. 85-87.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH BAPTISTS.

SUMMARY ACCOUNTS OF THE BAPTISTS IN THIS KINGDOM FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.

SECTION I.

Condensed Statements from the Jubilee Memorial and other works.

THE following well condensed narrative I have selected from the *Baptist Jubilee Memorial*, which gives a history of the great gathering at Kettering, to celebrate the 50th year from the formation of the Missionary Society, under whose auspices Carey and others of the first baptist missionaries were sent to India, and by whose mighty and expanding efforts such wonders have been wrought in that heathen land, some account of which will be given at the close of this article.

As the narrative was published as an official document, in connection with the doings of the Jubilee, the presumption is that its statements were approved by the whole denomination, as to the matters of fact; it is a very successful effort at the *multum in parvo*, and as far as it goes it gives the heads of all I shall be able to say on this part of the history of the English baptists. This being the case, I have thought it better to insert the article entire, as a text for subsequent comments, than to attempt to divide it, and to incorporate its different items in connection with other selections.

In recurring to the prominent heads of this article in those parts of the history which follow it, some cases of repetition will occur, but I shall endeavor as much as possible to avoid them.

"England undoubtedly received the Gospel in the days of the Apostles, and its ecclesiastical history plainly proves that thousands were baptized according to the primitive model.¹ About the same time, or soon after, Wales was visited by christian teachers; and when Austin visited this country, about the year 600, he found a society of christians at Bangor, consisting of 2,100 persons, who were afterwards destroyed because they refused to baptize infants, at the command of the pope.²

"Austin was sent to England by Pope Gregory the Great, for the purpose of promoting the subjection of the British to the papal See. He advanced the leading doctrines of the Romish Church, amongst which he ranks infant baptism, and exhorted the people implicitly to receive his dogmas. Some yielded to the influence which he exercised; but a goodly number resisted, amongst whom the christians at Bangor are numbered. Austin, therefore, has the credit of introducing infant baptism into England; for before that time it was unknown. It came as an appendage of popery, and from that period dark superstition ruled over Britain. Little is known of the succeeding centuries down to the Reformation, except what respects the most abject mental and moral vassalage on the one hand, and the most iron-handed intolerance on the other. During that interval, many of the continental baptists visited England, seeking refuge from the persecution which raged against them. During the reign of William the Conqueror, a considerable number came over from France, Germany, and Holland; and so greatly did they prevail, that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, wrote a book against them; for not only the poor, but some of the noble families adopted their sentiments. Their spirit, however, was too liberal, and their principles too pure; for the times; and as monarchy was leagued with popery, we cannot be surprised that so few traces are found of their subsequent career. But early in the 12th century, some of the Waldenses, coming into England to propagate the gospel, were apprehended and examined before a council assembled at Oxford by the command of Henry II.; and on confessing themselves followers of the Apos-

¹ Gildas. De Viet. Aur. Ambros. Fuller's Ecclesiastical History.

² Bide. Dupin's Eccl. Hist., Vol. V., p. 90. Lloyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 70. Fabian's Chron., Part V., p. 125. Fox's Martyrs, Vol. I., p. 135. Fuller's Church History, p. 61.

des, and rejecting infant baptism, they were branded on the forehead with a red hot iron, and treated with merciless rigor. Baptists were afterwards found in Herefordshire and South Wales. At the Reformation, the baptists came to light again.

"Two circumstances connected with that period are prominent in the history of the baptists,—the publicity into which they emerged, and the hostility which was evinced against them; these are exhibited in the extraordinary movements of the parties then in power.³ In 1536, the national clergy, met in convocation, declared the sentiments of the baptists to be 'detestable heresies, utterly to be condemned.' In 1538, a commission was given to Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to proceed against baptists, and *burn their books*; and on the 16th of November in the same year, a royal proclamation was issued against them, and instructions sent to the justices throughout England, directing them to see that the laws against the baptists were duly executed. Several were burnt to death in Smithfield, and of those who fled to foreign parts it is recorded that some were martyred. Brandt writes thus, in his history of the Reformation: '*In the year 1539, thirty-one baptists, that fled from England, were put to death at Delft, in Holland; the men were beheaded, and the women drowned.*'"

"One conclusion is fairly deducible from these narrations,—that the baptists of that period were not few nor insignificant. Bishop Latimer, in a sermon which he preached before King Edward the Sixth, referring to the events of Henry's reign, observed, 'Baptists were burned in different parts of the kingdom, and went to death with good integrity.'⁴ The Reformation begun by Henry was carried on under Edward; but to the oppressed baptists of those times no mercy was extended. Such was the furious bigotry with which they were pursued, that when King Edward passed an act to pardon papists and others, the baptists were excepted; and in the following year, 1547, a fresh commission was issued to the Archbishop 'to search after all baptists;' and under that commission the celebrated Joan of Kent, who was a baptist, was burnt on the 2nd of May, 1549. Several others shared the same fate.⁵

"That such proceedings should have been pursued by the very men who were, at the same time, bursting through the trammels of religious despotism, seems almost incredible. But who were they? Henry the Eighth was a licentious and unprincipled tyrant, and the same tyrannical disposition that led him to murder his wives, prompted him to wrest the power from the pope, and to proclaim himself the 'Head of the Church.' Edward was a mere stripling; the tool of the bigoted prelates who surrounded him. They had but half emerged from the darkness and intolerance of popish superstition; they protested against many errors of the Romish church but their protest was uttered with the spirit of inquisitors,—a dark feature in the character of the Reformers generally; it was the spirit of the times, of which those otherwise eminent men could not wholly divest themselves.⁶

"The reign of Mary is well known to have been cruel, even to ferocity. One circumstance in baptist history accords with the spirit of that execrable reign. A man named David George, a Dutchman, was disinterred in St. Lawrence's church, three years after his death, and his body was burnt, because it was discovered he had been a baptist.⁷ This relentless cruelty against the baptists continued even under Queen Elizabeth. A royal proclamation was issued, in which it was ordained that all baptists, and other heretics, should leave the land; but they seemed to gather fortitude, for some formed themselves into separate societies; and in 1575, the seventeenth year of Elizabeth's reign, a congregation of them was found without Aldgate, London, of whom some were banished, twenty-seven were imprisoned, and two were burnt to death in Smithfield.⁸ John Fox, the celebrated author of the 'Book of Martyrs,' penned a most eloquent letter to the Queen on their behalf; but in vain. This great, but imperious woman was not to be moved. She was a Tudor; and this was the blackest act of her reign.

"It was a peculiarly interesting characteristic of primitive christians, that notwithstanding the overwhelming power of potentates and priests against which it had to contend, opposition seemed but to augment its strength and to accelerate its progress; so it was with the persecuted baptists. Two years after the event just referred to, Dr. Some, a churchman of great note in the reign of Elizabeth, wrote a book against the puritans, in which he inveighs against the baptists, stating, in the language of complaint, that they had 'several conventicles in London and other places; that some of their ministers had been educated at the universities, and that they held heretical opinions.'⁹ Under the following reign, James the First, we find them acting with more boldness than they had hitherto done, though they were not free from persecution. They published a treatise, justifying their principles of dissent; petitioned the king for relief from persecution; and, in 1618, published a book, translated from the Dutch, on baptism,—the first that was published on that subject in the English language.

³ King Henry's Creed. Burnet's History of the Reformation. Brandt's History of the Reformation. Ivimey's History of the English Baptists.

⁴ Latimer's Sermons.

⁵ Hist. Refor., Vol. II. Neal, Vol. I. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

The youthful king addressed to the barbarous prelate this pathetic but unavailing remonstrance, "My Lord, will you send her soul to hell?"

⁶ When the magistrates of Zurich consulted Zuinglius on the fate of some poor baptists, "Drown the dippers," said the Reformer.

⁷ Crosby's History, Vol. I., p. 63.

⁸ Crosby, Vol. I., p. 79. Ivimey, Vol. I., p. 108.

⁹ Ivimey, Vol. I., p. 108.

From that time they spread with great rapidity throughout all parts of the empire, sharing largely in the privations which attended the puritans during the troublesome scenes of succeeding years.¹⁰ The first regularly organized baptist church of which we possess any account, is dated from 1607, and was formed in London by a Mr. Smyth, who had been a clergyman in the church of England.¹ It was formed on the principles of the General Baptists.² In the year 1633 the first Particular Baptist church was formed in London, under Mr. Spilisbury. During the reign of Charles the First, the baptists gained so much celebrity, that a public dispute was held between four of their ministers and a learned divine of the church, Dr. Featly; who, the following year, published his version of the disputation under the amusing title 'The Dippers Dipt, or the anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears at a disputation in Southwark.' In this book he makes the following complaint against the baptists:—'This sect, among others, hath so far presumed on the patience of the state, that it hath held weekly conventicles, re-baptizing hundreds of men and women together in the twilight, in rivulets, and some arms of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and ears. It hath printed divers pamphlets in defense of their heresy; yea, and challenged some of our preachers to disputation.' Six years after this, Bailey, of Glasgow, published a work, in which he thus alludes to them:—'*Their number, till of late, in England, was not great, and the most of them were not English, but Dutch strangers; but under the shadow of Independency, they have lifted up their heads and increased, their number above all sects in the land. They have forty-six churches in and about London; they are a people very fond of religious liberty, and very unwilling to be brought under bondage of the judgment of any other.*' It was in vain for Bailey to complain, for Edwards to calumniate, or for Baxter to write against their principles and practice; for their cause made rapid progress, achieved many victories, and obtained a multitude of disciples. Their prosperity excited bitter hostility, and the infatuated monarch was induced to publish edicts against them; but his own troubles prevented the accomplishment of the object contemplated.

"In the year 1650, the baptist churches began to form themselves into associations; and three years afterwards, an epistolary correspondence was opened, including the English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh churches. During the commonwealth, they were distinguished in various ways. Some of their ministers, possessing university honors, preached in parish churches; and some of their members, as Sir Henry Vane, and General Harrison, occupied high posts under the government. The name of the mighty MILTON, too, is connected with that period.³ Amidst the changes which followed, much suffering was endured, but great glory resulted from the exhibition of christian principles. Amongst the conspicuous objects of the times under consideration, we have to notice the character and sufferings of Thomas de Laun, Benj. Keach, and John Bunyan, immortal names—illustrious men of the baptist denomination.

"In a letter written to Cromwell by a disaffected officer in the army, the following reference is made to the baptists:—'*Have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your islands, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies, your courts? Your very council is not free; only we have left your temples for you to worship in.*' After making due allowance for exaggeration, this language warrants the conclusion, that the baptists were very numerous in those days. Probably there never was a period in the history of England, when the practice of adult baptism by immersion made more rapid or more general progress than during the civil wars and the commonwealth; a period in which the human mind awoke from the sleep of ages, and long-received opinions were brought to the test of reason and revelation. Alluding to the discussions about baptism in the assembly of divines, Neal himself acknowledges the opinions of the baptists 'began to increase wonderfully out of doors.' Many circumstances combined to favor their cause, and to facilitate its prevalence. The dominant church was in a state of entire prostration. The sword of the civil magistrate was sheathed. The rights of conscience were respected; controversies were carried on by the pen and by the tongue; public discussions were held in various parts of the kingdom between baptists and pedobaptists; the press teemed with pamphlets and books on the disputed question. Baptist ministers itinerated through every county, preaching and baptizing their converts; persons of all ranks were thus led to examine the points at issue; and the examination was favorable to the spread of our distinctive principles. Episcopalians were alarmed, Presbyterians were enraged, and Independents reasoned against the wide-spreading heresy. Baxter endeavored to arrest its progress by misrepresentation, by declaring immersion dangerous to health, a sure means of death, a breach of the sixth commandment, and *flat murder*.⁴

* * * Notwithstanding this abuse and misrepresentation, the principles of the baptists continued to spread in all parts of the kingdom; their churches had rest, and were edified, and walking in the fear of God, and in the comforts of the Holy Ghost were multiplied.

"But in the year 1660 came the restoration of Charles II., so fatal to the liberties of Eng-

¹⁰ Crosby, Ivimey, and D'Anvers supply copious information on these subjects.

¹ At Gainsborough, Lincolnshire.

² See on this, and other points connected with this history, Mr. Adam Taylor's valuable "History of the General Baptists."

³ Neal's History of the Puritans. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial. Taylor's and Ivimey's works.

⁴ Mr. Baxter's full description of the evils and dangers attending immersion have been given in connection with Booth's work on baptism.

ishmen, and notorious for destroying nearly all the safeguards of morality and religion,—a period in which the advocates of non-resistance and apostolical succession took vengeance on those who beforetime had opposed their leaders in parliamentary debate, and annihilated their armies in the field of battle. Through that and the following reign, most of the dissenters were made 'a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men.' In those afflictions the baptists had their full share;—they were persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but not destroyed.' At length came the glorious Revolution, which restored to our long insulted and oppressed country its liberties and rights.

"In the year 1689, the English particular baptists, availing themselves of the liberty recently secured, convoked a general assembly, which was held in London. It consisted of the representatives of one hundred congregations, who decided on putting forth a "Confession of Faith," containing all the leading peculiarities of doctrine and discipline by which they were distinguished. Thus, as we have seen, the baptists acquired strength in the seventeenth century. They consolidated their energies; their churches greatly multiplied through the British empire; and from that time forward they maintained their ground, and advanced to their present prosperous condition. It may not be unworthy of notice, that the last martyr who was burnt in England, was Edward Wightman, a baptist of Burton-upon-Trent. He was condemned by the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and was burnt at Litchfield, April 11th, 1612."⁴

In this article we have brief sketches of the history of the English baptists, till the mild reign of William and Mary, when they, together with all other dissenters from the established church, were favored with a state of ease and tranquility entirely different from what they had known for many years before.

I shall now go back and take up the history of the different periods alluded to in these short sketches, and give some additional items from Crosby, Ivimey, and other writers on this subject.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN ENGLAND, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TILL THE REFORMATION.

For more than five hundred years from the coming of Austin into England, an account of which will be given under the head of the Welsh baptists, impenetrable clouds of darkness are spread over the whole history of this kingdom, so far as the baptists are concerned, and no glances can be had of any people who bore any resemblance to them, until about the middle of the 11th century; about that period, during the reign of William the conqueror, we get a glimpse of some emigrants from France, Germany, and Holland, of the Waldensian character, whom our English baptist historians have recognized as maintaining their sentiments. These facts have been hinted at in the preceding epitome. The history of a company which appeared somewhat later, is thus given by Mr. Jones.

"Towards the middle of the twelfth century, a small society of these *puritans* as they were called by some, or *Waldenses*, as they are termed by others, or *Paulicians*, as they are denominated by our old monkish historian, William of Newbury, made their appearance in England. This latter writer, speaking of them, says, 'They came originally from Gascoyne, where, *being as numerous as the sand of the sea*, they sorely infested both France, Italy, Spain, and England.'"

The following is the account given by Dr. Henry, in his history of Great Britain, vol. viii., p. 338., 8vo. ed., of this emigrating party, which in substance, corresponds with what is said of them by Rapin, Collier, Lytleton, and other of our writers.

"A company consisting of about thirty men and women, who spoke the German language, appeared in England at this time (1159), and soon attracted the attention of government by the singularity of their religious practices and opinions. It is indeed very difficult to discover with certainty what their opinions were, because they are recorded only by our monkish historians, who speak of them with much asperity.

"They were apprehended and brought before a council of the clergy at

⁴ The warrant for his execution may be found in the E. Baptist Magazine, Vol. II., p. 233.

Oxford. Being interrogated about their religion, their teacher, named Gerard, a man of learning, answered in their name, that they were christians, and believed the doctrines of the apostles. Upon a more particular inquiry, it was found that they denied several of the received doctrines of the church, such as purgatory, prayers for the dead, and the invocation of saints; and refusing to abandon these damnable heresies, as they were called, they were condemned as incorrigible heretics, and delivered to the secular arm to be punished. The king, (Henry II.) at the instigation of the clergy, commanded them to be branded with a red-hot iron on the forehead, to be whipped through the streets of Oxford, and having their clothes cut short by their girdles, to be turned into the open fields, all persons being forbidden to afford them any shelter or relief, under the severest penalties. This cruel sentence was executed with its utmost rigor; and it being the depth of winter, all these unhappy persons perished with cold and hunger. These seem to have been the first who suffered death in Britain, for the vague and variable crime of heresy, and it would have been much to the honor of the country if they had been the last."

There is an account of the punishment of the Waldenses, in the *Archæologia*, vol. ix., pp. 292—305, written by the Rev. Mr. Denne, of Wilmington; from which I shall here give a short extract, by way of supplement to the preceding narrative. "These persons," says he, "having been believers of the essential doctrines of christianity (as is admitted by the bishops), and, it may be inferred from the silence of the historian, that these sectaries were in their manner inoffensive, nothing but the evil spirit of persecution could have prompted their judges to deliver them up to the civil magistrates. It was the more culpable in the prelates, because there was so little cause for an alarm of their propagating with success their peculiar tenets. For though they seem to have resided for some time in England, they only converted one woman of an inferior rank, and she was so slightly attached to them, that she was soon prevailed upon to recant and forsake their society. And as they were no disturbers of the public peace, it was somewhat strange that the king, whose disposition was humane, should think those people merited branding and exile. But it was during the contest of Henry and Becket, in support of the just rights of the crown, that this occurrence happened; and his hard usage of these foreigners has been attributed to an unwillingness to afford a pretext to the pope and his adherents to charge them with profaneness, or an inattention to the cause of religion. By the council of Tours, held in 1163, princes were exhorted and directed to imprison all heretics within their dominions, and to confiscate their effects. Of this injunction Henry could not be ignorant; and he might be actuated by it to treat the delinquents with more rigor than he otherwise would have done." Mr. Denne has fixed the sitting of the council at Oxford, in the year 1166.⁵

Although this company did so little in gaining proselytes, yet others must have been more successful, from the few sketches which have been collected of their numbers soon after. From abp. Usher, Mr. Ivimey has gleaned the following items of information.⁶

⁵ Ch. Hist., pp. 281, 282.

⁶ After the above was prepared for the press, I obtained what I had long been in search of—the English translation of the old Dutch Martyrology, or Bloody Theatre, now called the Martyrs' Mirror, from which I have made such copious extracts in the history of the German anabaptists, or Mennonites. In this work I find a full confirmation of the facts above related; also a satisfactory illustration of some points which, to Mr. Jones, Ivimey, Crosby, and others, were obscure. The date of the transaction is placed in 1161. This account establishes the fact of the Oxford company being thorough-going anti-pedobaptists, and that they were a very spiritual people, who bore their severe punishment with christian fortitude and resignation.—"They went forth with joy and alacrity; their leader, Bernhard, went before them, singing 'Blessed are ye when ye are hated,' &c. Bernhard was branded on the chin as well as forehead, as a double mark of infamy. Before the council they uttered their sentiments freely against the Roman church,—which they called the whore of Babylon,—the pope, and his bishops, and monasteries, monastic vows, mass, church consecration, reverence for the saints, &c., they denounced them all as inventions of the devil. This Oxford company was evidently of Waldensian descent, and migrated to England from the persecutions of Germany, as a place of greater safety. Although this Dutch author, as well as those above quoted, ascribe to

"The Berengarian, or Waldensian heresy had, about the year 1180, generally infested all France, Italy, and England.

"Not only the weaker sort in the country villages, but the nobility and gentry in the chief towns and cities, were infected therewith; and therefore Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who held this see both in the reigns of William the conqueror and of his son, William Rufus, wrote against them in the year 1087. The archbishop adds, from Poplinus' History of France, that 'the Waldenses of Aquitain did, about the year 1100, during the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, kings of England, spread themselves and their doctrines all over Europe,' and mentions England in particular."

"Roger de Hovedon, in his annals says, that in the year 1182, Henry II. was very favorable to the Waldensian sect in England; for whereas they burnt them in many places of Flanders, Italy, and France, in great numbers, he would not suffer any such thing here; and being in his own and his queen's right possessed of Aquitain, Poictou, Guien, Gascoyne, Normandy, &c., the principal places inhabited by the Waldenses and Albigenses, and they being his subjects, they had free egress into his territories here.

"During the reign of Richard I., and king John, which were times of great trouble, we read of no opposition made against them. Richard was long absent in the holy wars. John had great contests with the pope, who laid his kingdom under an interdict, and forbade all public worship for the space of six years, only admitting of private baptism to infants. This, with the opposition made to him by the barons, found him so much employment, that these christians had no molestation, but had great opportunities for disseminating their principles; while the king by his army defended the Waldenses and Albigenses in Aquitain and Gascoyne, who were so much oppressed by the crusading army of the pope.

"In the reign of Henry III., archbishop Usher says, from Matthew Paris, 'the order of the Friars Minorites, came into England to suppress the Waldensian heresy.' And in the reign of Edward III., about the year 1315, Fuller informs us in his Ecclesiastical History, that Walter Lollard, that German preacher, or (as Peter Perrin calls him in his history of the Waldenses) one of their barbs, came into England; a man in great renown among them; and who was so eminent in England that, as in France, they were called Berengarians, from Beringarius, and Petrobrussians, from Peter Bruis; and in Italy and Flanders, Arnoldites, from the famous Arnold of Brescia; so did the Waldensian christians for many generations after, bear the name of this worthy man, being called Lollards.

"As this is an historical fact of great importance, for discovering the origin of those sentiments which at length produced a reformation in the kingdom, and an emancipation from the church of Rome, it is very desirable to ascertain the opinion of these zealous christians on the question of infant baptism, since it will furnish us with a clue by which to judge of the principles of those who were afterwards such eminent asserters of christian liberty.

"If the reader will turn to what is said by Dr. Gill on this subject, in the extracts prefixed to this work, he will find the opinion of William of Newbury, (as recited by Rapin) confirmed, respecting their denial of baptism; that is, of infant baptism."

this persecuted people an utter extinction, yet it is not improbable that some of them might have survived this terrible punishment, and found shelter among humane friends, who would hazard the barbarous prohibitions of the cruel council. These people had families and friends, and no doubt there were more of their brethren who were not apprehended. And again the English people, as a whole, were never entirely lost to all the claims of humanity, nor stung up with such unfeeling ferocity, under the strongest influence of the papal power, as they were in some other countries where the pope had unlimited sway."—*Martyrs' Mirror*, p. 211.

The authors quoted in this article in addition to William of Newbury, are Mellin, Vigner, and Guldo, of Perpignan.

⁷ D'Anvers on Baptism, pp. 275-278.

⁸ Hist. of the English Baptists, Vol. I., pp. 58-60.

Mr. Orchard's account of the visit of Lollard to England, and its happy effects on the interests of the baptists, is thus described.

"The conflicts between the sovereigns of this kingdom and the archbishops, during the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* centuries, permitted the baptists to propagate their sentiments very extensively, unmolested. The sword not being in the hand of the clergy, they employed the *friars* to preach down heresy, but their conduct disgusted the people.

"The English baptists were much revived, strengthened, and increased, by the visit of Walter Lollard, a Dutchman. 'He was remarkable,' says Mosheim, 'for his *eloquence* and *writings*.' 'He was an eminent barb or pastor among the Begherds, in Germany, who baptized *anew* all who came over to their party (Wall). He was in sentiment the same as Peter de Bruis. About this period, 1338, colonies of Weavers Waldenses came into the county of Norfolk. These people made little noise, though they existed in almost all the countries of Europe. Although the same in religious views as the *Paterines*, *Picards*, and *Waldenses*, they were now called *Lollards* (Hallam). There had appeared in England, up to this time, about twenty good men, preachers of the gospel, so that the soil was prepared for after reformers (Mackintosh). The baptists now adopted a plan of dropping their written sentiments against popery, in the way of members of the houses of parliament. At this period, a treatise was published, evidently from the pen of a Lollard, entitled, *The prayer and complaint of the plowman*. It is the production of a baptist, as it enjoins yea, yea, and nay, nay, in conversation; and baptism after teaching. Its tone is querulous, and its language severe against priests. Vices are condemned, and retaliation forbidden. In 1368, thirty errors in matters of religion was charged on the people, in the neighborhood of Canterbury; one was that children could be saved without water-baptism (Du Pin); but none gave baptism to children at this time, *but for salvation*.'" (Wall).

During the times we have so hastily passed over, the followers of Berenger, Arnold, Peter de Bruis, Henry, Waldo, and other eminent reformers were busily engaged in propagating the gospel in different parts of Europe, and deeply involved in suffering and distress.

We have now arrived at the period when the followers of Lollard and Wickliff took the lead among the evangelical dissenters in England, and we will travel on with Mr. Orchard's account of them.

"The interruption of the intercourse between England and Rome, gave the baptists a favorable opportunity to make known their sentiments; and in their efforts, they had the sanction of many of the nobility. They now abounded; more than half the nation became Lollards; yea, they covered all England.* In 1369, they formed separate and distinct societies, agreeable to the scriptures (Rapin). In these churches all the brethren were equal, each could preach, baptize, and break bread. They were united in opinion as one man (Fox), and were called *Bible-men*, since they allowed no office not enjoined in the word of God (Bp. Pecock). They held Berenger's opinion on infant baptism, and would not take their children to church to be baptized. They called the rite the key to hell. Their numbers and decided hostility to the hierarchy aroused their adversaries to adopt severe measures; and in 1400, a law was passed, sentencing Lollard to be burnt to death. In Norfolk they abounded, and there they suffered severely. Bonner asked where the church was before Luther? Fox says, the answer might have been, 'among the Lollards in the diocese of Norwich.' The first martyr under this law was Sir William Sawtre, who was of baptist sentiments. Still the bible-men increased, and became dangerous to the church. It is said they amounted to *one hundred thousand*. Sir John Oldcastle, or Lord Cobham, who declared, 'I most faithfully believe that

* Such expressions, although coming from old and respectable writers on the opposite side, must be received with much allowance. No doubt public sympathy was much in their favor, and that great success attended their ministry.

the sacraments of Christ's church are necessary to all christian believers; this always seen to that they be duly administered according to Christ's first instruction and ordinance (Bale), was arrested for his religious sentiments and efforts, and was put to a cruel death. The scriptures were now forbidden; meeting-houses all closed; the Lollards' tower was prepared; local inquisitions were encouraged; and in the counties of Norfolk, Lincoln, Hereford, Kent, and Middlesex, the baptists suffered severely to the end of the century."¹⁰

Up to 1400, there was no law in England that could reach life for errors in religion; in that year, as has already been stated, such a law was procured of Henry IV., by the influence of the clergy,¹ with special reference to the alarming heresy of the Lollards, and Sawtre, Cobham, and a multitude of others, were soon committed to the flames. Hitherto the enemies of dissenters could harass and persecute them in various ways and cause their death by cruel treatment, as was the case with the Oxford company, whose suffering we have just related. But now the signal was given for bloody men to execute their cruel purposes in a legal way, and to bring the victims of their rage to the scaffold, or the stake, or drive them into exile.

"It is to be lamented," says Ivimey, "that we have no particular account of the afflictions which the Lollards in general suffered at this time; yet it is not to be doubted that the hand of persecution fell with superior weight on the lower order of people, when even nobility was not a preventative from the rage of the clergy, as in the case of Sir John Oldcastle or Lord Cobham and others."²

The only account of any church of the baptist order existing at this period in England, is thus given by Mr. Ivimey.

"There is a remark in Robinson's dissertation on public preaching prefixed to Claude's essay, which refers to a period forty years after this, and proves that the demon of persecution was at that time neither dead nor chained. 'I have,' says he, 'before me a manuscript register of Gray, bishop of Ely, which proves that in the year 1457, there was a congregation of this sort in this village, Chesterton, where I live, who privately assembled for divine worship, and had preachers of their own who taught them the very doctrines we now preach. Six of them were accused of heresy before the tyrants of the district, and condemned to abjure heresy, and to do penance half naked, in the public market-places of Ely and Cambridge, and in the church-yard of Great Swaffham. It was a pity the poor souls were forced to abjure the twelfth article of their accusation, in which they were said to affirm, *all priests and people in orders are incarnate devils.*'"³

¹⁰ Orchard's Tract on the Hist. of Bapt. in Britain, pp. 4-6.

¹ On the rolls where this law was entered was appended, *Petitio cleri contra hæreticos*. On petition of the clergy against the heretics.

² Ivimey, Vol. I., p. 79. Crosby, Vol. I., p. 79.

³ After the above was prepared for the press, on a review of Robinson's Notes on Claude, some additional quotations from this writer have seemed to me proper to insert, which I will throw into this note. And I am the more inclined to do this, as these remarks exhibit a full confirmation of my theory, that baptists were much more common in England in the dark ages than our historians of that country have supposed. "I have seen enough, says the writer, to convince me that the present English dissenters, contending for the sufficiency of Scripture, and for primitive christian liberty to judge of its meaning, may be traced back in authentic manuscripts to the non-conformists, to the Puritans, to the Lollards, to the Vallenses, to the Albigenses, and, I suppose, through the Albigenses, and, I suspect, through the Paulicians and others, to the Apostles. These churches had sometimes a clandestine existence, and at other times, a visible, and, I wish I could say, a legal one; but at all times they held more truth and less error than the prevailing faction that persecuted them. One branch uniformly denied the baptism of infants, all allowed christian liberty, and all were enemies to an established hierarchy reigning over the consciences of their brethren. I have now before me a manuscript register of Gray, Bishop of Ely, which proves, that in the year 1457, there was a congregation of this sort in this village, Chesterton," &c.

Mr. Robinson represents these people as a portion of the ante-Lutheran protestants. Three of the articles of the indictment against them were as follows:—

"III. Item, quod puer * * * nec egent, nec baptizari debeat, etc., etc.

"XI. Item, quod extrema unctio, anglice gresyng nenime proficit.

"XII. Item, quod papa est antichristus, et sacerdotes sunt ejus discipuli, et omnes ordinati sunt diaboli incarnati.

"The substance of the above impeachments against these ancient heretics, was, that they denied

From the Reformation in 1525 to the time of the Commonwealth, 1644.

We see in the preceding sketch from the Jubilee Memorial, the writer mentions the two following facts as holding a prominent place in the baptist history of the times.

1. The publicity into which they suddenly emerged.
2. The hostility and extraordinary movements against them by the parties then in power.

We have seen in all the old history of the baptists, or at least of the evangelical dissenters, that when any time of easement came, both their enemies and friends, like the prophet of old, were astonished at the greatness of the numbers who had escaped the besom of destruction, and had remained concealed and undiscovered by either party.

The baptists, no doubt, were emboldened by the great events which were transpiring abroad, and which had no small influence on the affairs at home. And the peculiar situation of the reigning monarch, Henry VIII., is thus described by Mr. Orchard: "The king's misunderstanding with the pope led him to relieve and encourage the Lollards everywhere; and their brethren, with foreigners of every sentiment, flocked into England to enjoy liberty, and strengthen the cause of true religion. A book of the Lollards, entitled '*the sum of the scriptures*,' was examined by the archbishop; he condemned the party which circulated it, for denying the baptism of the church. Fourteen Mennonite brethren suffered death cheerfully; and the reproach of *anabaptism*, now supplied that of the word Lollardism. These martyrdoms did not check their sentiments, but rather led men to investigate them, and such was the alarm of the clergy, that a convocation was called, seventy-six of their alleged errors condemned, and measures devised for their suppression."⁴

It appears somewhat strange at first view, that we see so many removals of the persecuted dissenters in the period of which we are speaking; sometimes they are flocking into the kingdom as a place of refuge, at others fleeing out of it to escape destruction. This is easily accounted for when we learn that rulers were not at all times equally severe, nor under the same control of the persecuting priesthood. Now and then would come up a set of men who would determine that their peaceable subjects should not be disturbed on account of their religious opinions, to gratify the priests, and a period of tranquility would ensue. At other times foreign wars, or internal commotions, would so far engross the attention of the heads of the church, or the rulers of the state, that the obnoxious heretics would be for a time neglected. The English monarchs were not generally remarkable for the ferocity of their religious zeal, and might have never persecuted at all had they not been goaded to it by foreign priestly powers.⁵

We have already mentioned the mild reign of William the conqueror, half barbarian as he was esteemed, in that age. A number of succeeding princes, showed much of his disposition towards their dissenting subjects, and when the young king, Edward VI. came to the throne, the penal laws were repealed, the prisons were thrown open, and many who had fled into exile returned.

But his reign was of short duration, and the cruel, or bloody Mary, as she has generally been called, became the ruler of church and state. Now all was thrown back again, and religious intolerance was established with extreme rigor and severity, and mitred prelates and heretical peasants were thrown into the same dungeons and executed on the same scaffolds.

infant baptism, that they rejected extreme unction, and said that the pope was antichrist, and his priests were devils incarnate."—*Robinson's Notes on Claude's Essays*, Vol. II., pp. 53-55.

⁴ This was written in 1779, while as yet this distinguished man stood firm on orthodox ground.

⁴ Orchard's Hist. of the Baptists in Britain, a Tract, p. 6.

⁵ Notwithstanding Henry VIII. at first favored the Lollards, he soon turned against them; and before his death, it is said that seventy-two thousand of this class of people had been either fined, burned, or banished.—*Orchard*.

The glorious reign of Elizabeth, which followed, was not so to the obnoxious dippers, since it is said of this illustrious but bigoted queen, that pardon whom she might, the baptists were always excepted.

SECTION II.

INTERESTING ACCOUNTS FROM THE OLD DUTCH MARTYROLOGY—MR. SOMER'S LETTER—JOHN FOX, &c.

The London Company of German Anabaptists, in 1575. In the eighteenth year of the reign of this queen, viz. : in 1575, a very distressing scene of persecution was experienced by a company of German anabaptists, who had fled from Flanders and settled in London, where they lived in great simplicity, pursuing their accustomed industry in their different vocations, until the demon of intolerance threw among them firebrands, arrows and death. A few items of the history of this community is given by Fuller, the old church historian of England; Crosby and Ivimey have given all they could learn respecting them, but in the Dutch Martyrology, I find ample details of their character and sufferings, and all things pertaining to them exhibited in a very clear and interesting point of view. Instead of the former paucity of facts respecting this London company of our brethren, almost three centuries ago, my greatest difficulty has been to condense my accounts within the compass which my limits will allow.

Of the number of this people then in the metropolis and its vicinity, we have no certain information, but it is evident there were many more than has been generally apprehended. As was always the case in such times of danger, dissenters met in small companies, in private houses and in obscure retreats, to avoid detection.

Of the thirty first taken, twenty were capitally punished, by banishment or burning, five recanted, and the others either died in prison, or after much bad treatment were released.

The bishop of London became their most inveterate persecutor, and his inexorable cruelty towards his helpless victims, brands his memory with infamy and disgrace.

The names of but five of those sufferers are given, viz. : John Pieters, Henry Terwoort, Garret Von Byler, John Von Straaton, and Christian Kemels; the two first were burnt at Smithfield, and it is highly probable that others of the company shared the same fate.

Letters, and various kinds of communications from all the five brethren above named, have been preserved; some of them are long, and all indicate a good degree of intelligence, a state of mind deeply imbued with piety, christian composure and resignation, and an uncompromising attachment to the distinguishing sentiment of the baptists.

From these different documents I shall make some brief selections, and then give a circumstantial and well-written account of the whole transaction, in the language of one who was well qualified to perform the painful task.

Their first appearance before the bishop. "And because one of the prisoners seemed to take the lead in the conversation, they said: This is the captive—you shall no longer scatter your baneful seed in our country—and they seized him immediately. The bishop then showed them a letter, and said to them in a very surly tone, that the court had agreed that all the strangers should subscribe the above *four* questions. The one that would do so should be at perfect liberty in the country, but all who would refuse should be punished with death: Therefore, you may now choose. This cruel and unchristian ordinance alarmed some, so that on account of the weakness of the flesh, five of them fell from the truth, and refused to offer their bodies for the name of Christ. But instead of honoring the five apostates, they were scandalized and

exposed at St. Paul's church, and were branded as having been deceived, and had to confess that it was the truth, and then to enter bail that they would unite themselves to the German church, and thus become brethren. * * *

From Gerrit Von Byler. "When we came before the bishop, there were present master Joris, James De Koninck, John De Rodemaker, two members of the council and a French clergyman. We were placed before those lords, and their servants, who propounded four questions to us, to which we were to give either an *affirmative* or *negative*.

"1. Whether Christ did not assume his flesh from the body of Mary?

'We replied that he is the son of the living God.

"2. Whether infants should not be baptized?

We cannot understand matters so, for we read nothing of it in the scriptures.

"3. Whether it was lawful for a christian to attend to, or discharge the duties of a magistrate's office?

"We replied, that our conscience would not suffer us to do so; but we consider the magistracy as a minister of God for the protection of the servants of God.

"4. Whether a christian was allowed to take an oath?

"We again replied our conscience would not even allow us to do so, for Christ said, 'Let your communications be yea, yea, and nay, nay.'

"We then kept silent. The bishop said that our misdeeds were very gross, and we could not inherit the kingdom of God. Oh! Lord, avenge not! The bishop then remanded us to prison.

"A young brother who was first interrogated, boldly confessed the truth; and was on that account sorely accused, and led to Westminster, where he was imprisoned, by himself. This caused us much grief.

"When we were all lodged in prison, came master Joris, and said, if we would join the church, he would set us at liberty—for these are the bishop's orders. But we contended valiantly for the truth in Christ Jesus—for he is our captain, and none else; upon him we put all our confidence. * * *

"On Whitsuntide morning, we were chained, two and two, and led before the lords. (This was the fourth time.)

"When we were brought before them, they presented the same *four questions*, urging us to subscribe them—but we told them that we would abide by the word of the Lord.

"We were then remanded to prison, and fettered as before; the women were confined at Newgate, together with a young brother; but they were all released and transported. The young man, however, was tied to a cart and scourged, and afterwards whipped out of town.

"We were in the midst of thieves and malefactors. These the bishop and a preacher worried, lest they might be corrupted by us and deceived.

"On Friday, two of our friends, Terwoort and Pieters, were led out of prison to be executed. Pieters, as he went out, said, 'This is the way the prophets went, and Christ our Saviour, which was the case since the days of Abel.' Both were burnt at Smithfield, and thus offered themselves as a burnt sacrifice to the Lord.

"Here follows two letters of the martyrs Pieters and Terwoort, written in prison, and found in an old book.

"We, poor and despised strangers, who are persecuted for the testimony of Jesus, desire that God may grant all mankind peace, so that they may live together in all godliness, to the praise of the Lord, and to the advancement of their souls' salvation.

"Since so many, both by writing and verbal statements, do us great injustice, accusing and charging lies upon us, I am constrained to present our belief very summarily.

"They do not speak to us, and do not in a mild manner inquire of us what our religious views are, as the scriptures teach—but they speak all manner of

evil of us, so that they may increase our miseries and sufferings; and besides they have no compassion either on our distressed wives, or helpless children. We had to forsake our friends, our country, and our possessions, on account of tyranny, and fled as lambs from a wolf—only because of the pure evangelical truth of Jesus Christ, and not for uproar's or faction's sake, like those of Munster, whose views are an abomination, of which we have been slanderously accused.

“Who would like to be persecuted in a strange country, when he is already wretched and poor? therefore, says Christ: ‘Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them—this is the law and the prophets.’ Oh, that they would thus treat us! How soon persecution would cease—for Christ and his followers never persecuted any one; but on the contrary, taught that we should love those who hate us, and pray for those who spitefully use us, that we may be the children of our Father in Heaven, who lets his sun shine over the righteous and the wicked.

“We seek no salvation in our works, as it is reported we do, but we hope to be saved alone through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nor do we boast that we are without sin; but we always confess ourselves sinners before God. But we have to refrain from voluntary sins if we would be saved; such as adultery, fornication, sorcery, sedition, bloodshed, cursing and swearing, lying and cheating, pride, drunkenness, hatred, envy: these are the sins that the scriptures declare, who do them shall not inherit the kingdom of God.

“They also say, we refuse to hear the word of God, because we do not go to hear the preachers of the church. To this charge we would say; that we do not hear the preachers, is, because the word of God constrains us to do so; because they are people not fit to attend to the sacred callings of a gospel preacher; for Paul teaches Timothy, and says: ‘The things thou hast heard of me, among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others; because if a man undertakes to teach or reprove another, he must be blameless himself.’ Now, if the preachers were such as the apostles required, we would cheerfully hear them—we would be the first and the last in the church.

“We are also accused of not being subject to the magistracy, because we do not baptize our infants. To this we reply, we desire to submit to the magistracy in all things not contrary to the word of God. That we do not suffer our children to be baptized by the priests, is not done out of temerity, but we do it out of fear to God, because Christ commands believers to be baptized; for Christ's apostles did not baptize infants, but adults only, and those on their faith, and confessions of their sins.’”

Here follow a number of very sensible paragraphs on the subject of infant baptism, in which these Dutch brethren reasoned just as baptists do now. They refer to the writings of Origen, Luther, Platina, &c., for arguments against their opponents, and conclude—“If it had been the will of God that infants should be baptized, he would have commanded it to have been done. Christ would have been baptized in his infancy, as well as circumcised; but, as it is not the will of God, therefore did he teach them differently, and received baptism differently himself.

“But they have stretched considerably, in bringing charges against us, saying, there are many thousands of us. Our belief has not been so generally embraced; we are not treated so kindly as to induce the crowd to adopt our views. True, here and there you may find some secluded family, like the lily among the thorns—as the apple-tree among the trees of the woods, bringing forth good fruit.’”

I shall now introduce the narrative of Jacques De Somers, Esq., a native of Holland, but who then resided in London, and was a member of the Dutch, or as the writer denominates it, the Calvinistic church, of that city. Mr. Somers became Secretary of State after his return to Holland. What follows, was an expression of pure friendship for his persecuted brethren, whose reli-

gious creed differed from his own. If the Continental presbyterians had generally taken the noble and magnanimous stand of this very intelligent and worthy man, what a different state of things would there have been among the Reformed churches in Switzerland in the succeeding century.

Mr. Somers' narrative is contained in a letter addressed to his mother, then at Ghent, in Flanders, whose name was Tanneken Van der Varent. It appears that this pious lady, who was also a member of the Reformed church in Holland, was overwhelmed with sorrow on account of the cruel treatment of her anabaptist friends in England, and had made inquiries of her son respecting them. This letter was written for the special purpose of complying with her request. As Mr. Somers had taken a great degree of interest in the afflictions of this company, and had made himself thoroughly acquainted with all things pertaining to them, we may place full confidence in his account of their character and sufferings.

"Beloved Mother, this has reference to the particular circumstances attending the execution of the anabaptists, though I have not the least doubt but you have already received from others much information relative thereto, even as it is with extreme reluctance that I write upon a subject of which you cannot even think, without emotions of the deepest distress. But, as you desire, and it is probable that I am better acquainted with the circumstances than the generality of people, inasmuch as I have had frequent intercourse with them, and have received information from all of them; so I cannot forbear giving such an account of it as accords with the extent of my information in reference to the matter. In connection with which I send you a copy of their confession, on account of which some died, and others are retained in prison; and a petition was presented by them to her majesty, but which was not accepted by her.

"It happened on Easter, the 3d of April, A. D. 1575, that thirty anabaptists of both sexes, had assembled together in a house near Alligator, on the road leading to Spiegelzhoef, for the purpose of mutual exhortation and prayer; but, being detected by the neighbors, they were nearly all taken then to prison, by so small a guard, that some could easily have escaped, if they could have felt liberty of conscience to do so. Having fallen into the hands of the magistracy, they were conducted to the house of the bishop of London, in order to be examined by him concerning their faith, which examination had to be conducted through the medium of a German and French preacher, because the bishop did not understand the language. Their confession of faith was scriptural, and drawn up in such a manner that I would be free to subscribe to every tenet, with the exception of the article concerning oaths, in which they publicly confessed their belief that men should '*Swear not at all.*'

"The bishop not satisfied with this confession, presented four articles to be subscribed; with the provision that if they remained obstinate, they should be burnt alive; adding that such charge was imposed upon him by the court."

These articles were the same as those which have been mentioned in the letter of Gerrit von Byler

"They replied that they were conscientious in regard to these matters, and maintained the principles set forth in their first profession: so they were re-conducted to prison. But on their way thither ten or twelve of them made their escape, as they were aware of the danger to which they were exposed, and perceived the fine opportunity of escape that presented itself; the guard consisted of but one or two individuals. The whole of them, however, in the course of two or three days, returned to the prison, partly in order to acquit their bail, who were bound in the sum of one hundred pounds, and partly because the bishop, as a man of honor, promised with an oath, that he would set them all at liberty in the course of five or six days, if they would return; but if not the rest should remain in prison till candlemass. Immediately after this five of the men were converted (through much disputation with these Netherlanders, who belonged to the church), before they were condemned as heretics; nevertheless, they were placed before a rostrum in St. Paul's church-yard, in a large assembly of some thousands of Englishmen, and a bundle of faggots was laid upon each one's shoulder, as a sign that they deserved to be burnt—in addition to which they inflicted many other injuries, and much ignominy upon them, though the bishop had promised that he would set them at liberty without any incumbrances if they would only sign the four articles; but the event proved to the contrary. This transpired the 25th of May, A. D. 1575.

"In the course of a few days, the bishop perceiving that the rest would not apostatize from their faith, sentenced them all to death in the ecclesiastical court-room, in St. Paul's church (as was customary with the papistic bishops, during queen Mary's reign, who were wont to condemn the christians to death), and deliver them into the hands of the civil judge; then they bound the women hand to hand, and conducted them to Newgate—the prison for capital convicts—together with one of the men, which was considered the youngest, and most innocent among them—but the rest of the men were conducted to their old episcopal prison, for which reason it was supposed that the women would be executed first, even as persons came

daily to threaten them, and to present death to them unless they would apostatize.—Hence they suffered great anguish and temptation for five or six days, supposing every day that they would be burnt: nay, on the very day that the sentence of their banishment came from the court—for the bailiff came with his servants at 10 o'clock in the evening, into the prison, to take an inventory of all their property, informing them, in addition, that they should prepare for death the next day. This he did, in order to see whether any of them would apostatize through fear; but perceiving that they all remained stedfast, he informed them that it was the queen's pleasure to be gracious to them, and merely to banish them from the country, and have the young man whipped behind a cart.

“Accordingly, in the course of five or six days, about fourteen women were conveyed from the prison, which is situated in the space between St. Martin's church and St. Catharine's, to the ship by the apparitors; but the young man was whipped behind a cart, which moved on before him. Thus they were all banished from the country, on pain of imprisonment, and reside for the present in Holland and Zealand.

“A few days afterwards the five men that remained in the bishop's prison were likewise sentenced to death by the bishop, and conveyed to Newgate, where one of them died of wretchedness, and of a load of chains; and the rest were apprehensive that they would inflict extreme punishment upon them, because they had exercised so much severity towards the women. They were also informed that the queen and her whole council were so highly offended at them that no person would venture to present a petition for them, since an evil report arose, that they denied God and Christ, and rejected all government, and all respect for the magistrates, and civil power, as ungodly and unchristian.

“Therefore, they sent a petition to her majesty, together with their confession concerning the four articles which had been presented to them; a copy of which I send enclosed. But she was so exasperated at them that she refused to accept it, but severely reprimanded the Staats who presented it to her, as they informed those who handed in the petition to them. When they perceived this they delivered the articles, together with the petition, which was somewhat altered, to lord Bodley,—who, having laid the matter before the bishop, answered them on the succeeding day, that he was very much distressed on their account; but there was no hope of favor unless they would sign the articles and abjure their heresy. In the meantime, the bishop issued certain articles in her majesty's name, one of which was that a christian magistrate may, with propriety, punish obstinate heretics with the sword, and commanded all strangers to sign it, or otherwise give sufficient security to appear, at the pleasure of the bishop, before him and the queen, to undergo a circumstantial examination, and be punished according to their deserts. So almost all the foreigners, induced by fear more than any other consideration, signed it, with the exception of some, who chose rather to incur the danger, than, by their signing, to approve of the putting to death of poor people; the issue, however, is yet unknown.

“Soon after, orders were issued from the court to the sheriff, or bailiff of London, to execute the two oldest, according to their sentence—*one of whom, Jan Pieters, was a poor man, upwards of fifty years old, and had nine children. His first wife was previously burnt at Ghent, in Flanders, on account of her religion, and he had married a second wife, whose first husband had likewise been burnt at Ghent for his religious principles.* But these two had fled into England, on account of persecution, on supposition that they could live there and enjoy liberty of conscience without being exposed to any danger; which circumstance he represented to the bishop, and desired the favor of removing from the country, with his wife and children; but he could not obtain it. The other, called *Henry Terwoort, was a handsome and respectable man, twenty-five or twenty-six years old; a goldsmith by trade, and had been married eight or ten weeks before he was apprehended.*

“The German and French preachers not succeeding, in much disputation, to induce these men to sign the articles, but having much rather confirmed them in their opinion, by the cruel and unchristian conduct of those who boast of the gospel and christian faith, although many English and Germans petitioned in their favor; yet, on the 22d of July, at six o'clock, A. M., they were miserably burnt to ashes, at the same stake, without having been strangled, and without powder, according to the custom at Smithfield, where they used to burn the people who professed our religion. This was done the Friday succeeding the Tuesday on which the stake had been erected. I have no doubt but the queen assented to this measure with reluctance; but she was persuaded to it by certain papists, or other perverse men and enemies of the truth, of whom there are many here, who asserted that the anabaptists, with whose religion this people are unacquainted, did not only deny God, and Christ, and overthrow the salvation of the soul, but also that they rejected all worldly policy, laws and government, and incited the people to mutiny and sedition, because they taught that the magistracy is ungodly and unchristian—for which reason, no doubt, she was chiefly exasperated at them, so that she would not accept their petition.

“The Lord forgive those who were authors and abettors in this matter, and so misrepresented these poor people to her majesty, as you may judge from their confession, which they signed near me, with their own hand; for, though I do not assent to the whole, and am assured that they are under a mistake in regard to the article concerning the original conception of Christ and the origin of his flesh; yet, as they made a christian confession in express terms, and often confessed orally, in my presence, that Christ is very God and very man, like

unto us in flesh and blood, and in all other respects, sin excepted, so be it far from me to acknowledge that they were guilty of death; nay, I would much rather acknowledge them as brethren, and have not the least doubt of their salvation, if they only feared the Lord, and walked before him with a good conscience. * * * * *

"Touching the two young men who still remain, they continue firm and stedfast, and are in daily expectation of the same punishment.

"Luke and I endeavored, if possible, to get them out of prison four days after the execution of the others; we even prevailed on them, through much conversation, to sign the confession, (a copy of which I send you,) in the hope that the bishop would be satisfied with it. Having read it, he found it good throughout; but he will not receive them into favor unless they sign the first four articles without contradiction, and join the Dutch church, which they are determined not to do, even if they perfectly agree with us in doctrine—since thereby they would condemn the two that had been executed, and all the rest of their comrades who died or still live in the same faith, and would confess that they had been seduced by the devil, the spirit of lies and error, to this damnable heresy, of which they declare that they are by no means convinced in their own consciences, but that they are much more assured of their salvation in Christ, the very God and very man; they would, therefore, as they say, provoke God in the highest, if they would speak contrary to the testimony of their own conscience.

"Hence, we know of nothing else than that they will have to suffer the same punishment that was endured by their partners, the more especially as they attempted to break out of prison, having filed off an iron of the window, for which cause they are kept more closely in bonds than at any former time, and may consider themselves fortunate if an early and preferable death should release them from the great distress and misery of the prison—for they lie separate from each other, so that they cannot afford each other any consolation, and no one dare to converse with them on the pains of immediate imprisonment.

"Here, dear mother, you have a distressing history from first to last of these imprisoned, converted, proscribed, and executed anabaptists, concerning which I am likewise aware, that it appears to you very strange and incredible, and that you are very much distressed that those who formerly suffered persecution should now persecute other people on account of their religion, constraining the consciences of others with fire and sword, whereas they formerly taught, and which is the plain truth, that it is the province of no man to lord it over the consciences of others, and that faith is a special gift of God, and is not implanted in men by any human power, but by the word of God and the illumination of the Holy Spirit. * * *

"So I say, that I am well aware, that the affair has been the cause of extreme distress to you, and all the compassionate, as I also hope that it will not be a cause of offence to you, and occasion you to doubt the true faith; and remember as it is the truth, that some of the pious and learned, as well English as foreigners, who are here, did not approve nor assent to it.

* * * * * "I would write more diffusely upon this subject if time would permit. But I will now conclude, and I pray the Lord to strengthen you, together with all who fear God and love the truth, confirming you in all virtue and godliness, to the salvation of your souls. Amen.

"Your obedient son,

"JACQUES DE SOMERS."

Petition to the Queen. This is a short and well written document, which is said to have been drawn up by the assistance of their friend, Mr. Somers. It is signed by the five brethren above mentioned, viz.: Terwoort, Pieters, Kemels, Byler, and Straaten. But her majesty had suffered herself to be so much biassed against these unfortunate sufferers, that she turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties for her clemency, and that they might be permitted to leave the country.

A *Confession of Faith* of the prisoners accompanied their petition; it contains a brief exposition of their religious creed, couched in very mild and respectful terms. That on infant baptism, runs thus: "We believe that infant children are in a state of salvation, and that the kingdom of God belongs to them; but since we find in the holy scriptures neither command nor example to baptize them, therefore we maintain that according to the institution of Christ, their baptism should be deferred till they are able to confess their faith in the church of God; nevertheless, we do not judge and condemn the churches who maintain a different doctrine."

The account closes with a letter of some considerable length, from these brethren, to the Rev. John Fox, the martyrologist, who made strong intercessions with the queen and her ministers to rescue them from the cruel death which awaited them, and save the English nation from the disgrace of acting

over the bloody scenes of the late queen Mary's reign. This fact is well attested by other writers. Fuller, in his history of the English church, has given the original letter, in Latin, which Fox addressed to the queen in their behalf; he found it in the hand-writing of the author.⁶ Crosby and Ivimey have published an English translation of the same. "And although the queen," says Fuller, "constantly called the author her father Fox, yet in this case she did not act the part of a dutiful daughter, for she gave him a flat denial."

The brethren expressed their sincere gratitude to their friend, "the Rev. and worthy Dr. Fox," for the personal kindness he had shown them, and his strong efforts in their favor with her majesty, and the reigning powers. In this letter, it appears that the vexed question respecting the humanity of Christ came up for discussion between Mr. Fox and these brethren. Their friends had advised them to ease off from the peculiar views of the Mennonites on this point. Their answer was as follows: "We confess that the flesh of Christ is not a phantasm, or etherial, but true human flesh, like unto us, in all things, sin excepted; that he is the true seed of the woman, the son of David, and the fruit of the body of Mary. Finally, we believe all which the holy scriptures further testify concerning him, and we place our salvation, whether in our life or our death, not in our own works or holiness, but alone in *His* death and resurrection.

* * * "If men would only be content with this, and not wish to constrain us to confess that Christ assumed his humanity from the flesh of Mary, which we can neither comprehend nor believe, because the word *humanity* is not expressed in the scripture. Hence it is inferred against us that we teach that Christ is not very man, and in general that we deny our salvation; whereas, on the contrary, the inference should be even as charity teaches us. That when we say that Christ had flesh, as truly as our first parent Adam had, before the fall, even as we at the same time confess that he is a true man and our Saviour, we make specific confession of this in express terms. But if you say that you discover little or no difference between your faith and ours, except in the phrase 'humanity of the woman' (*wesen des weibes*), and that we ought not obstinately to reject it on this account, our reply on the other hand is, that we ought not to be constrained thereto by violence, but our weakness in this part ought to be borne with, inasmuch as we are not otherwise convinced in our conscience, and would commit a great sin against God, if we would speak contrary to the testimony of our conscience.

"Wherefore if we are delivered to death (the contrary of which we hope from her majesty's clemency), we testify before God, that we do not die for this or that article (which we would willingly accept if they could only convince us with solid arguments), but for conscience sake; for, if we would act contrary thereto, even if we did right, yet we would do amiss, and bear testimony against ourselves, which you, by your learning, are better able to understand, than we common and illiterate people.

"Finally, we are men, and what is further, unlearned men, who are liable to err. Hence we are willing to submit to the instruction of all those who are able to prove to us, by the scriptures, something that is better; but that men should constrain us with fire and sword, appears to us to be vain, and to militate against reason—for it is possible to constrain us through fear of death, to speak differently from what we understand; but that we should understand differently from our belief, you are well aware is an impossibility."⁸

⁶ Ch. Hist., Bk. 9, p. 104.

⁷ Id., Bk. 9, p. 135.

⁸ The peculiarity above referred to, relative to the human nature of Christ, was undoubtedly brought in among the German anabaptists by Menno. Nothing of it appears in their judicial examinations before his time; after it, the reputed heresy is perpetually laid to their charge, both by the catholics and protestants. But in no instance did the brethren enter into so much of an explanation as in this case; and no where else have I met with anything like a definition of their views on this mysterious subject. They uniformly asserted their full belief in both the humanity and divinity of the Saviour; and no people could be more orthodox and evangelical than they were at that time, so far as the character of Christ and experimental religion were concerned, however

Of the five prisoners for whom Messrs. Somers, Fox, and many others felt such a strong solicitude, the aged Pieters and the young and amiable Terwoort, became the proto-martyrs at Smithfield, under the reign of Elizabeth. Von Byler and Von Straaten after a long confinement were released; Kemels died in prison.

As this event happened just at the time, when according to Fuller "the anabaptists wonderfully increased in the land,"⁹ we may naturally infer that there are many others of whom no account is given.

In confirmation of the history of this London company of anabaptists, the author of the Martyrology refers to a large book published in London in 1615, entitled the Chronicle of England, in which, p. 678, the account in substance is given. Instead of Aldgate, or Alligator, the place is called Algamesport. The above accounts are found in the Martyrs' Mirror, p. 915-931.

Next came James I., during whose reign the present translation of the bible was made, a little more than two hundred years ago. Under his reign it is said of our brethren in this kingdom that they acted with more boldness than they had done before, though not free from persecution.

Charles I. was the next in power, and his reign carries us to the turbulent times of the civil wars, under the commonwealth, in which new and unusual scenes transpired in this ancient realm. The king was led to the scaffold in 1648, the established church was laid prostrate before the overwhelming power of the republican party, and the baptists wonderfully increased in the land. Many of these people having renounced the peace principles of their ancestors, went to the camp, and the field, and participated in the peculiar conflicts of the times.¹⁰

The baptists, with all other dissenters from the established church, now found an open field for their operations, which continued so about twenty years from the commencement of the civil wars, until Charles II. came to the throne, and the old order of things in church and state was fully established.

It is somewhat singular that most of the information which the English baptists have collected of the spread of their sentiments, of the interregnum of episcopal rule, and of the decided tendency of a large number of the nation to favor their views, has been picked up from incidental remarks of men of other

much they may have fallen off since. Mosheim, Vol. IV., p. 456, asserts "that Menno denied that Christ derived from his mother the body he assumed, and thought, on the contrary, that it was produced out of nothing in the womb of the blessed virgin, by the creating power of the Holy Ghost. He at the same time informs us that others give a different account of Menno's theory of the divine incarnation. It was in my opinion, after all, an innocent speculation of this anabaptist reformer, which died away by degrees among his disciples."

⁹ Church History, Book IX., p. 104.

¹⁰ Cromwell at first showed much favor to the anabaptists; but as he advanced in his demands for power, they began to remonstrate, and he soon turned against them. About this time there came out an address to his highness, supposed to have been written by some of his officers, in which we find the following language. * * * * * "So highly did you seem to love the anabaptists then, that you did not only invite them into the army, but entertained them in your family. But it seems the case is altered. But, I pray, do not deceive yourself, nor let the priests deceive you; for the anabaptists are men that will not be shuffled out of their birth-rights, as free-born people of England. And have they not filled your towns, your cities, your provinces, your islands, your castles, your navies, your tents, your armies, your courts? Your very council is not free;—only we have left your temples for yourself to worship in. So that I believe it will be a hard thing to root them out, although you tell the Scotch lord you will do it by degrees, as he reports."

Then follows a long string of interrogations with reference to the administration of the Protector, and the good service the anabaptists had rendered him.

The whole concludes with the following solemn address:—

"And therefore, O Cromwell! leave off thy wicked design of casting off the interest of the people of God; and let my counsel be acceptable to thee; and break off thy sins by righteousness; and thy iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, and it may be a lengthening out of thy tranquility."—*Ivimey's Hist.*, Vol. I., pp. 222-223.

The whole document displays a thorough acquaintance with all the affairs of the government of this singular man, with the means by which he rose to his high station, &c. Ivimey says, he does not approve of its spirit; and I keep thinking what a different kind of anabaptists they were from the old Waldenses, &c., whose history we have lately described. If they were church members, they were probably not of the most spiritual class.

persuasions, some of whom were decided opponents. Very few of their own men took any pains to record their history until a long time after.

Among the eminent men of those times who mention the great increase and superior numbers of the anabaptists, was Rev. Robert Bailie, a distinguished divine among the Scotch presbyterians. He was a member of the Westminster assembly, and labored with great assiduity to carry the presbyterian party into power, on the ruins of the established church.

A few passages on this subject, selected from his *letters* and *journals*, may be seen in the note below.¹

The term anabaptist, however, at this period, was very loosely applied to multitudes who favored their views of republican freedom in opposition to all tyranny in civil or religious concerns, rather than their old fashioned doctrine of gospel order and purity. And this view of the case is made the more probable from the decline of the baptist cause under the trying times of the succeeding reign of Charles II., when nothing but real principle would stand the test.

Among the prominent actors on the baptist side at this period, we may mention the names of Canne, Kiffin, Tombes, Jessey, Bampfield, Gosnold, Richardson, Blackwood, Keach, Knollys, Denne, Dyke, and Cornwell.

While the national church was in a state of prostration, ministers of other denominations were placed in the parish livings, and received the emoluments established by law.

By Cromwell's order, a set of commissioners called *tryers*, were appointed to examine the candidates for appointment to the different livings. These men performed the same service usually done by the bishops.

This company of tryers consisted at first of thirty-eight; most of them were presbyterians and independents;² three of them were baptists, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Tombes, Jessey, and Dyke; and a much larger number of baptist ministers accepted appointments to the vacant livings. Some of these men, however, appear to have retained their pastorship of baptist churches at the same time, and divided their labors between them and their new appointments.

¹ The Westminster Assembly, in close league with the parliament, was now in session, 1644.

"The sectaries of diverse sorts, *anabaptists chiefly increased here*; very many are for total liberty of all religions, and write very plausible treatises for that end."—*Letters and Journals*, Vol. II., p. 211.

"The first day of our setting, after our vacation, a number of complaints were given in against the anabaptists' and antinomians' *huge increase* and insolences intolerable."—*Id.*, Vol. II., p. 218.

"Our next work is, to give our advice what to do for the suppressing of anabaptists, antinomians, and other sectaries. This will be hard work."—*Id.*, Vol. II., p. 342.

"If Spanheim's book were come out, I wish he were entreated to go on with his anabaptists. Vossius said to me he had a large treatise against them, and would put it out. *It's the prevailing sect here*. I have written to Dr. Stewart to put Spanheim and Vossius on the anabaptists, and L'Emprou on Erastus."—*Id.*, Vol. II., p. 311.

"It were good to put Spanheim on the anabaptists; for that is the *predominant sect here*. When Spanheim is free of Omeraut, I wish he went on with his *collegium anabaptistarum*. *These are the sectaries who most increase among us*."—Vol. II., p. 342.

Spanheim's book against the anabaptists at length appeared, and, according to Robinson, he taxed them with thirteen heresies, all of which not a single society of them believed one word.—*Hist. Baptism*.

This Spanheim was a divine of the Lutheran Church, and a professor in one of the Universities of Holland, between which country and England, and the presbyterian party in each, there was much sympathy and correspondence at this time. Bailie was the organ of the presbyterian party at that period, and these extracts show how they viewed the number and influence of the baptists, and what would have been their fate, had presbyterianism become the established religion, as its friends then fondly expected.

Bailie had sounded the alarm against them in a work of his own, in which he greatly extolled their number. This work was entitled *Anabaptism the true fountain of error*, published in 1646. But this was not enough; he must go abroad, and stir up men in another kingdom to publish all the slanderous stories which could be raked up against them.

He was about as severe on the independents as the baptists, which showed that dipping was not all the trouble.

The horrible doctrines of religious toleration, and the independence of churches, were like the box of Pandora to a full-blooded presbyterian of that day.

² Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, Vol. II., p. 144.

SECTION III.

THE AFFAIRS OF THE ENGLISH BAPTISTS IN THE TIME OF THE COMMONWEALTH—SEVERE TRIALS WHICH FOLLOWED ON THE RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.

I WILL here introduce a very well-written description of the peculiar scenes of this remarkable epoch in the history of this country, so far as the baptists were concerned. It throws together, in a small compass, the principal transactions of the times, and gives us at one glance a view of the most prominent men of baptist principles, who were most actively engaged in guiding the helm of state in that stormy period, or in managing the internal concerns of their churches. It is found in the *Christian Review*, under the title of the *Life and Times of Baxter*, and is ascribed to Rev. Dr. Williams, of New York.

"To the baptists, then, the age of Baxter is a memorable one. The period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate was the season in which our distinguished sentiments, heretofore the hidden treasures of a few solitary confessors, became the property of the people. Through weary years they had been held by a few in deep retirement, and, at the peril of their lives; now they began rapidly working their way and openly into the masses of society. The army that won for Cromwell his 'crowning mercies,' as he called those splendid victories which assured the power of the Parliament, became deeply tinged with our views of christian faith and order. They were not, as military bodies have so often been, a band of mercenary hirelings—the sweepings of society, gleaned from the ale-house and the kennel, or snatched from the jail and due to the gallows—but they were composed chiefly of substantial yeomanry,—men who entered the ranks from principle rather than for gain, and whose chief motive for enlistment was that they believed the impending contest one for religious truth, and for the national liberties; a war, in the strictest sense, *pro aris et focis*. Clarendon himself allows their superiority in morals and character to the royalist forces. In this army the officers were many of them accustomed to preach; and both commanders and privates were continually busied in searching the scriptures, in prayers, and in christian conference. The result of the biblical studies and free communings of these intrepid, high principled men was that they became, a large portion of them, baptists. As to their character, the splendid eulogy they won from Milton may counterbalance the coarse caricatures of poets and novelists, who saw them less closely, and disliked their piety too strongly to judge dispassionately their merits.

"Major-General Harrison, one of their most distinguished leaders, was a baptist. He was long the bosom friend of Cromwell; and became alienated from him only on discovering that the Protector sought triumph, not so much for principle, as for his own personal aggrandizement. Favorable to liberty, and inaccessible to flattering promises of power, he became the object of suspicion to Cromwell, who again and again threw him into prison. On the return of the Stuarts his share in the death of Charles I., among whose judges he had sat, brought him to the scaffold; where his gallant bearing and pious triumph formed a close not unsuitable to the career he had run. Others of the king's judges, and of the eminent officers of the army, belonged to the same communion. Some of these sympathized only, it is true, with their views of freedom, and seem not to have embraced their religious sentiments. Among this class was Ludlow, a major-general under Cromwell, an ardent republican, and who, being of the regicides, sought a refuge, where he ended his days, in Switzerland. He was accounted the head, at one time, of the baptist party in Ireland. Such was their interest, that Baxter complains, that many of the soldiers in that kingdom became baptists, as the way of preferment (Orme, I., 135). The chancellor of Ireland under Cromwell, was also of our body. Lilburne, one of Cromwell's colonels, and brother of the restless and impracticable John Lilburne, was also of their number. Overton, the friend of Milton, whom Cromwell, in 1651, left second in command in Scotland, was also ranked as acting with them, as also Okey and Alured. Col. Mason, the governor of Jersey, belonged to the baptists; and still others of Cromwell's officers. Penn, one of the admirals of the English navy, but now better known as the father of the celebrated quaker, was a baptist. Indeed, in Cromwell's own family their influence was formidable; and Fleetwood, one of his generals and son-in-law, was accused of leaning too much to their interests, as a political party. The English matron, whose memoirs form one of the most delightful narratives of that stirring time, and who in her own character presented one of the loveliest specimens of christian womanhood. Lucy Hutchinson, a name of love and admiration wherever known, became a baptist. She did so, together with her husband, one of the judges of Charles I., and the governor of Nottingham Castle for the parliament, from the perusal of the scriptures. Of no inferior rank in society—for Hutchinson was a kinsman of the Byrons of Newstead, the family whence sprung the celebrated poet—their talents and patriotism, and christian grace and domestic virtues, throw around that pair the lustre of a higher nobility than heralds can confer, and a dignity, compared with which, the splendor of royalty and the trappings of victory are poor indeed.

"The ministry of our denomination comprised, too, men of high character; some, unhap-

pily, but too much busied in the political strifes of the age, but others whose learning and talent were brought to bear more exclusively on their appropriate work. Tombes, the antagonist of Baxter, Bampfield, Gosnold, Knollys, Denne, and Jessey, all baptist preachers, had held priestly orders in the English established church: Gosnold being one of the most popular ministers in London, with a congregation of three thousand; and Jessey, a christian whose acquirements and talents, piety and liberality won him general respect. Kiffin, a merchant, whose wealth and the excellence of his private character had given him influence among the princely traders of London, and introduced him to the court of the Stuarts, was pastor of a baptist church in that city. Cox, another of our ministers at this time, is said by Baxter to have been the son of a bishop; and Collins, another pastor among us, had in his youth been a pupil of Busby. De Veil, a convert from Judaism, who had, both with the Romish church of France, and in the episcopal church of England, been regarded with much respect, and, in the former been applauded by no less a man than the eloquent and powerful Bossuet, became a baptist preacher, and closed his life and labors in the bosom of our communion. Dell, a chaplain of lord Fairfax, and who was, until the restoration, head of one of the colleges in the university of Cambridge, was also a baptist minister. Although they deemed literature no indispensable preparation for the ministry (nor did the church of the first centuries), the baptists under Cromwell and the Stuarts, were not destitute of educated men.

Out of the bounds of England, Vavasor Powel, the baptist, was evangelizing Wales with a fearlessness and activity that have won him, at times, the title of its apostle; and, on our own shores, Roger Williams, another baptist, was founding Rhode Island, giving of the great doctrine of religious liberty a visible type. Our sentiments were also winning deference from minds that were not converted to our views. Milton, with a heresy ever to be deprecated and lamented, had adopted most fully our principles of baptism. Jeremy Taylor, a name of kindred genius, in a work which he intended but as the apology of toleration, stated so strongly the arguments for our distinguishing views, that it cost himself and the divines of his party much labor to counteract the influence of the reasonings; while Barlow, afterwards also a bishop, and celebrated for his share in the liberation of Bunyan, addressed to Tombes a letter strongly in favor of our peculiarities. Such progress in reputation and influence was not observed without jealousy. Baxter lamented that those who, at first, were but a few in the city and the army, had within two or three years grown into a multitude (*Works*, xx., 297); and asserts that they had so far got into power as to seek for dominion, and to expect, many of them, that the baptized saints should judge the world, and the millennium come. And Baillie, a commissioner from Scotland to the Westminster Assembly, a man of strong sense, and the ardor of whose piety cannot be questioned, though he was a bitter sectarian, complained that the baptists were growing more rapidly than any sect in the land; while Lightfoot's diary of the proceedings of the same assembly proves that similar complaints were brought before that venerable body.

"Some would naturally, as in the history of the early christians, be attracted to a rising sect, who were themselves unprincipled men. Lord Howard, the betrayer of the patriot Russell, was said to have been, in one period of his shifting and reckless course, a baptist preacher. Another, whose exact character it is difficult to ascertain, perverting, as royalist prejudices did, even his name for the purpose of ridicule, Barebones, the speaker of Cromwell's parliament, is said to have been a baptist preacher in London. Others, again, of the body were tinged with extravagances; some joined with other christians of the time in the confident expectation of what they termed the fifth monarchy, Christ's personal reign on earth. In the changes of the day, and they were many and wonderous, they saw the tokens of Christ's speedy approach to found a universal empire, following in the train of the four great monarchies of the prophet's vision. It is to the credit of Bunyan, that he discerned and denounced the error. Then, as in all ages of the church, it was but too common for the interpreters of prophecy to become prophets. Others, again, were moved from their steadfastness by quakerism, which then commenced its course; while others adopted the views of the seekers, a party who denied the existence of any pure and true church, and were waiting its establishment yet to come. In this last class of religionists was the young Sir Henry Vane, the illustrious patriot and statesman so beautifully panegyricized in the sonnet of Milton, and from his talents, dreaded alike by Cromwell, and the Stuarts; and the friend of Roger Williams. The founder of Rhode Island seems himself, in later life, to have imbibed similar views.

"Yet with all these disadvantages, and they are but such heresies and scandals as marked the earliest and purest times of christianity, that era in our history is one to which we may turn with devout gratitude, and bless God for our fathers. In literature it is honor enough that our sentiments were held by the two men who displayed, beyond all comparison, the most creative genius of that age of English literature—Milton and Bunyan. In the cause of religious and political freedom, it was the lot of our community to labor none the less effectively because they did it obscurely, with Keach, doomed to the pillory, or, like DeLaune, perishing in the dungeon. The opinions, as to religious freedom, then professed by our churches, were not only denounced by statesmen as rebellious, but by grave divines as the most fearful heresy. Through evil and through good report they persevered, until what had clothed them with obloquy became, in the hands of later scholars, and more practised writers, as Locke, a badge of honor and a diadem of glory. Nor should it be forgotten that these views were not with them, as with some others, professed in the time of persecution,

and virtually retracted when power had been won. Such was, alas! the course of names not less illustrious than Stillingfleet and Taylor. But the day of prosperity and political influence was, with our churches, the day for their most earnest dissemination. Their share in shoring up the fallen liberties of England, and in infusing new vigor and liberality into the constitution of that country, is not generally acknowledged. It is scarce even known. The dominant party in the Church and the State, at the Restoration, became the historians; and 'when the man, and not the lion, was thus the painter,' it was easy to foretell with what party all the virtues, all the talents, and all the triumph, would be found. When our principles shall have won their way to more general acceptance, the share of baptists in the achievements of that day will be disinterred, like many other forgotten truths, from the ruins of history. Then it will, we believe, be found, that while dross, such as has alloyed the purest churches in the best ages, may have been found in our denomination, yet the body was composed of pure and scriptural christians, who contended manfully, some with bitter sufferings, for the rights of conscience, and the truth as it is in Jesus; that to them English liberty owes a debt it can never acknowledge; and that amongst them christian freedom found its earliest, and some of its stanchest, its most consistent, and its most disinterested champions. Had they continued ascending the heights of political influence, it had been, perhaps, disastrous to their spiritual interest; for, when did the disciples of Christ long enjoy power or prosperity, without some deterioration of their graces? He who, as we may be allowed to hope, loved them with an everlasting love, and watched over their welfare with a sleepless care, threw them back, in the subsequent convulsions of the age, into the obscure and lowly stations of life, because, in such scenes, he had himself delighted to walk, and in these retired paths it had ever been his wont to lead his flock."³

Almost every interesting item pertaining to all sorts of baptists, whether real or hypothetical, of the *Cis* or *Trans-Jordan*, kind has been mentioned in this article. One curious fact, however, may still be added—Abp. Tillotson's father was a baptist. This gave occasion to the enemies of the prelate to reproach him, as being unbaptized; and to say that there were fathers of the church, who never were her sons.—*Taylor's Hist. of the Genl. Baptists*, Vol. 1. p. 238.

This may account for the friendly bearing of this excellent prelate towards this people, while they were generally treated with indignity and opposition.

From 1660 to 1689.

This period of thirty years was marked with many peculiarities. It begins with the eventful restoration of the second Charles to the throne of his ancestors, and ends with the commencement of the reign of William and Mary, when religious toleration was fully established, and the baptists, with all other dissenters, found themselves on a safe and firm foundation, and were no longer the sport and the victims of the conflicting and intolerant measures of the catholics, the churchmen, and the puritans, as they successively came into power.

In 1662, the whole of the machinery of the republicans and puritans, both civil and religious, was dashed to atoms by the sweeping revolution which followed the act of uniformity, or ejection,⁴ by which two thousand of the new incumbents were turned out of their livings, to make room for the ministers and teachers of the established church.

How many baptist ministers had accepted appointments to the parish livings, is not certainly known. It is presumed, says Ivimey, that the far greater part of them viewed this course of such doubtful propriety, as a dereliction of principle in dissenters, and especially in baptists.

Although the presbyterians, who considered their party the heir-apparent to the throne, were very grasping in their demands for church preferments, and had most of the tryers on their side, yet the baptists no doubt might have obtained a much larger share of them had they been united to prosecute their claims.

The term *Puritan*, at this time, was applied indiscriminately to all who were out

³ Christian Review for March, 1843.

⁴ This act, to which the name of Saint Bartholomew is often applied, as it was passed on the day of that saint, was not confined to parish churches; but it took a wider range, and embraced school teachers, and also ministers of churches, which had never belonged to the episcopal order; and John Miles, whose name will hold a conspicuous place in the history of the Armenian baptists, is named by Calamy as one of the ejected ministers from Swansea, in Wales.

of the church establishment, and as a nick-name also to many who were in it.⁵ As my history is confined exclusively to the baptist party, I shall not attempt to give the character of that mighty mass of dissenters who passed under the name of puritans, and who, for almost a quarter of a century, thwarted the royal party in all their measures, decapitated its head, dismembered its body politic and ecclesiastical, and in the end laid them all prostrate in the dust. I shall omit all those remarks which might be made on the *oath of the covenant* of the one party, the prayer and powder of another, and the inspiring orations, homilies, and conventicles of all the rest.⁶

The condition of the baptists in England, during the reign of Charles II., very nearly resembled that of their brethren in this country, at the same period, and a long time after. The church party came into power flushed with victory, and breathing vengeance on all who would not conform; and a set of unprincipled wretches, some high, but a multitude very low in office, were not only permitted, but encouraged to interrupt and disperse their religious assemblies; to arrest and imprison the ministers and others; to impose fines frequent and ruinous; to place them in pillories, or chain them to whipping-posts; spoil them of their goods; and in every way which malicious ingenuity could invent, to try to cure them of their heresy, and dragoon them into the church. The prayer-book or the prison, was their watch-word; the parish worship or the penal statutes, was the order of the day; and this state of things continued without much intermission until the opening scene of the revolution. But the people had been so long accustomed to breathe the air of freedom—so many of the episcopal party had become so deeply imbued with its principles, and, moreover, dissenters of all kinds had become so numerous, all of whom had a common interest at stake, that it was much more difficult than formerly to carry their persecuting and distraining laws into force. Some very amusing instances under this head are given by the old baptist historians.⁷

The five mile act was passed in 1665.

“According to the provisions of that infamous law, it was a crime for non-conformist ministers to reside within five miles of any city or borough, or even to approach within that distance of any parish or place where they had stated service in the established church, unless in passing on the high road. The

⁵ The appellation *Puritan* stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were actuated by very different views and motives; these were,

1. “The political puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil freedom.

2. “The puritans in discipline, who were averse from the ceremonials and episcopal government of the church.

3. “The doctrinal puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the first Reformers.”

In opposition to all these was the court party, the hierarchy, and the Armenians.

“By a fatal policy, men well-affected to the church of England, but enemies to arbitrary power, were driven, in spite of themselves, to the side of the puritans, in order to sustain their party, and enable them to oppose the designs of the court.”—*Rappin, Hanbury, and Hume*.

“This was the class of puritans, according to Mr. Knowles’ account, who first settled in Boston and its vicinity.—*Life of Roger Williams*, p. 39.

⁶ The parliament, in all their measures, however unrighteous, “sought the Lord in prayer.”

“From that time” (1645), says Millot, “the army was subject to more rigid discipline,—breathing only the fervor of presbyterianism and the rage of battle; knowing no pleasures but prayer and military duty.”—*Gen. Hist.*, Vol. V., p. 41.

The term presbyterianism was no doubt intended by this catholic writer to embrace all parties who were in the army; and would equally apply to independents, baptists, and others. All of us come in for a share of his sarcasm; and I heartily wish that a much less number of our denomination had been there.

⁷ One Thomas, styled in the narrative *Old Battison*, a church-warden, was very active in levying fines on the baptists in Bedford, about 1670; on a certain occasion, as he was attempting to procure aid to carry off some goods which he had seized, the common people contrived to fasten a calf’s tail to his back, and made him the laughing-stock for the company.

On another occasion, two of the bishops, Ward and Gunning, gave a challenge for a public dispute with the presbyterians, independents, baptists and quakers. When the quakers’ turn came, and the bishop railed upon them, they paid him in his own coin, with interest, too. The bishop, not being able to withstand this furious attack, prudently left the field of action; and, on his going to his house, his opponents followed him, and one of them, as he was passing, pulling his lawn sleeve, said, “The hireling fleeth! the hireling fleeth!”—*Ivimey*, Vol. I., pp. 366, 379.

Similar instances of public feeling, in a great many cases, are narrated by Crosby and Ivimey, which confirm the above position in the text.

violation of this law exposed them to a fine of forty pounds. This will explain the fact that many of our churches were formed in villages, nooks, and corners of the land, beyond the reach of the *five mile act*.

"*The conventicle act* rendered the meeting of more than five persons for the worship of God illegal, in any other place than that allowed by the liturgy, and sanctioned by the compulsory church. For the first offence persons suffered three months' imprisonment, or paid a fine of five pounds; for the second offence the penalty was doubled; for the third it was a fine of one hundred pounds, or seven years' transportation; and in the event of their returning without permission, *they were doomed to death without benefit of clergy.*" Burnet says, "All people were amazed at this severity." In those times many of the baptists were lion-hearted men, good soldiers of Jesus Christ, obeying God rather than man, and remembering the divine injunction, "forsake not the assembling of yourselves together." Though the vilest of laws were in full operation, and the country swarmed with spies who were hired by the bishops, they courageously met for the worship of God by scores and hundreds, in private houses, or in woods, or at midnight; and what is still more worthy of admiration, they founded churches which have been preserved and prospered down to the present time. Some of these heroic defenders of the faith were sent to prison for a breach of the laws named above, but from their dungeons they wrote in the following strain: 'Our societies from which we are taken are exceedingly cheerful, and a very lively spirit of faith and prayer is amongst them, and their meetings rather increase than otherwise. Sure that the Lord is near, his wondrous works declare; for the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land.'

"There is evidence on record to prove that about forty of our churches were formed during the persecuting reign of Charles II., besides others whose dates cannot be made out, though it is almost certain they originated about the same time.

"The year 1688 brought the Revolution, and the expulsion of the Stuarts—a race, it has been said, cursed of God, and hated of men. With the Prince of Orange, liberty came back to our land. Toleration was granted to non-conformists; consciences were made free; baptists could meet to worship God without molestation. The right hand of the Lord had triumphed gloriously. William landed at Torbay, Nov. 5th, 1688. Early in the following session of Parliament, the toleration act was passed in favor of dissenters; and immediately afterwards, Kiffin, Keach, and other London ministers, issued a circular to their brethren in the country, inviting them to send messengers to a general assembly, appointed to be held in the metropolis during the month of September."

"The baptists," says Sir James McIntosh, "suffered more than any other under Charles II., because they had publicly professed the principles of religious liberty."

"The anabaptists," says Burnet, "were men of virtue and universal charity; they were far from being on treating terms with the church of England; so that nothing but a universal toleration could make them capable of favor and employment."

"They are the most," says Dr. Wall, "of any sort of men that separate from the establishment. In Essex, Kent, Suffolk, Surrey, &c., there are very few that make a separation from the church but they. There are also great numbers of them in London and its suburbs."

These statements were made almost two hundred years ago.

"It has been computed," says Orchard, "that from the Restoration to the Revolution, the period now under consideration, seventy thousand persons suffered on account of religion; eight thousand persons were destroyed, and twelve million pounds sterling—about sixty millions of dollars—was paid in fines."⁶

⁶ All classes of dissenters are, no doubt, included in the above statement.

Mr. Pottenger closes his sketches, from which the above extracts are made, with the following serious remarks:—

“Ten years after, the Revolution had scarcely passed away, and the bonfires and rejoicings for that signal interposition of providence were hardly forgotten, when many of our churches fell into a state of backsliding and spiritual decay. Prosperity did then more harm than adversity. The smiles of the world were more dangerous than its frowns. Deputations to Whitehall, with addresses of congratulation, kissing the hands of kings and queens, and nods of recognition from wily statesmen, had a much worse effect upon piety than the rough discipline of prisons, or religious meetings at midnight, and the spoiling of goods for the sake of conscience.

“Persecutions for twenty years winnowed the churches, and kept them free from hypocrites and formal professors. Afflictions kept under the corruptions of the people of God, and preserved them from biting and devouring one another. But when the political horizon was cleared, when the sun of prosperity arose upon the nation, and when the sword of oppression was wrested from the hand of the persecutor, then pride, covetousness, worldly-mindedness, and the lust of dominion prevailed, and nothing but distraction and misery appeared in many, if not in most, of our churches.” In the year 1750, when a state of comparative repose had been enjoyed for sixty years, a spiritual blight rested upon religion and upon the nation. On the walls of Zion some of the watchmen sounded the alarm. Even Dr. Gill said, “There are scarcely any that naturally cared for the souls of men, and who are heartily concerned for their spiritual welfare.” Declension in the piety of our churches was followed by a decrease in the number of their members; and we run no hazard in saying, there were more baptists in the kingdom when the toleration act was passed, than at the end of the next fifty years. This arose from various causes. Spurious Calvinism was preached in many pulpits where the faith once delivered to the saints had been made known. Socinian and Antinomian heresies became rife in certain quarters, and produced their legitimate fruits—strife, division, and weakness. People clamored for sermons on election, eternal justification, effectual calling, and the perseverance of the saints; yet denounced the practical duties of christianity, and invitations of mercy to sinners as dry and legal preaching. The natural consequences followed; many churches became extinct; the candlestick was removed out of its place; the presence of the Saviour was withdrawn, and *then* the glory departed.”⁹

Thus far I have represented the affairs of the English baptists as one people without any distinction of parties. In doing so, I have followed the course of Crosby, Ivimey, and other writers on this subject. It is, however, well known by the community at home and abroad, that from a very early period they have been divided into two parties, which have been denominated *General* and *Particular*, which differ from each other mainly in their doctrinal sentiments; the Generals being Armenians, and the other, Calvinists. In their church discipline, their associations, their terms of communion, and, indeed, in all other matters, they are alike.

In 1818, Rev. Adam Taylor published, in two volumes, a history of the General Baptists, from which the following brief sketches are selected. Mr. Taylor has gone over much of the same ground which has been traversed by Crosby and Ivimey. The principal difference is, that he informs us of all the men and measures which were on the *General* side, which the others in many cases fail to do.

It is certain the persecuting laws made no distinction between the baptists of different kinds; all were equally obnoxious to the displeasure of the ruling powers in church and state; they were all exposed to punishments protracted and severe; were led to the same scaffold and stakes; crowded together in the

⁹ Rise and progress of the English baptists, by Rev. Thomas Pottenger.—Taken from the *Eng. Bapt. Mag. for Dec.*, 1845.

same prisons and dungeons ; robbed of their scanty possessions, and everywhere treated as the enemies of God and man, and especially of the infant race.

General Baptists.

This class of baptists, although much the smallest, now claim priority of their more orthodox brethren, in the organization of their churches, and in the diffusion of baptist sentiments in the country ; and it is pretty clear that two centuries ago, and for a long time after, they had the largest number of men of education and influence.

As an introduction to Mr. Taylor's account of this people and their sentiments, I will make some selections from his preliminary remarks, which contains well-condensed sketches of "the history of the baptists, from the commencement of the christian era to the Reformation."

After arriving at the close of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, he observes :—

"How many of these worthy men, who, during the long night of popery, from age to age, thus opposed infant baptism, were *general* baptists, is not easy to determine. The disputes about personal election and reprobation, concerning which, principally, the general baptists differ from their other baptist brethren, appears not to have been known during many of the first centuries. Augustine was, perhaps, the first who, in the heat of his controversy with Pelagius, introduced the idea of some absolute decree of the Almighty, which fore-ordained all events, and determined the everlasting conditions of men. The schoolmen puzzled themselves about these decrees, but could by no means agree. Luther, who was an Augustin monk, followed the opinion of the founder of his order, in which he was opposed by many great men. At last, Calvin undertook to new-model the doctrine, and made several additions to the tenets of his predecessors.¹ But these disputes appear, before the Reformation, to have been confined, in a great measure, to the schools ; and seldom engaged the attention of the people. Indeed, by making salvation depend on baptism, which might, or might not, be administered, according to the decision of man, the catholics set aside all idea of a particular predestinating decree ; and the noble advocates for truth, to whom we have alluded, by adhering to the scripture declaration, that 'Whosoever believeth shall be saved,' certainly had no necessity of adverting to it. Had, therefore, these good men asserted, ever so clearly, the universal extent of our Saviour's atonement, it would neither have excited the attention of their cotemporaries, nor roused the indignation of their adversaries, like their opposition to infant baptism. It would have been considered a mere speculative question—have been understood by a few, in those days of darkness, and excited little interest. As to the question respecting infant baptism, the case was totally different. It regarded daily practice, and every parent and guardian was necessarily called upon to determine the points for himself. All, therefore, became interested in it ; and, as it was then generally believed, that whosoever died unbaptized must inevitably be eternally miserable ; when any ventured to assert that infants had no title to that ordinance, the tenderest feelings of humanity were engaged against him ; and he was regarded as a murderer of the souls of babes and sucklings, by depriving them of the visible seal of salvation. Thus he became the peculiar object of popular odium ; and the term *anabaptist* was supposed to include everything inhuman, impious, and immoral.

"We shall close this chapter with a brief view of the progress of the change of immersion to sprinkling.

"Pouring was occasionally practised in France before the close of the fifth century, and became gradually more frequent, till A.D. 1260, when it was esteemed a more common, proper, and safer mode than immersion. But, so late as 1585, the water was not poured from the hand, but from a ladle kept in the font for that purpose. From France, the custom of pouring spread, though very slowly, into Italy, Germany, and Spain, and at last reached England.

"England was very tenacious of the ancient mode. Though the coldness of our climate has furnished modern pedobaptists with so many arguments against dipping, their hardy predecessors showed extreme reluctance to lay it aside. It was not till A.D. 816, that the first attempts were made to alter the mode. A council was immediately called, which published this decree : 'Let the priests know, that when they administer holy baptism, they must not pour water on the head of the infant ; but it must always be *dip't* in the font.'

"It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the corruption of the ordinance of baptism, both as it regards the subject and the mode, has been gradual. The primitive christians baptized only such as made a credible profession of faith in Christ, and obedience to him. In a short time, youths who had gone through a regular course of religious instruction, were thought proper subjects. Then, young children, who could repeat a few formularies learnt by rote,

¹ Brandt's Hist. of Reform. in the Low Countries, Book XVIII., and Dr. Whitby on the five points.

were admitted to baptism. At last it was administered to infants of only a few days old. Thus, also, the original manner of baptizing was, as is confessed by all competent judges, by plunging the subject into the water; and, long after the subject was changed, infants were actually dipt in the font. Pouring water on the infant, from the hand or from a ladle, in a quantity sufficient to wet the upper part of the body, was, by slow degrees, substituted for immersion. At length, sprinkling a few drops from the tips of the fingers on the face of the infant was called baptism.

"Many eminent pedobaptists, especially among the clergy of the established church, have frequently expressed their strong desire that the practice of immersion might be restored. Among these, Mr. Wall, that laborious advocate for infant baptism, ranks himself."²

Among the most distinguished ministers of this order in early times, the General Baptists mention Smyth, Helwisse, Lamb, Denne, the Jeffreys, Barber, Grantham, Russel, Gosnold, Plant, Ives, James, Du Viel, and at later periods, their men of eminence have been Gale, Emlyn, Whiston, (the friend of Sir Isaac Newton, of Lord Chancellor King, and of Queen Caroline, wife of George I.,) Jas. Foster (eulogized by Pope for his eloquence as a preacher), Toulmin, commentator of Neal's History of the Puritans, Dan. Taylor, John Evans (author of a work of great currency on religious denominations), J. G. Pike, of Derby, yet living, Secretary of their Foreign Mission Society, and the author of several most excellent treatises, widely circulated both in England and in our own country.

John Smyth, the man who is said to have baptized himself, and thereby acquired the name of *Se Baptist*, is distinctly announced by Mr. Taylor, their historian, as the founder of the English General Baptists, and that the society grew out of the division of Robinson's congregation in Holland, nearly two and a-half centuries ago. Some brief sketches of this event I shall give in the words of this author; and to do this to the satisfaction of this people, I shall insert entire the chapter in which it is contained.

Rise of the General Baptists—formation of the English Baptist church in Holland.

"It has been stated, that Queen Elizabeth, toward the close of her reign, ordered all non-conformists to leave the kingdom. Upon this occasion, numbers of good men went over to Amsterdam, in Holland, and formed themselves into a separate church, under the care of Mr. Johnson as pastor, and Mr. Ainsworth as teacher. Here they flourished some time in peace, and were joined by many of their countrymen, who left England to preserve a good conscience.

"Among others, John Smyth went over to Holland, in the beginning of the reign of James I. He appears to have enjoyed a liberal education. In the former part of his life he was a clergyman of the established church, and benefited at Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire. In that station he gained the esteem of his brethren of the establishment, and engaged in defense of the church against separatists. Bishop Hall informs us, that he published a piece on the Lord's prayer, in which he confuted some of the positions of the sect which he afterwards joined.³ The non-conformists, or separatists, as they were then called, were numerous in his neighborhood; and Mr. Smyth was no unconcerned observer of their conduct. By degrees, he began to disapprove of several things in the discipline and ceremonies of the church, which led him to seek for satisfaction. He spent nine months in examining the points in debate; and held frequent conferences with several eminent divines on the subject of non-conformity. His investigations issued in a confirmation of his former doubts; and, in compliance with the dictates of his conscience, he resigned his station, his emoluments, and his prospects in the establishment, and joined those persecuted people, whom he had formerly opposed. The importance of such a convert was duly appreciated by his new associates; and he was soon called to

² Hist. of Inf. Bapt., Part II., p. 308; Taylor's Hist. of Gen. Bapts., Vol. I., pp. 59-64.

³ Bishop Hall's Works, Vol. IX., p. 458, note.

be a pastor of a church in his native country. But, being grievously harrassed by the high commission court, and seeing no prospect of redress from the new monarch, Mr. Smyth and his church, and Messrs. Robinson and Clifton, who were co-pastors of a neighboring church, with their congregations, determined to leave the kingdom, and seek liberty of conscience in a foreign country. They arrived in Holland in 1606, and all joined Mr. Ainsworth's society, which received such an addition with peculiar satisfaction.⁴

"In this emigration, Mr. Smyth appears to have been the chief actor, and the leading man. How highly he was esteemed by his friends of the separation, is evident from the professions of Mr. Clifton, who wrote against him on the subject of baptism. 'With great sorrow,' says he, 'I am forced to undertake this business against him that was dear to me; against him to whose charge both I and divers others had once purposed to commit our souls.'⁵ Bishop Hall calls him Mr. Robinson's leader, guide, general, and oracle; and apologizing for having addressed a former letter to Mr. Smyth and Mr. Robinson, he says, 'Perhaps I should have endorsed it to Mr. Smyth, and his shadow: for such I perceive he was.'⁶ When we consider that Mr. Robinson was a divine of considerable note in those days, and the father of the independents, it is evident that Mr. Smyth stood high in the estimation of this good prelate; and confirms the assertion of another writer, that he was accounted one of the grandees of the separation.⁷

"Mr. Smyth, being now at leisure to consult the scriptures, and in a country where he might pursue his inquiries, and divulge the result without danger, proceeded with redoubled zeal in the search of truth. He soon found reason to disapprove of the practice of his associates, in various points relating to the worship and discipline of a church of Christ, and avowed his disbelief of the doctrine of personal election and reprobation. Considerable disputes ensued among the leaders of the separation; and they were quickly increased by a difference of a more interesting nature.

"In reviewing the subject of separation, Mr. Smyth discovered that he and his friends acted inconsistently in rejecting the ordination received from the church of England, because they esteemed her a false church, and yet retaining her baptism, as true baptism. This led him to examine the nature and ground of baptism; and he perceived that neither infant baptism nor sprinkling had any foundation in the scripture. With his usual frankness, he was no sooner convinced of this important truth than he openly professed and defended his sentiments. He urged the inconsistency of their practice on his former associates so clearly, that the bishop before mentioned tells Mr. Robinson, 'There is no remedy; you must go forward to anabaptism, or come back to us; all yours Rabbins cannot answer the charge of your re-baptized brother (Mr. Smyth). If we be a true church, you must return; if we be not (as a false church is no church of God), you must re-baptize. If our baptism be good, then is our constitution good.' 'He tells you true—your station is unsafe; either you must go forward to him, or come back to us.'⁸

This alarmed those with whom Mr. Smyth held communion, and they cast him out of the church.⁹ Perhaps good order required this; as it is certainly very desirable, that those who are united in such a society should, as much as possible, agree in sentiments respecting points of importance. But these good

⁴ Crosby, Vol. I., pp. 91 &c., 265, &c.; Brooks' Lives, Vol. III., p. 195, &c.

⁵ Smyth's Character of the Beast, p. 2.

⁶ Bishop Hall's Works, Vol. IX., pp. 384, 401, 458, 466.

⁷ Pagit's Heresiography, p. 75.

⁸ Hall's Works, Vol. IX., pp. 400, 384.

⁹ *Terms of Communion.*—We must bear in mind that a portion of this people afterwards emigrated to New England, and united in framing the ecclesiastical dynasty here by whom the baptists were treated with so much cruelty and oppression; and, in the whole range of christendom, no church, or sect, or party, has declaimed, preached, and published more than they against the baptists for their *close communion*. But here the difficulty was on the other side, and the *close communion* was with the pedobaptist party. And this is not a solitary case of the kind.

men, though they had been driven from their native country by persecution, entertained very contracted notions of religious liberty. They persecuted Mr. Smyth with the most virulent rancor. The laws of the country in which they had found an asylum, did, indeed, restrain their resentment to words; but they loaded him and his opinions with every kind of reproach, and endeavored to render both his person and doctrine the object of general abhorrence. They charged him with many enthusiastic opinions, which they had not been able to prove that he held. They reviled him as a man of a wolfish nature, whom God had struck with blindness; a brute, beast, &c. But these ravings, in the estimation of sensible observers, reflected more disgrace on themselves than on their adversary.⁹

“Mr. Smyth was a man not to be frightened with words. He appears to have possessed superior natural parts, accompanied with a resolution and spirit that despised opposition. He wrote several treatises in defense of his opinions, and boldly preached what he thought to be the doctrines of inspiration. In a short time, several were converted to his sentiments; and their numbers increasing rapidly, he formed them into a distinct church, chiefly, if not wholly, composed of exiles from his own country. This appears to have been the first baptist church composed of Englishmen, after the Reformation. It was formed about 1607, or 1608, above twenty years prior to 1633, when the church under the care of Mr. Spilsbury, which Mr. Crosby reckons the first baptist church, was organized.¹⁰

“It seems that Mr. Smyth and his friends were put to some difficulty in reviving the practice of immersion.¹ He and all his disciples had been sprinkled in their infancy; and therefore, according to their new views, were unbaptized. There were, indeed, many churches in Holland, who practised immersion; but, as they differed widely in sentiments from him, he did not choose to receive baptism from them. This completely refutes Dr. Mosheim's supposition, that the English baptists derived their origin from the German and Dutch Mennonites; and that, in former times, they adopted their doctrine in all its points.² On the contrary, we see that the first English baptists of which we have any regular account after the Reformation, although living in the midst of the Dutch Mennonites, declined receiving baptism from them on account of their difference of opinions in many important points. ‘The foreign anabaptists,’ says Crosby, ‘were such as denied Christ's having taken flesh of the Virgin Mary, the law-

⁹ Crosby, *ut supra*.

¹⁰ Crosby, Vol. I., pp. 94, 268, 147.

¹ *John Smyth a Se Baptist*.—The correctness of this story has been challenged by Crosby and Ivimey, and in the strongest terms by Mr. Taylor. The substance of his arguments on the subject may be reduced to the following heads:—

I. It is not easy to trace the story to an earlier date than the middle of the seventeenth century: that is nearly a half a century after he became a baptist.

II. Bishop Hall, who wrote at this time, and appears to have had an intimate acquaintance with the persons and circumstances, would have seized with avidity a fact like this; yet he never alludes to it; a strong presumption that no such report was then in circulation.

The righteous soul of this good prelate appears to have been sorely vexed at the conduct of the whole company of the separatists, in leaving the church and in conformity to the spirit of the times; he was assiduous to detect all their imperfections, and exceedingly severe in his castigations.

III. F. Johnson, in his *Christian Plea*, and H. Ainsworth, in his reply to it, though they frequently mention Mr. Smyth and his sentiments, make no allusion to this circumstance. When we reflect that they were, at first, Mr. Smyth's associates, and afterwards his avowed opponents, it is probable they either had never heard the report, or knew it to be false.

IV. This is rendered still more probable by consulting Mr. Smyth's *Character of the Beast*. There was the fairest occasion, in that work, to mention such a circumstance; and yet it does not appear to be alluded to by either party.

As we have seen before, this work was in the form of a dialogue, and all the objections of his opponents are put down before Mr. Smyth proceeds to answer them. And as the fact of his *Se*, or self-baptism, was an event of but yesterday, if it had really taken place, it is, indeed, singular that nothing was said about it in this severe scrutiny of errors and mistakes, from Mr. Clifton and others concerned in the discussion.

From some expressions in the writings of this man, and from what appears in a book published by his followers in less than five years after his death, Mr. Taylor draws the conclusion, that Smyth and one of his companions baptized each other, as was the case with Rogers Williams and some others.

² *Ecc. Hist.*, Vol. IV., p. 478.

fulness of magistracy, and such like, which Mr. Smyth and his followers looked upon as great errors; so that they could not be thought by him proper administrators of baptism.³ This obliged Mr. Smyth to consider of some other means of reviving the ordinance. What method he took is not very clearly stated. It is most probable, that those who were convinced of the duty of believers' baptism first formed themselves into a church, and then appointed two of their number (perhaps Mr. Smyth and Mr. Helwisse), to baptize each other, and afterwards to baptize the rest.⁴ This subject caused considerable uneasiness and reproach to the first baptists after the Reformation, both general and particular. A similar difficulty occurred at the formation of the original baptist church in America, by Mr. Roger Williams, who had recourse to the same expedient;⁵ and we shall find in the sequel of this history, that the good men in Leicestershire, in the middle of the last century, when placed in similar circumstances, adopted the same method.

"Mr. Smyth appears to have labored with diligence and success. His followers increased so rapidly as to alarm the pedobaptists. They exerted themselves strenuously in defense of infant baptism; asserting as the occasion of their conduct, the great success of the contrary opinion, both in England and Holland.⁶ An early writer affirms that 'Mr. Smyth and his party do at once, as it were, swallow up all the separation besides.'⁷ The sentiments professed by these original general baptists approached very near to the principles on which our new connection was formed. They maintained the divinity and atonement of our Saviour; but rejected the doctrine of personal and unconditional election and reprobation.

"The time of Mr. Smyth's death is not recorded. It is most probable that he died in Holland, in 1610.

Return to England. "Mr. Helwisse succeeded Mr. Smyth in the charge of the church in Holland, in the formation of which he had been his associate and fellow-laborer. Though his labors and writings were instrumental in making a number of proselytes, yet he met with much opposition. The separatists whom he had left, attacked him and his tenets with great warmth; calling his party heretics, anabaptists, and free-willers. They charged them confidently with many extravagant notions and practices, with which their own more temperate representations are totally inconsistent. To vindicate themselves from those aspersions, the baptists published, in 1611, a confession of faith, accompanied with an appendix, giving some account of Mr. Smyth's last illness and death. It was called the 'Confession of Faith published in certain conclusions, by the remainder of Mr. Smyth's company;' and was supposed to have been chiefly drawn up by Mr. Smyth himself.

"About 1614, Mr. Helwisse and his friends began to suspect, that in leaving their native country, and withdrawing into foreign parts, to avoid persecution, they had been actuated by cowardice, rather than prejudice. They therefore left Holland and returned to England; and there continued their church, state, and public assemblies as regularly as the intolerant spirit of the times would permit.⁸ The nonconformists, who continued in exile, were highly displeased with this decided conduct. They ascribed it to natural confidence rather than spiritual courage; and represented it as openly defying the government, and courting persecution. To remove these objections, the baptists took occasion in a book which they published the following year, to explain the motives of their proceedings.

"The principal arguments in favor of their returning course, were—

"1. That fleeing from persecution, hath been the overthrow of religion in this island; the best, able, and greater part being gone, and leaving behind them some few, who by the others' departure, have had their afflictions and

³ Vol. I., p. 267.

⁴ Crosby, Vol. I., p. 95, &c.

⁵ Ivimey's Hist. of Eng. Bapt., p. 562.

⁶ Johnson's Christian Plea, published 1617, p. 23.

⁷ Pagit's Herestography, p. 77.

⁸ Crosby, Vol. I., p. 271.

their contempt increased, hath been the cause of many falling back, and of their adversaries rejoicing.

“ 2. Great help and encouragement would it be to God's people, in affliction, imprisonment, and the like, to have their brethren's presence to administer to their souls and bodies; and for which cause Christ will say, 'I was in prison and ye visited me: in distress and ye comforted me.'”

“ This open avowal of their sentiments, and steady continuance at the post of duty, as they esteemed it, exposed the General Baptists to great sufferings; ruinous fines and long imprisonments, with all the cruel awards of the persecuting and prelatical powers of the times, was their constant portion.

“ In 1615, these people published a pamphlet, entitled *Persecution for Religion judged and condemned*:

“ But the principal glory of this piece, is the manly and explicit avowal which the authors make of the true principles of christian liberty, at a time when they were either unknown, or opposed by almost every other party. They preserved a just distinction between civil and religious concerns; and while they fully allow the magistrate his proper authority in the former, they boldly maintain every man's right to judge and act for himself in the latter.

“ That this book was published by the General Baptists, is clear, from their reference to their 'Confession of Faith;' but it appears to have been sanctioned by all the baptists in England.

“ It is probable, indeed, that all the opposers of infant baptism at that time were General Baptists, as the Particular Baptists are not mentioned till several years after this period.¹⁰

“ Five years after, viz., in 1620, was published *an humble supplication* to king James I. and the Parliament for redress. In this piece the petitioners maintained the same dignified sentiments, and showed themselves the same undaunted supporters of the rights of conscience, as when they published *Persecution Judged and Condemned*; which they took this opportunity of re-printing.¹

“ It is plain from the books published against the baptists at this period, that they proceeded with great courage and resolution; and, notwithstanding the severe opposition of the prelacy and the civil power, they increased much in number.”

I have noticed striking traits of character in all the documents put forth by these baptists for a long time after their return from Holland, which shows that they had among them men of superior talents, who had made up their minds at all hazards to propagate and defend their peculiar sentiments, not only on the baptistal question, but also on the principles of religious freedom. Their remonstrances and petitions to their civil rulers were not merely humble supplications for an abatement of their oppressions; for unrestrained toleration in their religious worship, but they were accompanied with expositions of the sacred rights of conscience, which we may well suppose, would not be very graciously received by a monarch and a court who were under the influence of a bigoted and domineering priesthood.²

¹⁰ Taylor's Hist. of the Gen. Bapts., Vol. I., pp. 86-91.

¹ Id., Vol. I., p. 93.

² In their supplication of 1620, about the time the pilgrims set sail for New England, as a supplement to the document, they subjoined ten short chapters, in which they set forth the principles which the baptists, in all ages and countries, have maintained. Of this decade of opinions the following are the most prominent:—

“ I. That God is the Lord of men's consciences, and the only law-giver in matters of religion.

“ II. That the scriptures are the only rule of faith, and not any church, &c.

“ III. That earthly authority belongs to earthly kings; but spiritual authority to him who is the king of kings.

“ IV. That the poor, the simple and despised, are more likely to understand spiritual things than those who depend on human learning; that the clergy were the principal cause of their persecutions.

“ V. That persecution for the cause of conscience is not only in opposition to the doctrine of Jesus Christ, but has been condemned by the best writers in every age.

“ VI. That freedom of religion could work no evil to the commonwealth but would make it flourish.

Rev. John Morton was a fellow-laborer with Smyth and Helwisse in the formation of a church in Holland, and probably returned to London with the latter. "We have evidence," says Mr. Taylor, "that he both wrote and suffered in the cause of believers' baptism, and was a zealous General Baptist."³ We have no history of the life of this third minister which originated from the mother church at Amsterdam.

The next ministers whose names appear in the history of this people, were Thomas Lamb, Henry Denne, and E. Barber. After them were the two Jeffreys, William and David, and Thomas Grantham; the last of whom, during a long and active life, was a very distinguished promoter of the baptist cause, and was at the head of the affairs of the General order.

Associations and General Assemblies.

The same course was pursued by both classes of baptists in England with respect to these bodies.

Associations. "It is not easy to ascertain the number of associations into which the English General Baptists were divided; new unions being frequently formed, and old ones dissolved. During the period which we have been reviewing, we have discovered traces of the Buckinghamshire, the Cambridge-shire, the Dorsetshire, the Isle of Ely, the Kentish, the Lincolnshire, the London, the Northamptonshire, the Western, and the Wiltshire associations. These all existed at the close of the seventeenth century; and appear then to have been, in a greater or less degree, flourishing. Several of them we know, were composed of a considerable number of prosperous churches. The Buckinghamshire association, in 1678, was attended by upwards of fifty-four messengers, elders, and brethren. These meetings probably took their rise during the civil wars, as we find them frequently assembling under the protectorate."

General Assemblies. "These were composed of representatives from the various associations, and from such churches as chose to send their deputies, which might be either ministers or private brethren.

"Mr. Grantham was a decided advocate for both these institutions, and quotes as sufficient authority, the meeting at Jerusalem, mentioned in the 15th Chap. of the Acts of the Apostles."⁴ These assemblies Mr. Taylor supposes commenced under the protectorate.

In process of time, so strongly were many inclined to constitute these bodies into courts of appeal, that it was found necessary to define their powers, and make them merely advisory councils, as baptists in all ages and countries have done.

Messengers, or Bishops.

"This people," says Mr. Taylor, "ever attentive to scripture precedents, it was not long before they supposed that they discovered, in the primitive churches,

ish the more; and that kings are not deprived of any power given them by God, when they maintain freedom for the cause of conscience," &c.

In their dialogues, entitled "Persecution judged and condemned," they inveigh against the pride, luxury, and oppression of the bishops, declare their respect for magistrates, as such, and remind King James of his many declarations before he came to the throne, "that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion," &c.

On the whole, there is a freedom, and boldness, and dignified intrepidity, in the language of these men, which, as Mr. Taylor well observes, when we consider the state of the times, must excite our just admiration.

³ In the beginning of the civil wars, a book was found, in demolishing an old wall, near Colchester, entitled "Truth's Champion. By J. Morton," which was supposed to be the production of this minister. It contained thirteen chapters in the defense of the principles of the General Baptists. As it was written in a very good style, and the arguments managed with great dexterity and skill, his party were much pleased with it, and had it printed. It is probable, from this circumstance, that Mr. Morton settled and raised a church in this part of the country.—*Taylor's Hist. Gen. Bapt.*, Vol. I., pp. 95, 96.

⁴ *Christ. Primitivus*, Bk. II., Pt. II., p. 142.

an officer superior to an Elder. They remarked, that Barnabas, Luke, Timothy, Titus, and several others, were fellow-laborers with the apostles, in the preaching of the gospel, and the planting and regulating of churches; and that in various passages, they were called apostles, or in English, Messengers, of the churches. They thought it probable, that the angels or messengers of the seven churches in Asia, to whom the author of the Revelations addressed his epistles, were also of the same order. They therefore introduced an officer into their system, whom they styled a *Messenger*. He was generally chosen by an association of the representatives of the churches, in a certain district; and ordained by those of his own order, with great solemnity; the various churches keeping seasons of prayer and fasting. Sometimes a particular church chose a messenger; but in that case, his business appears to have been confined to preaching the gospel where it was not known, and regulating such churches as he might be instrumental in planting. It is indeed probable, that at the first, this was the chief object of their appointment; an object which demanded peculiar attention, when the nation was just emerging from the darkness of popery and prelacy, and the rays of divine truth had hardly pierced the gloom. Fixed pastors could not conveniently itinerate to distant parts; and it would have been thought irregular for unauthorized persons to have undertaken it; but the messengers stood ready for this necessary work, and their very office called them to it. "They were appointed," says Jeffrey, "for the gathering of churches, and the establishment of them."

"But when churches increased, and errors and irregularities sprung up among the young converts and inexperienced ministers; it was judged expedient to extend the messenger's work, by assigning to him the superintendance, and in a sense, the government of those churches which united in calling him to the office. Thus the Orthodox Creed in 1678, says, "The bishops," as it styles the messengers, "have the government of those churches that had suffrage in their election, and no other, ordinarily; as also to preach the word to the world." It the same year, Mr. Grantham extends their ministry to three objects:

- "1. To plant churches where there are none.
- "2. To set in order such churches as want officers to order their affairs, and
- "3. To assist faithful pastors or churches against usurpers and those that trouble the peace of particular churches by false doctrines." This last article appears the most objectionable part of the office; and might be employed so as to destroy the independency of churches. At the close of the period of which we are speaking, Mr. Hooke describes the work of the messenger as being "to plant churches—ordain officers—set in order things that were wanting, in all the churches—to defend the gospel against gainsayers—and to travel up and down the world to perform this work."⁵

⁵ "The power of this office seems to have increased as the General Baptists' cause declined. At the Lincolnshire Association, held at Coningsly, May 30, 1775, it is thus defined:—"The messenger, who is chosen by the unanimous consent and approbation of the churches which stand in a close connection together, hath full liberty and authority, according to the gospel, to freely inquire into the state of the churches respecting both pastor and people, to see that the pastors do their duty in their places, and the people theirs; he is to exhort, admonish, and reprove both the one and the other, as occasion calls for. In virtue of his office, he is to watch over the several flocks committed to his care and charge—to see that good order and government be carefully and constantly kept up and maintained in the churches he is called and appointed to look after and to watch over; to labor and to keep out innovations in doctrine, worship, and discipline, and to stand up in defense of the gospel." Such an *Inquisitor-General* is totally incompatible with the independency of the churches professed by these christians.—*Orthodox Creed*, Art. 31; *Grantham's Christ. Prim.* Book II., Part. 2, chap. 9, sect. 3, and Book IV., Treatise 5, pp. 152-170; *Hooke's Necessary Apology*, pp. 78-83; *Jeffrey's Whole Faith of Man*, pp. 95-98, &c., as quoted by Taylor, Vol. I., p. 415.

Here we see the germ of diocesan episcopacy. And in this way the whole system was probably introduced in early times.

This whole story about *messengers and bishops*, I have thought proper to insert from Taylor *in extenso*, that my readers may see how these baptists reasoned on church government about two centuries ago. We shall see the same plan was attempted in Virginia in early times. The comment of Mr. Taylor above, is all that need be said on the system.

Confessions of Faith, and various declarations of their sentiments and rules of discipline.

"In 1611, the first document of this kind was published, by John Smyth and his associates, at Amsterdam, in Holland.

"In 1615, a paper was published by the same party, under the title of 'Persecution for religion judged and condemned;' in which they take occasion to state their sentiments on many important points of doctrine.

"In 1620, they published their supplication to James I., in favor of a toleration of their religious worship.

"In 1660, immediately after the restoration, came out the famous Confession of Faith, which was subscribed by certain elders, deacons, and brethren, met at London from various parts of the kingdom, and approved by upwards of twenty thousand.

"This paper was presented to Charles II. by Thomas Grantham, and Joseph Wright. This confession was long esteemed the creed of the English General Baptists. It was re-printed in various forms, under the sanction of several general assemblies and associations at different periods, till many years after the close of the 17th century.³

"In 1678, was published Grantham's *Christianismus Primitivus*, or the ancient christian religion, which from the universal approbation it received, may be considered almost as a public document.⁴

"In the same year, came out the Orthodox Creed, put forth by the general baptists in the counties of Bucks, Hereford, Bedford, and Oxford, signed by fifty-four messengers, elders, and brethren. The evident design of the compilers of these articles appears to have been, to approximate as closely to the Calvinistic system as they could, without giving up their distinguished tenets; and in some doctrinal points it differs materially from the Confession of 1660.

"In 1691, the general baptists who dwelt in Somersetshire, and the neighboring counties, published a confession of faith in twenty-seven chapters. This agrees in all material points with the confession of 1660, but it seems not to have been known in the other parts of the kingdom.

"During the unhappy disputes concerning the trinity, which distracted the general baptists at the close of the seventeenth century, many confessions, articles, expedients, &c., were on various occasions published by the contending parties; none of which, however, appear to have been adopted as standard works.

"About 1700, this people published a 'description of what God hath predestinated concerning man.'

"In 1701, Mr. Hooke published, under the sanction of the Lincolnshire association, 'a necessary apology for the baptized believers.' And soon after were issued Jeffrey's 'whole faith of man,' and Stanley's 'christianity indeed.'

Dissension—Division—and Decline.

For almost a century, the general baptists had moved forward with much harmony and strength, differing from those of the particular class principally

³ The address to his majesty which accompanied this document, which contains an affecting relation of the oppression of this community, is published by Mr. Taylor. It was signed by

John Wats,
William Burton,
William Dawson,
John Dawson,
Thos. Harrison,
Peter Betts,
William Roweth,
R. Wilkinson,
James Dyon,

R. Richardson,
Roger Fawn,
W. Hunter,
Joseph Brittain,
Robert Maultbey,
T. Ratchlyffe,
George Pay,
M. Brumly,
John Gree,

Luke Robinson,
W. Harker,
Rob. Fletcher,
William Hill,
Edward Wood,
Thos. Croft,
T. Maxworth,
Thos. Clay,
R. Grantham,

Charles Cock,
John Rutter,
James Carden,
Richard Clark,
Robert Payson,
Robert Shalder,
Joseph Wright,
T. Grantham.

⁴ This work is a folio volume of about 400 pages. It is in the library of Brown University.

on the doctrine of personal election and reprobation ; but towards the close of the seventeenth century, a portion of their members began to incline to a much more lax system of theology, which in the end spread widely among the people, and carried a considerable portion of them over to the unitarian, or as it was then denominated, Socinian side.

This defection was begun by Mathew Caffin, one of their most eminent ministers, whose diligence and success had been distinguished, and who had also suffered much for his attachment to the baptist cause.

The controversy was long and severe ; meetings after meetings were had on the subject ; and associations and general assemblies for many years were made the scene of painful discord and ruinous contentions, which spread their baneful influence among this once united and prosperous community, and as a natural consequence, their churches one after another began to decline, and many became extinct.

New Connection of General Baptists.

This name was given in 1770, to that portion of this community who were unwilling any longer to bear with the lax opinions and loose manner of discipline of a large portion of the General Baptists. The measure had long been in contemplation, but was retarded by the unwillingness of many to hazard the consequences of a division of a denomination so venerable for its age, and so endeared to them by many ties of fraternal affection.

The great object of the promoters of the new measure, as set forth in their preamble, was "to revive experimental religion or primitive christianity, in faith and practice."⁵ And in order that it might be known what they considered as the primitive faith and practice, six articles of religion were agreed upon and signed by the men whose names appear in the note below.⁶ These articles were as follows :

1. On the fall of man.
2. On the nature and perpetual obligation of the moral law.
3. On the person and work of Christ.
4. On salvation by faith.
5. On regeneration by the Holy Spirit.
6. On baptism.

And so anxious were they to guard their new organization from the errors and quicksands which had nearly swallowed up their predecessors, they agreed, that at their next meeting every minister should give an account of his religious experience, that they might be satisfied concerning the reality of each others conversion.

Such was the commencement of this new connection three quarters of a century ago. In 1817, its situation may be seen by the following

<i>Abstract.</i>			
Midland District Churches,	. . .	35	Members, 4494
Northern do.	. . .	8	do. 741
Lincolnshire do.	. . .	19	do. 1005
London do.	. . .	8	do. 606
Total,		70.	6846.

⁵ At the head of the minutes of the first association, they were styled, "The Assembly of free grace General Baptists."

⁶ Dan. Taylor, John Brittain, Francis Smith, Robert French,
 David Wilkin, Henry Poole, Thomas Perkins, N. Pickering,
 W. Thompson, William Smith, John Grimley, Charles Parman,
 John Knott, Samuel Deacon, Geo. Hickling, W. Summers,
 John Stanger, James Fenn, John Tarratt,
Taylor's Hist. Gen. Baptists, Vol. II., p. 142.

The *New Connection*, which was at first but a seceding party, now embraces nearly all the English General Baptists. The old body continued to languish until it was reduced to a few churches, which are now kept alive by the means of some endowments which were planted in very early times.

For some time before the New Connection was formed, the General Baptists had among them some men of great eminence for learning, talents, and popularity, who generally, however, went over to the socinian side; the most distinguished of this class were Dr. Gale, the famous opponent of Dr. Wall, Dr. James Foster, who was eulogized by Pope, the learned but eccentric Dr. Wm. Whiston, who came over to them from the church of England, Mr. Emlin, &c.

General Assembly—Confession of Faith.

The year 1689 was a distinguished epoch in the history of the English Baptists, on account of the General Assembly which then convened in London and published a confession of faith which was long a standard work among them.

This assembly was composed of delegates from upwards of a hundred congregations, from different parts of England and Wales. They met Sept. 3rd, and continued in session nine days; a narrative of their proceedings was published soon after.¹

In the long list of names of the ministers who were active among the particular baptists at this time, I find those of Kiffin, Knollys, Gilford, Steed, Vaux, W. Collins, H. Collins, Lamb, Price, Keate, Harris, Sutton, Adams, Mann, Harrison, Orchard, Day, Cox, Prichard, Thomas, Forty, Ewer.

Particular Baptists from 1689 to the present time—ministers—churches—associations—members, &c.

Ministers. By the year 1702, a number of their most efficient ministers had been removed by death, among whom were H. Knollys, W. Kiffin, W. Collins, Thomas Harrison, B. Dennis, and H. Collins.

The ministers who appear to have been the most distinguished from the beginning of the eighteenth century, and onward, were Joseph Stennett,² John Figgott, Benjamin Stinton,³ Benjamin Dennis, R. Allen, J. Noble, the Wallins, J. Skeep, J. Burroughs, Thomas Delaune, D. Rees, Dr. Gill, J. Brine, J. Thompson, A. Gifford, and S. Wilson.⁴

This brings us to the middle of the eighteenth century, when Dr. Gill was in the meridian of his fame and usefulness. He died in 1771.

It may be proper here to notice a few very eminent men among the baptists at this time, who were not of the clerical profession, as Mordiai Abbot, the Hollises, father, son and brother, Thomas Crosby, the baptist historian, who was a deacon of Dr. Gill's church, &c.

The oldest churches. The oldest church among the particular baptists which has continued to the present time, bears date from 1633. It arose out of a division of an Independent church which was gathered in 1616, of which Henry Jacob was the first pastor. This church followed the open communion plan for a number of years; but a portion of the members becoming dissatisfied with the system, by mutual agreement, the baptists eventually went off by themselves. The account is thus given by old historians.

¹ At this Convention, the denomination, among other things, resolved to raise a fund for missionary purposes, and to assist feeble churches; also, for the purpose of ministerial education.—*Rippon's Register* for 1796.

² Mr. Stennett was the man who answered Russen's work, entitled *Fundamentals without a foundation; or, a true picture of the Anabaptists*, which has already been noticed. This was in 1706. So well did he execute that work, that his brethren requested him to undertake a complete history of baptism. This work, although begun, was not completed.

³ Mr. Stinton made considerable progress in compiling a history of the English Baptists. His materials were afterwards used by Crosby.

⁴ Author of the *Scripture Manual*.

"The church, considering that they were now grown very numerous, and so more than could in those times of persecution conveniently meet together, and believing also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience and not from obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church; which was performed Sept. 12, 1633. And as they believed that baptism was not rightly administered to infants, so they looked upon the baptism they had received at that age as invalid, whereupon most or all of them received a new baptism. Their minister was a Mr. John Spilsbury. What number they were, is uncertain, because in the mentioning of about twenty men and women, it is added, *with divers others*.

"In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and others, being of the same judgment, were upon their request, dismissed to the said Mr. Spilsbury's congregation. In the year 1639, another congregation of baptists was formed, whose place of meeting was in Crutched-friars; the chief promoters of which were Mr. Green, Mr. Paul Hobson, and Captain Spencer.

"The account of Mr. Spilsbury's church is said, in the margin, to have been written from the records of that church; but, from anything that appears, there is nothing to justify the conclusion of Mr. Crosby, that *this* was the first baptist church, as the account relates simply to the origin of that particular church—to state which, it is probable, was Mr. Kiffin's design, rather than to relate the origin of the baptist churches in general, and which he must certainly have known were in existence previously to that period.

"It must be admitted that there is some obscurity respecting the manner in which the ancient immersion of adults, which appears to have been discontinued, was restored, when, after the long night of anti-christian apostacy, persons were at first baptized on a profession of faith. The very circumstance, however, of their being called *anabaptists* as early as the period of the reformation, proves that they did, in the opinion of the pedobaptists, *re-baptize*, which it is not likely they would do by pouring or sprinkling, immersion being incontrovertibly the universal practice in England at that time."

It must be admitted that much obscurity hangs over the history of the oldest baptist communities in this kingdom, and I shall not attempt in the text to go beyond the statements of their own historians on the ground, but in the notes below, will give some of my own reflections on the subject.⁶ As has already been stated, the General Baptists claim to have had churches long before the time above named.

I find no documents by which I can give the increase of churches among the particular baptists, except at long intervals, for more than a century after those of a permanent character began to rise.

⁵ Ivikey's Hist. Eng. Bapt., Vol. I., pp. 136-140.

⁶ From all the fragments of history, I am inclined to the belief that baptist churches, under various circumstances, have existed in England from the time of William the Conqueror, four or five centuries prior to those of which any definite accounts have come down to us; and that the more the history of the dark ages is explored, the more this opinion will be confirmed. Baptist churches, in persecuting times, are merely household affairs,—which must, of necessity, be hid from public view. More than three centuries had elapsed before any of the baptists in England had any knowledge that a church of their order once existed in Chesterton, in 1457. Mr. R. Robinson brought the facts to light by examining the MS. records of the old bishop of Ely; and no doubt many other such discoveries might be made, if similar records were consulted.

One thing is certain, that whenever there came times of easement for dissenters, so that they dared to show themselves, we soon see baptists among them; and that they took hold of matters more like old soldiers than new recruits.

Again, when Lollard, Wickliffe, and other Reformers, began to propagate sentiments congenial with the baptists, they were readily and rapidly embraced, and carried forward to their legitimate results, however far short the leaders might have stopped.

Once more the Waldenses from France and Italy, and the Anabaptists from Germany and the Netherlands, made early and frequent visits to England, some as missionaries, others as emigrants in quest of more free and favorable locations. These people would naturally seek out their sentimental friends, and in this way was the leaven of the gospel continued till the dawn of the Reformation.

The baptists are naturally gregarious, and always flock together; and it is, I think, safe to infer, that whenever any small companies were within reach of each other, if the truth could be known, there we should find them united in church relations.

Although much is said, mostly however by their opponents, of the anabaptists' great increase under the protectorate, yet I find nothing which enables me to exhibit any statistical account of the number of their churches or members.

In 1689, as we have already seen, their churches were upwards of a hundred.

In 1708, according to Morgan Edwards' list,⁷ the whole number of churches in England, Wales and Ireland, was

General Baptists,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	317.
Particular do.,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	246. ⁸

In 1798, Rippon's Register makes the number of churches of the Particular Baptists	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	361.
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Associations. I am not able to give the early history of these bodies among the Particular Baptists, but presume they were begun soon after the first churches arose.

About the time of the meeting of the General Assembly, in 1689, according to Ivimey, twelve associations sent delegates to that body. A number of them, however, were quite small, and probably afterwards fell into the larger communities; as their number was about the same a century after, when the churches had become about four times as numerous.

Baptist churches in London.

The confession of faith published in 1643, was signed in behalf of eight congregations or churches in this city. The names of the signers may be seen in the note below.⁹

In 1689, the number which sent delegates to the General Assembly was thirteen.

In 1708, the whole number, according to Mr. Edward's list, was twenty; five of them were general baptists.

In 1790, in Rippon's Register I find the number of particular baptist churches was twenty-two.

The number of baptist churches of all descriptions in London, Southwark, and Middlesex, in 1845, according to the Baptist Manual.¹⁰

LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.

CHURCHES.	When formed.	PASTORS.	When settled.
Alfred Place, Kent Road - - -	1820	W. Young - - - - -	1821
Artillery Street - - - - -	1831	G. Moyle - - - - -	1831
Blandford Street - - - - -	1794	W. B. Bowes - - - - -	1835
Bluegate Fields, Ratcliffe Highway	1830	J. Milner - - - - -	1831
Borough Road - - - - -	1674	J. Stevenson, M. A. - - - - -	1834
Brick Lane, Old Street - - - - -	1783	J. A. Jones - - - - -	1831
Buttesland Street, Hoxton - - - - -	.....	J. Rothery - - - - -	1831
Church Street, Blackfriars - - - - -	1785	G. Cole - - - - -	1843
Commercial Road - - - - -	1657		
Cromer Street, Gray's Inn Lane - - - - -	1838		
Cumberland Street, Shoreditch - - - - -	1841	H. Killen - - - - -	1843
Devonshire Sq., Bishopsgate Street - - - - -	1638	J. H. Hinton, M. A. - - - - -	1837
Eagle Street, Red Lion Square - - - - -	1737	R. W. Overbury - - - - -	1834

⁷ This I have in MSS.

⁸ Wales, 23; Ireland 8. The number of members is nowhere given but in Wales, where it was 2250. The heaviest counties for the baptists of both kinds were, at that time, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, London, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and Kent. In the last three the General Baptists were the most numerous.

⁹ Thomas Gunne, John Mabbitt, Benjamin Cockes, Thomas Kilicop,	John Spilsbury, Samuel Richardson, Thomas Munden, George Tipping,	Paul Hobson, Thomas Goare, William Kiffin, Thomas Patient,	Hansard Knollys, Thomas Holmes, Christopher Duret, Denis Le Barbier.
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¹⁰ Baptist Manual for 1845.

LONDON AND SOUTHWARK.—Continued.

CHURCHES.	When formed.	PASTORS.	When closed.
Eldon Street, Finsbury	1817	W. L. Evans	1844
Ditto, Seventh Day	1668		
Easton Square	.....	J. Preston	
Grafton Street, Soho	1818	W. Williams	1819
Great Alie Street			
Henrietta Street, Brunswick Square	1817	J. Hoby, D. D.	1844
Hill Street, Dorset Square	1836	J. Foreman	1857
Homerton Row	1830	D. Curtis	1857
Islington Green	1840	J. J. Brown	1844
Jamaica Row, Bermondsey,	.....	W. Dovey	
John St., Gray's Inn Lane	1816	J. H. Evans, M. A.	1816
John's Row, St. Luke's	1817	W. Carpenter	1833
Keppel Street	1713	S. Davies	1843
Little Alie Street, Goodman's Fields	1753	P. Dickerson	1831
Little Prescot Street, Goodman's Fields	1633	C. Stovel	1833
Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields	1691	C. Woollacott	1836
Maze Pond, Southwark	1693	J. Aldis	1833
Meard's Court, Soho	1784	J. Stevens	1811
Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields	1664	W. H. Black	1840
Mitchill Street, St. Luke's	1841	W. Carpenter	1841
New Park St., Southwark	1719	J. Smith	1841
Paddington:—			
Charles Street	1838	W. A. Blake	1843
New Church Street	1831	J. Burns	1835
Præd Street	1841	W. Underwood	1843
Redcross Street	1644	D. Whittaker	1833
Romney St., Westminster	1817	E. R. Hammond	1841
Salterns' Hall, Cannon Street	1830	S. J. Davis	1837
Shakespeare's Walk, Shadwell	1837	T. Moore	1837
Shoreditch, Providence Chapel	1837	W. Miall	1839
Shoreditch, Ebenezer Chapel	1836	J. Massingham	
Shouldham Street	1809	J. George	1816
Snow's Field's	1804	G. Francis	
Soho Chapel, Oxford Street	1780	G. Wyard	1843
Somers Town	1796		
Spencer Place, Goswell Road	1815	J. Peacock	1831
Squiries St., Bethnal Green	.....	— Smithers	
Trinity Square	1773	B. Lewis	1835
Unicorn Yard	1730	W. Penrose	
Vernon Square	1784	O. Clarke	1843
Waterloo Road	1836	— Branch	1846
Westbourne Street, Fimlico	1836	J. Stenson	1838

MIDDLESEX.

CHURCHES.	When formed.	PASTORS.	When closed.
Alperton	1837		
Bow	1786		
Brompton	1838	T. C. Finch	1844
Chelsea, Paradise Chapel	1817	W. E. Archer	1844
Chelsea, 2d ch.	1834	J. Nichols	1838
Greenford	1819		
Hackney	1798	F. A. Cox, D. D.	1811
Hammersmith, 1st ch.	1793	J. Bird	1844
Hammersmith, 2d ch.	1836		
Hampstead, 1st ch.	1818	J. Castleden	1819
Hampstead, New End	1836	R. Livermore	1836
Harefield	1836	W. Lake	1841
Harlington	1796	J. George	1835
Harrow on the Hill	1812	E. Arnold	1844

MIDDLESEX.—*Continued.*

CHURCHES.	When formed.	PASTORS.	When settled.
Hayes, 1st ch. - - - - -	1843	C. Fish - - - - -	1843
Hayes, 2d ch. - - - - -	1832	J. Gundry - - - - -	1839
Hendon - - - - -	1813	G. H. Orchard - - - - -	1843
Highgate - - - - -	1824	F. Wills - - - - -	1843
Kensington - - - - -	1844		
do. 2d church - - - - -	1802	E. Arnold - - - - -	1844
New Brentford - - - - -	1819	C. Robinson - - - - -	1839
Old Brentford - - - - -	1812	J. Upton - - - - -	1831
Poplar - - - - -	1825	R. Ware - - - - -	1836
Potter's Bar - - - - -	1818	J. Cox - - - - -	1837
Shacklewell - - - - -	1825	G. Hawson - - - - -	1826
Staines - - - - -	1838		
Stamford Hill - - - - -	1836	W. Tompkins, M. A. - - - - -	1842
Stepney, College Chapel - - - - -	1828	W. Allen - - - - -	1837
Stepney, Cave of Adullum - - - - -	1827		
Tottenham - - - - -	1840	J. Y. Holloway - - - - -	1844
Uxbridge - - - - -	1827	J. Faulkner - - - - -	1845
West Drayton - - - - -			

The whole number is eighty-seven; some of them we see have no pastors.

It was my intention to give some account of the rise of the churches and associations of the British Baptists, and especially of the oldest and most important bodies in London, and some other cities and distinguished locations, for which there are ample materials in Ivimey's 3d and 4th Vols. of the History of the English Baptists, but for the reasons assigned in my preface, I must defer all matters of this kind to my next volume.

A list of all the associations and the statistics of the whole denomination in the United Kingdom will be given in the tables at the close of the volume.

Recapitulation of the persecutions of the English baptists. Although the Roman pontiffs claimed the control of the English church for about ten centuries from the coming of Austin, until the revolution under Henry VIII., yet such was the spirit of the nation that their power was never exercised with such unlimited sway as in France, Italy, Spain, Germany and other kingdoms. Two of the most tremendous engines of catholic despotism, the inquisition and crusades, for the suppression of heresy, were never suffered to exist in this kingdom. Again, the contests between the popes and the English rulers, both in church and state, were frequent and severe; from all these causes, dissenters from the established church were never doomed to such overwhelming disasters and such exterminating cruelties as in many places on the continent, and much of their suffering came upon them from the malicious officiousness of unprincipled understrappers, the invariable concomitants of ecclesiastical establishments, who delighted in mischief, and were greedy of the spoils of their innocent victims.

This class of men were the tools of a bigoted priesthood; by them the meetings of dissenters, notwithstanding all their precautions, were often discovered and rudely and outrageously interrupted—multitudes were maltreated on the spot, and then hurried away to their prisons without any forms of law, there to languish and expire. Old laws which had become a dead letter, were made the pretext for their cruelties, and for petty fines their property was sacrificed in the most wanton and unrighteous manner.

In these ways, the English dissenters, and the baptists among the rest, suffered much more in their persons, property, and probably in their lives, than by being capitally punished.

The priesthood, whether catholic or protestant, were always at the bottom of the mischief, as they have always been of everything cruel and flagitious in all countries and ages. By them the informers were patronized and encouraged in their nefarious pursuits, and by them, also, the bigoted and contemptible expounders of the laws were stimulated in their work of persecution and death. And if any misgivings were apparent on the part of the more kind-hearted and humane among the dispensers of life and death, the unfeeling guardians of the church were always on hand to stifle all their compunctions and brace them up to an unflinching pursuit of their horrid vocations.

The earliest account of the sufferings of dissenters who were supposed to be baptists, has been given under the head of the Waldenses.

William Sawtry, who is claimed to have been a baptist, was burnt in 1400.

In about three years from 1428, one hundred and twenty persons were committed to prison for Lollardy; some of them recanted, others did penance, and several of them were burnt alive. A portion of them are supposed to have been baptists.

In 1535, twenty-two baptists were apprehended and put to death.

In 1539, thirty-one more of the same people, 16 men and 15 women, were banished from the country, who, going to Delft, in Holland, were there put to death; the men beheaded, and the women drowned. Soon after, a few more were burnt at Smithfield.

Under the reign of the quasi protestant inquisition, which was established in 1549, which consisted of the arp. of Canterbury, a number of bishops, noblemen, and others whose special business was to search after all anabaptists, heretics, &c., many baptists were apprehended. How many were executed we are not informed; it is certain, that two of considerable eminence fell a sacrifice to the protestant power; their names were George Van Pare, a Dutchman, and Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent.

"She was a baptist;" a pious and useful woman. She was," says Strype, "a great disperser of Tyndal's New Testament, and was a great reader of scripture herself; which book, also, she dispersed in the court, and so became known to certain women of quality, and was particularly acquainted with Mrs. Anne Askew. She used, for greater secrecy, to tie the books with strings under her apparel, and so pass with them into the court.⁹ As Cranmer was insisting on her death, he was deeply affected with the reply of the young king, Edward VI., who said, 'if I do wrong, since it is in submission to your authority, you shall answer it before God.' But neither the arguments of justice, the plea of mercy, or the tears of youthful royalty could avail to stay the hand of a bigotry, which in such cases, extinguished all the sympathies of human nature.

"From some remarks of Sir James Mackintosh, it seems to be a clear point, that though the baptists suffered from persecution in the reign of Edward VI., yet the papists were comparatively free. 'The fact,' he says, 'that the blood of no Roman catholic was spilt on account of religion in Edward's reign, is indisputable.'¹

"It is said by Bp. Burnet, that none of the events of this reign tended so much to injure Cranmer, as the part he took in the burning of George Van Pare. His manly virtue, his consistent piety, his serenity at the stake, won the sympathies of the people, so that when Cranmer himself was burnt, in Mary's reign, they called it a just retaliation."

John Rogers, the martyr, was severely censured for his cold indifference to the death of this excellent woman. A person, supposed to be Fox, the author of the Book of Martyrs, earnestly entreated him to use his interest with the arp., to save the poor woman from the cruel death to which she had been

⁹ Taylor, in his History of the General Baptists, is confident she was of that order.

¹⁰ Strype's Eccl. Mem., Vol. II., p. 214, as quoted by Hague, p. 59.

¹ Mackintosh's Hist. of England, Vol. II., pp. 59, 271, 318.

doomed. But Rogers answered, that burning alive was no cruel death, but easy enough. Fox, astonished at such an answer, replied, "Well, perhaps it may so happen, that you yourself shall have your hands full of this mild burning." And so it came to pass, for Rogers was the first man who was burnt in Queen Mary's reign. Cranmer, also, was soon after led to the stake.

About 1570, twenty-seven out of a congregation of Dutch baptists in London, were taken and imprisoned. Four of them recanted, and the rest were, probably, either banished or destroyed.

One month after this, eleven more of this obnoxious sect were apprehended, and condemned; two of whom, viz., John Weilmaker, or Pieters,² and Henry ter Woort were burnt at Smithfield.

In 1612, Edward Wightman was burnt at Litchfield; he is supposed to have been the progenitor of a large family of the name, and among them many baptist ministers in this country. This poor man was accused by his persecutors of being an *Arian*, *anabaptist manichee*, and of almost all the other heretical *isms* that ever infested the christian world.

"If," says Crosby, "Wightman really held all the opinions laid to his charge, he must either have been an idiot or a madman, and ought to have had the prayers of his persecutors, rather than been put to a cruel death.

"Edward Wightman is known to have been a baptist; and if Sawtry was also of this persuasion, as the English writers seem confident, then the denomination has been the first and the last in suffering death for conscience sake, among the English dissenters. Between the death of these two men, was a period of two hundred and twelve years."

For three quarters of a century after Wightman's death, all dissenters in England were in an uncertain condition, and although none suffered death on account of religion by a direct course of law, yet multitudes died in prison, and came to their end by the various methods of maltreatment with which they were cruelly pursued. Prisons and fines, stocks and stripes, conformity or exile, for many ages were among the most approved prescriptions of the doctors of the English church, with which to reform, or else to punish all who wandered from her fold. Her prayer-book or her prisons, her priesthood or her pillories, her spiritual regimen or her penal laws, were stereotyped maxims in the British hierarchy, until the glorious revolution under William III., in 1689.

After I had progressed thus far, and the matter was in the printer's hands, by the favor of Dr. Williams, of New York, I obtained the loan of a new work on the affairs of the English baptists, entitled *History of the Baptist Churches in the North of England, from 1648 to 1845*. By Rev. David Douglas, of Hamsterley, Eng.

It is too late to make any use of this recent production, except some few articles, which I shall append to the history of the baptists in Scotland, whose early and more modern affairs are, to some extent, incorporated in the details of this book.

² The English historians make it *Weilmaker*, but the Dutch book, *Pieters*. I know not how to account for it, except that the Dutch people often had two names, which they used interchangeably.

W A L E S .

Rev. Joshua Thomas, a native of this country, in 1778 published a history of the Welsh baptists from the year 63 to that time: although I have access to the book,¹ yet as it is in the Welsh language I can make no use of it. About ten years since, a translation of a portion of this old history was published by the Rev. J. Davis, of Pennsylvania, which exhibits many interesting details of the baptists in this ancient country.

The position assumed in Mr. Thomas' history sufficiently indicates his strong confidence in the high antiquity of the denomination in the principality, and the same sentiment runs through the statements of many contemporary and succeeding writers on the subject.

The Rev. Josiah Taylor, of England, in his *Memoirs of the English baptists*, published many years since in the E. B. Mag., gives the following account of the early history of these primitive British baptists.

"About sixty years after the ascension of our Lord, christianity was planted in Britain, and a number of royal blood, and many of inferior birth, were called to be saints. Here the gospel flourished much in early times, and here, also, its followers endured many afflictions and calamities from pagan persecutors. The British christians experienced various changes of prosperity and adversity, until about the year 600. A little previous to this period, Austin, the monk, with about forty others, were sent here by Pope Gregory the great, to convert the pagans to popery, and to subject all the British christians to the dominion of Rome. The enterprize succeeded, and conversion (or rather perversion) work was performed on a large scale. King Ethelbert, and his court, and a considerable part of his kingdom were won over by the successful monk, who consecrated the river Swale, near York, in which he caused to be baptized ten thousand of his converts in a day.

"Having met with so much success in England, he resolved to try what he could do in Wales. There were many British christians who had fled hither in former times to avoid the brutal ravages of the outrageous Saxons. The monk held a synod in that neighborhood, and sent to their pastors to request them to receive the pope's commandment; but they utterly refused to listen to either the monk or the pope, or to adopt any of their maxims. Austin, meeting with this prompt refusal, endeavored to compromise matters with these strenuous Welshmen, and requested that they would consent to hear him in three things, one of which was that they would give christendom, that is, baptism to their children; but with none of his propositions would they comply. 'Sins, therefore,' said he, 'ye wol not receive peace of your brethren, ye of others shall have warre and wretche,' and accordingly he brought the Saxons upon them to shed their innocent blood, and many of them lost their lives for the name of Jesus."

The baptist historians in England contend that the first British christians were baptists, and that they maintained baptist principles until the coming of Austin. "We have no mention," says the author of the memoirs, of the christening or baptizing children in England before the coming of Austin in 597; and to us, it is evident he brought it *not from heaven*, but *from Rome*. But though the subjects of baptism began now to be altered, the mode of it continued in the national church a thousand years longer, and baptism was administered by dipping, &c. From the coming of Austin, the church in this island was divided into two parts, the *old* and the *new*. The old, or baptist church maintained their original principles. But the new church adopted infant baptism, and the rest of the multiplying superstitions of Rome."

Austin's requesting the British christians, who opposed his popish mission, to baptize their children, is a circumstance which the English and Welsh bap-

¹ It is in the library of Brown University.

tists consider of much importance. They infer from it that before Austin's time, infant baptism was not practised in England, and that though he converted multitudes to his pedobaptist plan, yet many, especially in Wales and Cornwall, opposed it; and the Welsh baptists contend that baptist principles were maintained in the recesses of their mountainous principality all along through the dark reign of popery.

At the time referred to in the above article, there existed in Wales two large societies of a somewhat peculiar nature, one at Bangor, in the north, and the other at Cearleon, in the south. According to D'Anvers, the society or college at Bangor contained two thousand one hundred christians, who dedicated themselves to the Lord, to serve him in the ministry, as they became capable, to whom was attributed the name of *the monks of Bangor*. But this writer assures us they were noways like the popish monks, for they married, followed their different callings, those who were qualified for the ministry engaged in the holy employment, while the others labored with their hands to support them, and to provide for the great spiritual family.

The writers on Welsh history in early times are confident that Lucius, a Welsh king, and many others of noble rank were converted to christianity in the first century, and as all christians were baptists then, they, of course, come under this head. They also give the names of Faganus, Damicanus, Alban, Aaron, Julius, Gildas, Dyfrig, Dynawt, Tailo, Padarn, Pawlin, Daniel, Dewi, or David, as noted baptist ministers in the time of Austin's visit, and that Dynawt was president of the college or monastery of Bangor at that time, and was the chief speaker in a conference or association of Welsh ministers or messengers, who met the famous Roman reformer, and had a debate with him on baptism.²

This part of Welsh history is more fully illustrated by Rev. Mr. Tustin, pastor of the baptist church in Warren, R. I. This church is a branch of the old church of Swansea, founded by John Miles, and of course claims its descent from the Cambro-British baptists.

The story will be more fully related when we come to this part of our history.³

The Welsh baptists have the fullest confidence that their sentiments have always lived in their mountainous retreats, from the apostolic age to the present time, although the people were not always congregated in churches. Their country, in their estimation, was another Piedmont, where the witnesses for the truth found shelter and concealment in times of universal darkness and superstition.

² Davis's Hist. of the Welsh Baptists, pp. 8, 21.

³ "The old Welsh brethren," says Mr. Tustin, "at length consented to hold an interview with Austin, in a council which met on the borders of Herefordshire, which, on the part of the Welsh, was composed of twelve hundred pastors and delegates. The chief conditions of uniformity proposed by the Roman prelate of the English church, were the three following:—

"*First*, That the Welsh should observe the festival of Easter, which, from the peculiar religious associations of the Romish church, at that time, was the great test-question of papal allegiance, and the non-observance of which was incompatible with their communion with the papal church. Although the controversy was nominally concerning the *time* of the great festival of Easter, the real *principle* involved was the question of spiritual bondage to Rome, or of the unfettered liberty of conscience in religion.

"The *second* condition proposed by the English prelate was, their ecclesiastical subjugation to his own supremacy; and this involved the great principle as to whether Christ should be king in his own kingdom, and the practical question of the union of church and state, and the original independence of each church.

"The *third* term of uniformity submitted by Austin was, that they should give *christendom*—which, in the language of the times, meant *baptism*—to their children. And this involved the great religious doctrine of personal responsibility, and experimental faith. These three propositions comprehended, in fact, the three great comprehensive principles associated in the events which led to the establishment of this Church and Town, the illustration of which will be more distinctly conspicuous in the details of our ancestral history.

"But with all these conditions of uniformity proposed by the English prelates, the Welsh pastors and churches steadily refused compliance."—*Dedication Discourse*, pp. 53, 54. 1845.

Warren is but three miles from Swansea. As the churches are in the two States of Mass. and R. I., both, of course, are near the line.

As I cannot read their books, an abundance of which are within my reach,⁴ I cannot judge so well of the strength and clearness of their historical vouchers, but my impression is very strong in favor of a high antiquity of the baptist order in Wales.

With the first dawn of returning light, long before the ecclesiastical changes on the continent, or in England, we see the Welsh baptists among the first reformers; and they did not appear to be novices in the business, but entered into the defense of their sentiments, and the carrying out of the usual operations of the denomination, as to churches and associations, like those who had been familiar with their principles.

Brute, Tyndal, Penry, Wroth, Powel, Jones, and Thomas, were eminent reformers in Wales, in very early times, all of whom either came out fully in favor of the baptists, or else propagated sentiments which promoted their cause.

Vavasor Powel was so distinguished for his evangelical labors that he has been denominated the Whitfield of the age.

Walter Brute was a cotemporary of Wickliff, and became acquainted with him at the university of Oxford, where he received his education. The Welsh historians give long accounts of his services and sufferings previous to the year 1400.

John ap Henry, called by the English, Penry, was at first a minister of the church of England; the same may be said of Erbury, and Wroth; such secessions from the establishment was no uncommon thing at that time, both in England and the principality.

John Miles, who afterwards emigrated to this country, gathered a church in Swansea, in 1649, and became the instrument of promoting an active correspondence between the baptists of Wales and England; but he, with a multitude of others, suffered greatly for their sentiments on the restoration of Charles II. His settlement at Swansea, Mass., and his history in America will be given under the head of that state.

The oldest churches of Wales, of whose origin any distinct information has come down to us, are those of Olchon, Llantrisant, Llanwenarth, Carmarthen, Dolan, and Swansea.⁵ These united in an association at Swansea in 1655,⁶ their first meeting was held at Abergavenny; and Vaughan, Prosser, Parry, Watkins, Garson, and Brace were among the principal ministers who attended it.

The annual session of this association, the place where they met, and the names of the ministers appointed to preach, with but partial interruptions, are given by Mr. Davis for 140 years.⁷

A short historical account of the Baptist Churches in Wales. A Tract with this title, by Benjamin Price, is before me; it gives a list of the churches and ministers in each county of the principality, up to the year 1633, and shows that they have greatly increased for a number of years past.

This little work is mostly occupied in those kind of statistical details from which I find it difficult to make any selections suitable for my historical narratives. There is an abundance of names of chapels and ministers, but scarcely any of those historical facts which would afford interest to distant readers.

Associations. Up to 1790, there was but one body of this kind in Wales,

⁴ In the library of Brown University, four miles from me.

⁵ "From the history of the above churches, we find that each of them had several branches; and that every minister was both a pastor and a missionary within the bounds of his own church. The distance from Llanwenarth to Carmarthen is about one hundred miles, and nearly as much from Olchon to Swansea."—*Davis's Hist. Welsh Bap.*, p. 187.

The custom of having branches runs through all the first operations of baptists in all countries. These branches were formed into distinct churches by the advice of the London brethren, under the superintendence of John Miles.

⁶ "We have every reason to believe that the Welsh baptists had their associations, and that Dyfrig, Illtyd, and Dynawt, were the leading men among them long before Austin's attempt to convert them to popery, in that association which was held on the borders of England, about the year 600."—*Davis's Hist. Welsh Bap.*, p. 187. ⁷ *Hist. of the Welsh Baptists*, pp. 193, 199.

but in the summer of this year, this old community, which had increased to forty-eight churches, divided into three, which took the names of East, West, and North. The northern body has again divided into two.* As I shall at the close of this volume give a list of all associations of British Baptists, those of the Welsh brethren will of course be included.

Closing remarks on the Baptists in Wales. In the very limited researches which I have made into the history of the Welsh Baptists, I have felt an ardent desire to acquire and communicate more information than I now possess. There is something peculiarly interesting in the character of the Cambro-British brethren. They are baptists through and through, of the *trans*-Jordan cast. Their hard-mouthed Celtic dialect brings out immersion to the full, and among their preachers we have some very fine specimens of native genius and pulpit eloquence. The sample of preaching by Christmas Evans has gone an extensive round of the periodicals in this country.

I have wanted very much to give a list of their most distinguished preachers, from the earliest periods of their history, but lack the information which is needful for this purpose. I will, however, venture to name Vavasor Powel, William Richards, of Lynn, Benjamin Francis of Horselydown, and Christian Evans, of Anglesea, with Thomas, the author of the Church History, already quoted, as those among the Welsh Baptist preachers whose names have become most familiar beyond the bounds of the Principality. In other denominations of christians, Howell Harris, the coadjutor of Whitfield, Rowlands and Edward Jones, two others of his cotemporaries and friends; and more recently Charles, of Bala, John Elias, a man of great power, and Williams, of Wern, have been men of eminence, and what is better, men of extended and enduring usefulness.

The Welsh Baptists began to emigrate to this country in very early times, and by them some of our oldest and well organized churches were planted; order, intelligence, and stability marked their operations; and the number of baptist communities which have branched out from these Welsh foundations—the number of ministers and members who have sprung from Cambro-British ancestors, and the sound, salutary and efficient principles, which by them have been diffused among the baptist population in this country, is beyond the conception of most of our people.

We shall see, when we come to the history of the American Baptists, that settlements were formed in very early times, by this people, which became the centre of baptist operations, in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina.

St. Austin's demand on the old British Christians to give christendom to children, considered. Having resolved to give the exceptions of the pedobaptists to the main positions of the baptists, when they are made with candor and fairness, and as the scene above referred to is laid on the borders of Wales, this seems to be a suitable place to insert some comments on this portion of ancient history, in which both parties have taken no small share of interest for a number of centuries past. As I prefer living witnesses when they can be had, and those who make their statements under the full impression that they will be made public; at my instance, the worthy divine whose name will soon be given, has supplied me with the pedobaptist version of this old portion of ecclesiastical history.

“Respecting the practice of infant baptism, by the English churches in the

* Letter of Rev. John Sutcliff, of Olney, to Rev. Thos. Urtick, of Philadelphia, dated Sept. 22, 1790. This valuable document is before me.

days of Augustine of Canterbury, the evidence is complete and decisive. Bede's words in the original Latin of his *Historia Ecclesiast.*, L. ii., c. 2, (edit. of Smith, Lond., 1722. Fol., at p. 80), are these: '*ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ, compleatis.*'⁹

"So also the Saxon translation of that history, by King Alfred, in the ninth century, corresponds with the Latin. Ibid. p. 503.

"So too, Gosselin, a monk of Canterbury, near the eleventh century, in his large Life of St. Augustine, (published by *Mabillon Acta Sanctor. ord. Benedict.*, tom. i., p. 509), uses these words: '*ut Baptismi Sacramenta Ecclesiastico ordine peregerent.*'

"So Hollenshead, in his *Chronicles*, (vol. i., p. 596, edit. Lond., 1807. Six vols., 4to.) says: 'In ministering Baptisme according to the custome of the Romane church.'

"And Stowe (*Chronicle Lond.*, 1631., fol., black letter, at p. 58, vol. 2—top), has these words: 'To accomplish the ministry of baptisme according to the Romane and Apostolike church.'

"And Dr. Wall tells us (*History of Infant Baptism*, P. ii., ch. iv., near the beginning), that one of the two copies of Fabian's *Chronicle*, which he consulted, reads thus: 'That ye give christendome to the children in the manner that is used in the chyrche of Rome.' But in the other copy, the words 'in the manner,' &c., are omitted. Now this *omission* in a single copy or edition of Fabian, opposed as it is to the original and all other authorities, and even to Fabian himself, can afford not even a shadow of doubt in the case. The English churches did, most assuredly, practice infant baptism, A.D. 602, when Augustine attempted to bring them into subjection to Rome.'"¹⁰

As Dr. Murdock is a very strong man in ecclesiastical history, we have in this statement the substance of the pedobaptist arguments on this subject.

I shall now briefly state the arguments on the baptist side, and exhibit their reasons for assuming the position that the ancient Britons were not in the practice of infant baptism when Austin came among them.

As to Bede and Fabian, there is certainly a perplexing discrepancy in the statements of these two old historians. We must, however, bear in mind, that as they were both Roman Catholics, they were on a par as to their denominational character and predilections. They were both Britons, and lived between seven and eight centuries apart. Bede was a monk, and died 735; Fabian was a merchant, a sheriff, and alderman of London, his native city, where he died 1512. His *Chronicle of England and France*, in which this disputed passage is found, was first printed in 1516.

I will here make a few extracts from two old baptist writers on this debatable point, for such I am free to admit that I consider it.

Rev. Henry D'Anvers, of England, in his work on *Baptism*, published in 1674, under the head of "The witness borne by the ancient Britons against infant baptism," gives the matter a somewhat critical attention, and comes out with much decision in favor of the genuineness of the controverted passage in Fabian's *Chronicle*.

He adduces as proof of his anti-pedobaptist position, among other arguments, the story of Constantine the Great, who was born in Britain, of pious parents, and yet was not baptized until advanced in years. He also insists much on the great tenacity with which this ancient people adhered to their old customs, and their resolute refusal of all the new measures of Austin, among which he is confident infant baptism was one. His whole version of the story is much the same as baptists now give.¹

Rev. Thomas Davye, of England, in his *Treatise on Baptism*, published in

⁹ That ye shall administer baptism according to the custom of the holy Roman and apostolical church.

¹⁰ Letter of Rev. James Murdock, D.D., of New Haven, Conn., to the author, 1846.

¹ D'Anvers on Baptism, pp. 226-229.

1719, has devoted a number of pages to the discussion of this controverted point.

He heads his article thus: "Infant baptism not practised by some of the ancient Britons, about the year 605." After stating the facts of the case as related by both parties, he observes:

"Our brethren, with whom we have this controversy, will not allow they were against infant baptism. And though Fabian, who wrote about two hundred and ten years since, says expressly they were, yet his testimony will not go down, because so positively against a prevailing practice. He was an ancient English historian; and relating this matter, his words are, as to Austin's second demand, *that ye give christendom to children*. Now since he was of the Romish communion, and the contest was between him and the protestant church, methinks his testimony in the case might be allowed to have some weight in it. I cannot believe but he must understand Bede's meaning in the matter, as much as our modern writers. But nothing which favors the *anabaptists* must be allowed.

"For my part, I cannot see much weight in what Mr. Wills and Baxter object, in not allowing Mr. D'Anvers this testimony. Mr. Wills says, they no more rejected infant baptism, than preaching to the Saxons; which appears to be true in one as well as the other; for how they refused to join with him in preaching to the Saxons, has been declared above.

"I think Mr. Wills, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Wall, of late would have the words of Bede (*to baptize after the manner of Rome*), only to mean, without white garments, milk and honey, unction, &c., which the Romanists affirmed were apostolical traditions. But with what color of reason can we think Bede means these modes of baptism only? In refusing this, did they contrary to the universal and apostolic church? Did not other churches deny those modes as well as they?

"Again, in baptizing the adult, neither did they act contrary to the universal church. We may, therefore, reasonably conclude it was in respect of infant baptism; and that so *Fabian* understood *Bede's* meaning, because infant baptism had generally obtained in those days, and was enjoined to beget infants to regeneration, his words being, 'whereby we are born of God.' It began to be generally received then, and so *Augustin* called it, 'the practice of the universal church,' though it was not generally received in the *Greek* church till then, or after that time.

* * * * * "But to return; if there were no dispute between *Augustin* and the Britons about delaying infant baptism, to what purpose did *Augustin* send those impertinent queries to *Gregory* for solution? as *Du Pin* and *Fox* tell us, viz: whether a woman with child should be baptized? and how long her infant's baptism should be delayed when in no danger of death? To the first, *Gregory* answers in the affirmative; and to the second, that it be done without delay."²

The whole passage in *Dr. Wall* reads as follows: "There are two editions of his (*Fabian's*) book, which I have seen in the Oxford library. There may be more; in one of them (which is the first I know not; I think the title page in one was torn) his words are to the same sense as *Bede's*, &c. * * * * * But in the other, these words, *in the manner that is used in the chyrche of Rome* are omitted; so that condition stands thus: *that ye give christendom to the children*; and this last mentioned edition our author (*D'Anvers*) having lighted on, concluded that the British church before those times, had not been used to give christendom to, or baptize children."

"He should have considered, that the account of such a thing should be taken from *Bede* and the other ancient historians, and not from *Fabian*, especially since *Fabian* in his preface acknowledges (as *Mr. Wills* says, for I did not read that) that what he relates of the ancient affair he has from *Bede*, and consequently his meaning to express *Bede's* sense; and so that edition first mentioned must be as he meant it, and the omission in the other must have been by mistake, of himself or the printer."³

I have related this version of *Dr. Wall* *in extenso*, for the purpose of letting the critical reader see what a lame and clumsy account the champion of pedobaptism gives of this old story.

I would here inquire of all candid and careful historians if these criticisms of this learned and generally very candid writer, are not palpably deficient in historical accuracy and fairness?

Dr. Wall tells his readers that he had seen different and varying editions of *Fabian's Chronicle*, but gives no dates, and admits that he knows not which

² *Du Pin* *Eccle. Hist.*, Vol. V., p. 93. *Fox*, Vol. I., p. 130, as quoted by *Davye* on Baptism, pp. 79-81.

³ *Wills' Infant Baptism Asserted*, p. 134, as quoted by *Wall*, Vol. II., p. 99.

was first. The title page to one copy, to be sure, was torn, but there are other ways of deciding the question of priority in the different editions of old works.

Mr. Wills is introduced as a witness on this controverted point, a man worthy of full credit where his prejudices did not bias his mind; but, unfortunately again, he has said more than Dr. Wall found in Fabian's book.

And, finally, if Bede and Fabian do not agree, the latter must have made a mistake, or the printer must have been guilty of a blunder.

This is not the only instance where Dr. Wall has *inferred* his facts—given *post mortem* dictation to his authorities—and laid the blame of all disservice to the infant cause, to the *indiscretion* of his own men, who *ought* to have been more *careful* in their statements.

We should naturally expect that Fabian would have generally followed Bede, but that he did so without variation is a position which the learned vicar of Shoreham has certainly not sustained.

The insinuation against the fidelity and accuracy of the printer, is the most improbable part of Dr. Wall's story, when we consider the severe scrutiny to which the press was then subjected. Fabian lived under both the Henrys, VII. and VIII., and his Chronicle was published before the latter monarch had his rupture with the pope, and while the power of Rome, with all its scrutinizing machinery, was in full exercise in England. No books could be published without a license, and no licenses could be obtained for any works which gave the least countenance to the claims of any heretics, and especially the anabaptists.

These considerations militate with no inconsiderable force against the novel theory of Dr. Wall.

I would again remind the reader, that both the men in question were Roman Catholics, and of course the uncompromising advocates for infant baptism, not only as an apostolical tradition, but for its sacramental efficacy.

From the above accounts we see that this controversy between the two parties has been of long continuance; and as both are tenacious of their positions, I see no way for its adjustment, until some additional documentary testimony is procured. The thing itself, at first view, would seem to be of little consequence on either side, and my only object in devoting so much time to its discussion, has been to show to my readers how this old story has been managed by the advocates and the opponents of infant baptism, for about two centuries past.

If Fabian's account is correct, the inference is logical and legitimate, that the old British christians were not in the practice of infant baptism when Austin came among them, and an important link is taken out of the chain of the pedobaptist argument in favor of the universal spread of their system at that early period.

If, on the other hand, Bede's version of the story is the true one, the question of pedobaptism does not of necessity come into the account, but only the *modus baptizandi à la de Rome*. I thank Dr. Murdock for opening the argument at my instance, with so much learning and candor; he, and those who sympathize with him, will no doubt take in good part all that has been advanced on the other side.

One thing is certain, that neither Venerable Bede, the monk, nor Robert Fabian, Esq., could have anticipated any aid to the one side or disservice to the other, in their statements.

After writing thus far, and closing up, as I supposed, all I should say on the disputed point in question, in a manner quite unexpected, I fell in with a copy of Fabian's book, and think it proper to give my readers a few items respecting it.⁴

From the book itself, and from the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, I learn that this

⁴ This is a large 4to volume, of about eight hundred pages, and contains the history of England and France to as remote a period as it can be traced, and displays a vast amount of reading and research, and a familiar acquaintance with all the old chronicles of the dark and fabulous ages of the British story. This work has been lately added to the library of Brown University.

ancient work has gone through five editions, viz. : in 1516, '33, '42, '59, and 1811. This last is the edition before me, and was published by Sir Henry Ellis. This learned and illustrious editor has noted all the variations of the different editions of this old book. Sir Henry's edition agrees with Bede, as to the manner of the church of Rome. But in a note he says, "These latter words, in the manner that is used in the church of Rome, are omitted in the editions of 1542 and 1559."

My next inquiry was to ascertain what was said of these two editions, and soon I found that Sir Henry, in his Preface, has given the desired information. His notices are as follows :

"In 1542 appeared the third edition, with this title : 'The Chronicle of Fabyan, whiche he hymselfe nameth y^e Concordaunce of Hystories, nowe newly printed, and in many places corrected, as to y^e dyligent reader it may apere. 1542. *Cum Privilegio ad impremandum solum.* Printed by John Reynes, dwellynge at y^e Sygne of y^e Saynte George, in Paul's Churche Yarde.'

"The title prefixed to the second volume was : 'The seconde volume of Fabyan's Cronycle, conteynynge y^e Cronycles of England and of Fraunce, from y^e begynnynge of y^e reygne of Kynge Richarde y^e Fyrste, untill y^e XXXII. yere of y^e reygne of oure moste redoubted soueraygne, Lorde Kyng Henry y^e VIII.'

"The title of the fourth edition was as follows : 'The chronicle of Fabian, whiche he nameth the concordance of Histories, newly persued. And continued from the beginnyng of King Henry the Seventh, to the ende of Queen Mary, 1559. *Mense Aprilis.* Imprinted at London, by John Kyngston.'—And at the back of it, was this address, from

"The Printer to the Reader.

"Because the last print of Fabian's Chronicle was in many places altered from the first copie, I have caused it to be conferred with the first print of all, and set it forthe in all points accordyng to the aucthour's meaning. Also all through the storie of the Britons, wherein he followeth Geoffrey, of Monmouth, I have caused his storie to be conferred with Geffries, and noted the chapters in the margine where out the matter is taken, and such things as he (I wote not for what cause) omitted, I have caused to be translated, and duely placed under the peruser's name. The like haue I doen for the most part all the boke through, notyng the places of soche aucthours as he allegeth^s. And because the controuersie and varieties, is greate among writers, about the number of yeres, from Adam's creation, to Christe's incarnation, therefore, as master Fabian followeth the septuaginta, and saint Bede, so have I in the margine added the account of Ihon Functius and others, all through the storie, till the beginnyng of our Sauour, to the ende you maie knowe the diuersities of theim, and lack nothing necessarie for the truthe. I have also continued the storie from Fabian's tyme, till the ende of our late soueraigne Quene Maries, briefly touching the speciall matters, that haue happened therein. And if I haue in any place mistaken ought, or one letter be shaped for an other, I beseech you, of your gentleness to amende it. Thus I prae God farther you in all good studies."

The first edition of a work, is of course regarded as free from interpolation and amendments, and as containing an exhibition of the real views of the author ; and as the edition of 1559 is said to have been made to conform to the *first*, and was moreover "collated with a MS. of the author's own time,"⁶ the above account seems to fully establish the baptist claims, as the edition which was so carefully compared with the original work, merely says *that ye give christendom to children.*⁷

But unluckily for us, Sir Henry Ellis states in his Preface to his edition (of 1811), that the *first* edition was also *his* guide, and in this the contested passage is found.

After giving these brief details, I shall leave the disputed point for each one to settle in his own mind, according to his convictions of the probabilities of the case.

Remarks. 1. As I supposed beforehand, Fabian and Bede were on a level as to their denominational standing ; both show a strong tincture of the marvellous and miraculous, but the monk shows more favor to "legendary miracles," and exhibits more "of puerile credulity," than the alderman. Indeed,

^s There is no *italicising* in this text,—this is done by me.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Britannica.*

⁷ The first edition is said to have been mostly destroyed by Cardinal Wolsey, to avoid the disclosures of the property of the church.

it is said that Fabian, although a decided catholic, was no friend to the monastic institution.

2. Mr. Will's position, as presented by Dr. Wall, viz. : that Fabian professed to take his accounts from Bede, as to old ecclesiastical affairs, is not at all sustained by anything found in this book. Fabian was a general historian, mostly in secular matters—his authorities are abundant, and Bede's work is named among the rest. But in no case does he profess to follow him, except in the one above quoted, respecting the time from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ.

HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN IRELAND.

At what period baptist churches began to be founded in this ancient country, I have not been able to learn; none as yet have been traced back farther than about the middle of the seventeenth century. Mr. Ivimey has given an account of a correspondence which was maintained between the English and Irish brethren in 1663, from which it appears that there were at that time in Ireland, ten churches, in the following places, viz. : Dublin, Waterford, Clonmel, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick, Galloway, Wexford, Kerry, and near Carrick Fergus. Three years after, another communication from the Irish brethren was signed by Messrs. Patient, Blackwood, Roberts, Lowern, Seward, Jones, Cudmore, Hopkins, and Thomas.

The baptists appear to have flourished in Ireland during the existence of the Commonwealth, but on the restoration of Charles-II., the British baptist historians have supposed that their churches were generally dispersed, and that those ministers who had gone over from England to that kingdom were obliged to return home.

Among the papers left by Mr. John Comer, and preserved by Mr. Backus, I find a letter written from Dublin, in 1731, by a baptist minister, whose name was Abdiel Edwards. By this letter it appears that there were then eight or ten churches in Ireland, of the Particular Baptists, besides one of Armenian principles; and another which held to open communion. Mr. Edwards informs his correspondents that the church in Swift's Alley, Dublin, of which he was pastor, consisted of about two hundred members; that it was, for aught he could learn, the oldest in the kingdom, and was formed, as he supposed, about eighty years before, that is, about 1650. He also mentions that the whole number of baptist communicants then in Ireland, did not exceed four hundred. The number of both churches and members has been less since that time, but of late years they begin to increase.

Baptist Irish Society. Rev. C. H. Hosken, now of Patterson, N. J., some years since was in the service of this society, by the means of which the baptist cause has been greatly revived in this fast-bound catholic country; and by my request he has furnished me with the following sketches of the present condition of our brethren there, which I will present to my readers :

“ But little appears to be known of the baptist churches of Ireland from the Cromwellian age to the missionary period, when the attention of various societies was turned towards Ireland, as an important field of missionary labor. Then it was found that the cause was in a very languishing condition, some of the candlesticks had been removed, and those remaining gave but a flickering light. At this period (1814), the Baptist Irish Society was formed, from which, to the present, it has continued increasing in influence, resources and usefulness, and with the exception of Dublin, Belfast, and Tubbermore, embraces all the important B. C. of Ireland.”

Mr. Hosken next gives some account of the secretaries of this benevolent institution. Rev. Joseph Ivimey, of London, the historian, was the first, Rev. Samuel Green the second, and Rev. M. F. Trestrail the third, who still officiate.

The churches and locations described by Mr. H. are as follows :

“ *Westmeath.* This is nearly the centre of the island; and at a town called

Killbeggan, resides the oldest agent of the society, and I believe the oldest baptist minister in Ireland, the Rev. J. McCarthy. He is a thorough Irishman, full of fire, wit and benevolence. No other minister has had equal success, I believe, unless we except the lamented Carson, of Tubbermore. Mr. McC. had baptized, up to the year 1840, over two hundred persons, which, for Ireland, is a great number. His labors have been considered of too fugitive a character to produce great results. Every year he has been in the habit of inviting all the agents of the society to spend a few days with him, for the purpose of holding meetings to call special attention to Divine things. These meetings are sunny spots in the history of the baptist church in Ireland. Since 1840, an Association has been formed in the south of Ireland, including Cork, Waterford, Clonmel, Limerick, &c., and I understand from letters received from Ireland, that the cause has received quite an impetus by these union meetings and combined efforts.

"*Cork.* This church has an important endowment, about two hundred years old, which has recently been put into the hands of the committee of the Baptist Irish Society, and they supply the minister. The baptist cause in Cork appears to have been in a very low condition for many years. The first minister sent there by the society, was a Mr. Campbell, but he did not succeed well. After his relinquishment of the station, the society sent over Mr. F. Trestrail, their present Secretary, under whose ministry things considerably improved. They have made great alterations in their meeting house, and in those respects are not as formerly, two hundred years behind other denominations. Cork is a beautiful city, on the bank of the Lee, containing a population of 120,000 inhabitants.

"*Waterford.* This is another endowed church, which for seventeen years has been under the pastoral care of the Rev. Charles Hardcastle, a christian, a scholar and a gentleman. The church has recently become connected with the society, by which arrangement Mr. H. can relinquish his school, and by means of a little pecuniary aid given by the society, devote himself exclusively to the work. This meeting house, too, has been very recently improved, at an expense of seven or eight hundred dollars. Mr. Hardcastle is greatly beloved, and in his family as well as in the church, is a pattern of every christian grace.

"*Clonmel.* Here, though a church existed in the days of Oliver Cromwell, there have not of late appeared any very permanent results attending the labors of the society's agent. The present church owes its existence, under God, to the labors of Mr. J. McCarthy; he was succeeded by Mr. Stephen Davis, under whom much good was done; a house for worship and a parsonage built."

Clonmel was the place where Mr. Hosken labored for two years, when he removed to the Bay of Honduras.

Limerick and Ballina are both described by Mr. Hosken, but as there are no very important facts connected with the history, I will pass on to

Tubbermore, which has become famous from its being associated with the name of the late eminent A. Carson, L.L.D.¹ This, though a small village, has the largest baptist church in Ireland. "The building is a rude structure, in the shape of the letter T, with common benches for seats, and a mud floor. Yet this was the scene of the labors of one of the greatest Greek scholars of his day. Here, in humble contentment, he raised a large family of twelve or fourteen children, all of whom became members of his spiritual family, the church.

"Dr. Carson, though somewhat caustic in his writings, is said by those who visited him in his rural cottage, in Tubbermore, to have been the impersonation of urbanity, kindness and moderation.

"*Dublin*, the metropolis of Ireland, has for many years had a flourishing baptist church, formerly under the pastoral care of Rev. Wm. Ford. In the

¹ Tubbermore is in the neighborhood of Belfast; and, of course, is in the north of Ireland.

year 1830, they sold their old place of worship, and erected a very eligible building at an expense of about \$8,000. Dr. Cox, of Hackney, and Steane, of Camberwell, London, I believe were at the opening of the house. Their present pastor is a Mr. Elvin, from England.

"*Belfast.* The greatest emporium of manufactures and commerce in the north of Ireland, where also there is an important college, has no regular baptist church. True, there is a church of Scotch baptists, namely: such as admit of no settled ministry. If brother A has a word of exhortation, he says it— if brother B has an exposition of scripture, he delivers it. The natural consequence of this negation of an important element in the christian church—the stated ministry—is the entire absence of success.

"The Baptist Irish Society would gladly send them a minister, but they were not, when I last heard from them, prepared to receive one. I trust, however, that these sincere, though in this respect, mistaken brethren, will soon see their error, and under a suitable leader, make inroads upon the kingdom of darkness, and take part in the onward progress and glorious triumphs of Immanuel.

"The following points are deducible from the foregoing narratives, and in conclusion, may very properly be brought before the mind.

"1. The most ancient Irish christians were probably baptists, so far as the mode of baptism is concerned, as the most ancient ecclesiastical edifice has in it a baptistery large enough for adult immersion.¹

"2. There were baptist churches in Ireland in the Cromwellian age.

"3. There were several baptist churches in this country which were handsomely endowed at an early period.

"4. The baptist cause languished here, till the missionary period, since which time it has steadily increased.

"5. The evidence of prosperity is seen in increased resources; the erection of four new places of worship, namely: in Dublin, Limerick, Athlone, and Clonlig, and improvements amounting nearly to new houses in Cork and Waterford.

"6. In the increased number of conversions, and the better organization of the missionary band."

The Irish Southern Association was formed in 1841; in 1845 this body appended to its Circular letter, the annual statistics of twenty-four baptist churches, including, however, the twelve comprehended in the Association. The total of numbers in all the Irish baptist churches at that time, was 850.²

¹ Mr. Hosken's account of this edifice in the beginning of his narrative, was omitted in my selections.

² E. Baptist Manual for 1845, p. 52.

THE SCOTCH BAPTISTS.

All my efforts to obtain such historical sketches as are needful for my plan, of the rise and progress of the denomination in this ancient country, have been without success. Of course I have no alternative but to transcribe the short article which is found in Rippon's Register, together with a few items which I have gleaned from the First Report of the Baptist Union of Scotland.

"It was supposed, till very lately, that there never had existed in Scotland a religious society of the Baptist denomination, before the year 1765; but it now appears that this was a mistake, and that such a society did really exist there, as far back as about the middle of the seventeenth century, and which used to meet at Leith and Edinburgh. What led to this discovery was a book which lately fell into the hands of a certain person at Edinburgh, entitled, 'A confession of the several congregations or churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (though unjustly) called Anabaptists; published for the vindication of the truth, &c. Unto which is added, Heart-bleedings for professors' abominations, or a faithful general epistle (from the same churches), presented to all who have known the way of truth, &c. The fourth impression, corrected. Printed at Leith, 1653.' To this edition a preface is prefixed by some baptists at Leith and Edinburgh, which, however, contains nothing of the history of the church, only that they were of the same faith and order with the churches in London. It is dated 'Leith, the tenth of the first month, vulgarly called March, 1652-3,' and 'signed in the name, and by the appointment of the church of Christ, usually meeting at Leith and Edinburgh, by Thomas Spencer, Abraham Holmes, Thomas Powell, John Brady.'

"It is more than probable that this church was composed of English Baptists, who had gone into that country during the civil wars. In that case it may be supposed that they were chiefly soldiers, as we know of no other description of men so likely to have emigrated from England to Scotland; and it is well known that there were many baptists in the army which Cromwell led into that country, a good part of which was left behind for the purpose of garrisoning Edinburgh, Leith, and other places.

"This church, it is supposed, continued in existence down to the era of the restoration, when, in all probability, it was dissolved and dispersed, owing either to the garrisons of Leith and Edinburgh being then withdrawn and replaced by other troops, or else to the violence of the persecution, which so notoriously distinguished the execrable reign of the second Charles. Be that as it may, there do not appear, as far as is now known, the slightest traces of so much as one single baptist church in North-Britain, for more than a hundred years from that period. It was not till the year 1765, that the baptist profession began again to make a public appearance in that country; its first rise, however, may be traced a little further back."¹

"In 1763, Robert Carmichael and Archibald McLean, conversing together upon the subject of infant baptism, were at a loss to find any proper ground for it in the word of God; but being unwilling to relinquish it hastily, it was agreed that each of them should carefully consult the scriptures upon that subject, and communicate their thoughts upon it to each other. Carmichael had been for several years pastor of an Antiburgher congregation, the strictest class of seceders, but had now joined the Glassites. McLean was a printer at Glasgow. The result of these examinations was, that both of these men were led to renounce infant baptism. Carmichael was now at Edinburgh. He had been pastor of an Independent society in that city; but for certain reasons, he and seven others had separated from that society, before he became a Baptist. Soon after this separation he became fully convinced of the scripture doctrine of baptism, and preached it publicly. Five of the seven who adhered to him,

¹ Rippon's Register for 1796.

declared themselves of the same mind, among whom was Mr. Robert Walker, surgeon. To obtain baptism in a regular way, it was judged proper that Mr. Carmichael should first go to London and be baptized himself. He accordingly went and was baptized by Doctor Gill, at Barbican, October 9, 1765, and returning to Edinburgh, administered that ordinance to the five above mentioned, and other two, in November following. Archibald McLean, then residing at Glasgow, was not baptized for some weeks after; and while at Edinburgh upon that occasion he was much solicited to write an answer to Mr. Glass's Dissertation on Infant Baptism, which he did in the spring following, but it was not published till the end of that year. A publication of this nature being a novelty in Scotland, awakened the attention of many in different places to the subject. In December, 1767, Archibald McLean removed to Edinburgh, the church then consisting of about nine members; and in June, 1768, he was chosen colleague to Mr. Carmichael. Soon after this the church increased considerably."

This was the beginning of the present baptist churches in Scotland. In 1769, Mr. Carmichael removed from Edinburgh, and settled at Dundee, where a church was organized immediately, and he and Thomas Boswel became its elders. About the same time Dr. Walker was chosen joint-elder with Archibald McLean of the church at Edinburgh. The same year (1769) several persons came from Glasgow, and were baptized. Afterwards, when their number increased, they were set in order, and Neil Stuart was appointed their elder. In 1770, a small society arose at Montrose, and John Greig, David Mill, and Thomas Wren, officiated as its elders. From this period baptist sentiments spread around in many different places, and a number of small societies were formed. Some acquired a permanent standing, while others were broken up in a short time by disputes among themselves about the *order of the house, &c.* I am inclined to think there were not more than ten or twelve baptist churches in Scotland, in 1800. But since that time they have increased greatly. Many pedobaptist ministers have espoused the baptist cause, and the doctrine of believers' baptism has had an extensive prevalence within a few years past in the Scottish realm. The converts seem to have come more from the Independent connection, than the fast-bound Kirk. Among the distinguished characters in Scotland who have embraced the principles of the baptists, we may reckon Robert Haldane, Esq., and Rev. James A. Haldane, his brother. The former of these is a gentleman of fortune, and has, for many years, devoted his revenues to the promotion of the cause of truth. By his means many pious young men have been educated and sent forth into the ministry in different directions; and a considerable number of them, have with their patron, been buried in baptism, and espoused the principles of the despised baptists.

I very much regret that I am not able to give a more particular account of the late progress of the baptist sentiments, and of the present number of the denomination in Scotland.

Mr. Maclay, of New York, informs me, that before he left Scotland, he foresaw what has since come to pass, and gave his Independent brethren to understand that he expected many of them would become baptists. And so it has happened that many of their ministers, multitudes of their members, and in not a few instances almost whole churches have embraced baptist principles. The Independents and baptists are very nearly related. Their notions of church government are alike, in doctrine they generally agree, and it is only for an Independent to go into the water, and he is a baptist at once. The Independent churches have always been baptist nurseries. The Independents are upon the brink of gospel order, and when they are immersed in Jordan they are completely in it. *My 1st Vol.*, pp. 231-234.

Mr. Douglas's *History of the Baptists in the North of England*, already mentioned, p. 342, would have contributed more materials than I have found

in any other work, for illustrating the affairs of the baptists in the region of country to which it is devoted, and also of those in Scotland for two centuries past, had it come in season. It is a small octavo of over three hundred pages, and indicates a great amount of laborious research into the early movements of the denomination, from the metropolis to the Scottish borders. He has also shown that an intimate connection subsisted between the churches and members of the English and Scotch baptists, as far back as their history can be traced.

This work abounds with biographical matter of a new and interesting character, from which I shall derive material aid in my proposed history of baptist characters. In a word, it is a valuable addition to the literature of our community; and if a suitable number of men, of equal talents and industry would perform a similar service for other sections of the empire, the early history of the society would be much more easily acquired than at present can be done.

As I have despaired at present of giving anything like a detailed and continuous account of our Scotch brethren, and as the stereotypers are calling loudly for copy, I shall attempt no more in this article than to make a few selections of the most prominent items of Scottish history which I have found in Mr. Douglas's narratives.

The conjectures which I have quoted from Rippon's Register, are fully confirmed in this new history. Gen. Monk was the officer, who under Cromwell, led a small army into Scotland to hold it in subjection, after the adherents of Charles II. had been dispersed by their defeat at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

"In this army there were many Baptists who were very zealous in supporting and extending their principles. This zeal was increased when Monk left the army, to command the fleet against the Dutch, in the beginning of 1653, leaving Major General Robert Lilburne in command of the troops in Scotland. General Lilburne himself was a baptist, and gave to the baptists every facility to promote their peculiar views of divine truth; and any baptist minister from England, who visited Scotland at this time, met with his warm regards and especial protection.

"We have an instance of this, in his treatment of the messenger of the church at Hexham, Mr. Edward Hickhornhill, already mentioned. The general's head-quarters were at Dalkeith, about six miles south of Edinburgh. Young Hickhornhill repaired thither, and was kindly welcomed by the commander-in-chief. He was invited by him to become a chaplain in the army. Owing, however, to a change in his views, regarding taking a salary for ministerial employment, he declined; but with a view to his being religiously useful in the army, he became a lieutenant in the regiment of Colonel Daniel, stationed at St. Johnston, or Perth. Mr. Hickhornhill wrote a number of letters, but we omit them, as they chiefly have regard to the above matter.

"The general was still anxious to employ gifted brethren as chaplains in the army, and requested Mr. Hickhornhill, in corresponding with his friends at Hexham, to solicit any one, capable of the service, to come as soon as possible, to become his own chaplain. The reason of this urgency was, 'That there were diverse honest Scotch people that longed to be gathered into the same gospel order with themselves, but they wanted a faithful pastor.'

"To this request the church at Hexham immediately responded by sending one of their brethren, Mr. Thomas Stackhouse, to be their messenger, bearing with him a general recommendation to any of the churches he might visit. Mr. Stackhouse went to the commander, who kindly received him; and he was equally welcomed by his baptist brethren in general, in the different places he visited.

"At Leith, the port of Edinburgh, a baptist church had been formed, composed, in all likelihood, of a portion of the detachment of the army stationed there, and some of the inhabitants. Mr. Stackhouse visited this church, and was treated, as he mentions in his letter to the church at Hexham, 'in a most brotherly

manner.' Having ministered among them for a short time, he returned to Hexham, bearing with him a letter from the church at Leith, to the brethren on the banks of the Tyne, of which the following is an abstract."²

This letter was short, and exhibited strong feelings of christian devotion and fraternal affection. It was signed by John Carlile and Thomas Powell.

"With regard to the church at Leith, little more is known of it than what is found in the archives of the Hexham." This church, throughout the whole of Mr. Douglas' narratives, holds a conspicuous place among the baptists in the north of England.

"In many, if not all of the garrisons and military stations throughout Scotland at that time, the views of the kingdom of Christ held by the baptists, made a considerable impression. * * * * *

"At Dalkeith, also, the head quarters of the army, and the residence of the general, there can be but little doubt that a society of baptists would be formed." * * * * * In a number of other places the ordinance of baptism was administered in the baptist mode.

In the preceding narrative of the baptists in Scotland, at this period, we have attempted to bring into a focus, all the information we can find in the archives of the church at Hexham, together with the other feeble glimmerings of light to be found in other quarters, tending to illustrate it.

This army remained in Scotland nine years, viz. from 1650 to 1659, when General Monk was called home to re-establish the Stuart family on the throne of Britain.

"As no traces of baptist churches are to be found in the annals of Scottish ecclesiastical history at this time, or long afterwards, it is probable that but a very partial impression had been made on the natives of the country, relative to the embracing of baptist principles."³

But little appears in the details of this work pertaining to any baptist people or influence in Scotland for more than a century from the last mentioned period. Then comes up the account which has already been given, although somewhat more in detail, of the revival of baptist principles under the Messrs. Haldanes, Carmichael, Maclean, Anderson, and their associates.

Mr. Douglas has given an interesting correspondence which occurred on the subject of the baptism of Mr. Carmichael, who took the lead in the primitive practice in North Britain. He was an Independent minister in Edinburg. Dr. Gill, of London, was invited to go to Scotland to baptize him, with five others; but, as the Dr. was unable to perform such a journey, as he was now far advanced in years, he recommended, for the performance of this service, "Mr. David Fernie, a Scotchman by birth, in the northern part of England. He is a man of great evangelical light, and good knowledge of the constitution and order of churches. He frequently preaches at New Castle and Sunderland; but his ministry lies chiefly in the bishopric of Durham." I have thus quoted a part of Dr. Gill's letter on the subject. Why this arrangement was not agreed to, the historian could not learn; but it so happened, that in a few months after, Mr. Carmichael was baptized by the famous London divine in his own place, at the Barbican. This was in 1765. He was then prepared to administer the ordinance to his new associates, and soon after, a number of persons of much distinction submitted to the rite.

Mr. Douglas mentions the names of Henry David Inglis, advocate, grandson of Colonel Gardner, who fell at Preston Pans, John Campbell, and William Dickie. A few years after, Mr. Monereif, brother to Sir Henry Monerief, became an elder of the church of Glasgow. William Braidwood, George Greive, Robert Walker, and others, soon became zealous advocates of the baptist doctrine in Scotland and the adjoining parts of England.⁴

² Douglas' Hist., &c., pp. 33-34.

³ Id., p. 43.

⁴ Id., pp. 190-193.

AN ABSTRACT FROM THE FIRST REPORT OF THE BAPTIST UNION, OF SCOTLAND, 1844.

The Report above referred to gives the names, dates, and statistics in the usual style of baptist documents of this kind, of about one hundred churches. Their locations, size, &c., are given in the summary accounts which will follow.

Among the oldest churches now in Scotland, as by this Report, are :—

“ Keiss, in Caithshire,⁵ 1750 ; Rev. Alexander Bain, minister ; members, 17.

“ Bristo-street, Edinburgh, 1765 ; Rev. Messrs. Dickie, Anderson, sen. and jun., ministers ; members, 260.

“ Seagate, Dundee, 1769 ; Rev. David Cameron, minister ; members, 65.

“ Hanover-street, Glasgow, 1778 ; Rev. Messrs. Arch, Watson, John Johnson, ministers ; members, 300.”

In this last-named city are five churches, embracing, together, about eight hundred members.

In Edinburgh are six churches, in which the total number is a fraction less.

Of the hundred churches, only about thirty of them have as yet come into the Union ; but they are coming in by slow degrees, as those of England did into their Associations.

I will close my account of the Scotch Baptists with the following

Summary and Remarks.

“ From the foregoing table, it appears that there are in Scotland about 90 baptist churches, so called, having about 5,500 members, making, on an average, 61 to each church. Of these, about 4,763 reside on the mainland, and 737 on the isles ; 343 in Orkney and Shetland, and 394 in the Hebrides. Nearly 1000 of them speak the Gaelic—about 600 on the mainland, and 375 in the Western Isles. Besides these, there are between 100 and 200 who are either not formed into churches, or in fellowship with churches not holding baptist principles, and about 50 called Brean baptists. This, of course, does not include those called Campbellites, or Disciples. In 1795, nearly fifty years ago, Archibald Maclean computes the baptists in Scotland at about 380, exclusive of a few small, unconnected parties. Double that number, he says, had been baptized since 1765, but the rest had either died or been excluded. In half a century, considering the increase of population, &c., alas ! how little progress have we made ! Had we been doing our duty, instead of 5,000, we might at least have been 50,000. May the baptists in Scotland, fifty years hence, not number 100,000, if they only unite, and rouse to action ? ‘ There remaineth much land yet to be possessed.’

“ As to the progress of last year, after much care, anxiety, and painstaking, we have not obtained materials so complete as we had wished, there being some brethren who do not approve of ecclesiastical statistics. But of 67 churches, we gather the following particulars :— Increase—by baptism, 626 ; by letter, or from other churches, 84 ; by restoration, 15 : in all, 725. Decrease—by death, 63 ; by removal to other places, 115 ; by withdrawal, 63 ; by exclusion, 42 ; in all, 283 ; being a clear increase of 442, or nearly 7 to each church. In 41 churches there has been a clear increase ; in 17, a decrease ; in 9, neither increase nor decrease ; the rest are unreported. In 30 churches there are Sabbath schools ; in 30, none ; the rest are unreported. In 29 churches there are preaching stations ; in 43, none ; the rest unascertained. About 45, that is the half of the churches, have places of worship of their own, for the most part burdened with debt ; 37 meet in rented halls, or schoolrooms, &c. ; the rest unknown.⁴

Closing Remarks on the History of the English Baptists.

1. As I have already suggested, the more I investigate the early history of the baptists in the British empire, the more fully am I persuaded that the emigrations into this country of the old Waldenses, and of the anabaptists from

⁵ The baptists in this county ardently desire a preacher to be fixed among them. Keiss church, formed by Sir William Sinclair, baronet of Dunbeath, is the oldest baptist church in Scotland. This summer the members have built for themselves a chapel.”—*First Report, Scottish Union for 1844*, p. 22.

⁴ In 1790, when there were 312 churches in England proper, in seven Associations, one hundred and ninety of them were not associated. Most of these old bodies, I believe, and nearly all the later ones, have fallen into the Associations.

Germany and Holland, at later periods, were much more frequent, and that, by them, the peculiar sentiments of the denomination were much more extensively diffused than the English baptist historians have represented. These facts, I have full confidence, will be developed by more thorough examinations into the remote history of this people.

2. Names of a few of the most distinguished men among the English baptists who have given celebrity to the denomination abroad.

All living characters must, of course, be here omitted; and, of departed worthies, I shall mention only those who are extensively known abroad.

John Bunyan, the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, I shall place at the head of this list. This name is probably more generally known than any other of the old baptist authors.

John Tombes, *Benjamin Keach*, *Henry D'Anvers*, *Dr. Gale*, *Joseph Stennett*, and *Dr. Carson*, are among the most distinguished writers on the baptistal controversy.

Dr. Gill, surnamed, by Shrubsole, *Dr. Voluminous*, holds a pre-eminent rank as an able expositor of the scriptures, and a polemical writer.

Rev. Andrew Fuller holds a similar rank, among more modern divines in the English baptist church.

Rev. John Foster, as an Essayist on moral and religious subjects, is acknowledged to have few superiors in his peculiar department.

Rev. Robert Hall, for pulpit eloquence, and for lofty and elegant compositions in his professional line, is acknowledged, on all hands, to have been a man of superior powers.

Rev. William Carey, the famous missionary in India, who became familiar with forty different languages, was the Suartz of modern times.

Robert Robinson, the author of the *History of Baptism, Ecclesiastical Researches, &c.*, had few superiors as to historical literature.

Fawcett, *the Rylands*, *the Evans*, and *Stennetts*, were distinguished divines and general scholars.

Rev. Joseph Hughes was the projector of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

W. Fox, Esq., a deacon of the Prescott-street church, holds the same relation to the National Sunday School Society of Great Britain, and was a co-worker with Raikes and the early promoters of that great institution. †

These men have added much to the fame of English baptists in modern times.

“Let it never be forgotten of the particular baptists of England, that they form the denomination of Fuller, and Carey, and Ryland, and Hall, and Foster; that they have originated among the greatest of all missionary enterprises; that they have enriched the christian literature of our country with authorship of the most exalted piety, as well as of the first talent, and the first eloquence; that they have waged a very noble and successful war with the hydra of anti-nomianism; that perhaps there is not a more intellectual community of ministers in our island, or who have put forth to their number, a greater amount of mental power, and mental activity, in the defense and illustration of our common faith; and, what is still better than all the triumphs of genius or understanding, who, by their zeal and fidelity, and pastoral labor, among the congregations which they have reared, have done more to swell the lists of genuine discipleship in the walks of private society, and thus both to uphold and extend the living christianity of our nation.” ‡

† Ivicey, Vol. IV., p. 72.

‡ Dr. Chalmers' Lect. on Rom., p. 76.

GERMANY AND DENMARK.

As the baptist cause has but lately revived in these ancient countries, and but little progress has as yet been made by our people here, my accounts under this head must be very brief, and will consist principally of extracts from a few of our standard works.

“When Professor Sears embarked for Europe, in 1833, he was requested to acquaint himself with the religious state of Germany with reference to the establishment of a mission there, and to communicate the result of his observations to the Board. Germany was the home of the Mennonites, a class of christians who hold ‘that practical piety is the essence of religion, and that the surest mark of the true church is the sanctity of its members.’ They reject infant baptism, and though now greatly degenerated both in their doctrines and practice, it was believed that, with the aid of American Baptists, they might be won to the old paths trodden by their ancestors.

“Mr. Sears informed the Board that there were in Germany a considerable number of christians who were Baptists in sentiment, but that he found no regular church of that order. At Hamburg, a free city on the Elbe, he became acquainted with Mr. T. G. Oncken, a man of ‘strong, acute mind,’ and though not liberally educated, very intelligent, possessed of much practical knowledge, and of amiable and winning manners. He had been a missionary under the patronage of the Continental Society, also an agent of the Edinburgh Bible Society, and possessed the confidence of some of the most distinguished and excellent clergymen in Germany. Mr. Sears recommended Mr. Oncken to be employed as a missionary of the Board in Germany. He learned that there were three other young men, (one of whom, Mr. Lewis, a converted Jew, he subsequently saw,) who were zealously engaged in promoting the cause of evangelical religion in different parts of Germany, but without any plan of co-operation, having yet only heard of each other.

“On the 22d of April, 1834, Mr. and Mrs. Oncken and five other individuals were baptized by Professor Sears at Hamburg, and were the next day constituted a church, of which Mr. Oncken was ordained pastor.

“In November Mr. Sears wrote that the church at Hamburg [which had now increased to thirteen,] were happily united. He had seen christian love in American churches, but never those ‘who thought it was their life and earthly happiness, so much as these brethren.’

“At Bremen and fourteen small villages in its vicinity, where Mr. Oncken had occasionally preached while employed by the Continental Society, there were a considerable number of devout christians who, having no stated preacher, maintained social, religious meetings. By these their own union and piety were greatly promoted; and some who were before strangers to the power of the gospel, became subjects of divine grace.

There was much evidence that there were here and there in the Lutheran church some who at heart desired the revival of spiritual religion, and were only held in check by fear of the clergy and the government, whose combined influence sustained a heartless, formal state religion, where every ‘shade of Pantheism, Deism, Rationalism, Supernaturalism, Arminianism, Calvinism, &c. were pronounced to be *indivisibly* one!’

“Mr. Oncken entered the service of the Board September 25, 1835, retaining however his connection with the Edinburgh Bible Society. He was directed to extend his labors, as far as his immediate duties at Hamburg would permit, to Bremen, Oldenburg and other towns in Hanover, and along the northern coast of Germany.”¹

“*Baptist Missions in Germany.*”²

“The German mission has, from the beginning, been marked by the most favorable indications of Divine Providence; and never more so than at the present moment. The evils

¹ Hist. of American Missions, pp. 577-578.

² Bap. Miss. Mag. for January, 1847.

which were allowed to remain in the Lutheran church by its founders, have, by the disastrous results which they have worked out, come to appear in their true character. Luther and Melancthon were often urged to abandon entirely that corrupt and unholy church in which they had been bred, and to form one altogether distinct from it, after the model of that founded by Christ and the apostles. But their undue veneration for an ancient and widely extended nominal church, and their mistaken views of policy, led them to cherish many usages which ought to have been done away, and to adopt some principles which are radically defective, and which have well nigh proved the ruin of their own church.

"By refusing to make any distinction between the converted and the unconverted, and thus rendering it impracticable even to *aim* directly at making their church "an assembly of saints," they laid the foundation for that system of rationalism which their unconverted successors in the universities and in the ministry reared, and which has, at length, come to be dreaded by christians almost as much as the papacy itself.

"Unfortunately, the newly organized, or rather, modified church was by the authority of the reformers and by the cold touch of the state, congealed into an immutable form. Thus confessions, and catechisms, and formulas of concord became a fundamental law of the state; and an apostolical principle or practice not formally recognized by these, if adopted by an individual or body of individuals, is made an act of high misdemeanor, punishable with fines and penalties.

"The first consequence was the almost total extinction of the spirit of christianity within the pale of the nominal church. The next was a corrupt theology and an abandonment of the divine authority of the Bible. The last consequence is the denial of the divine authority of the reformers, or of their legal representatives, the civil rulers; and here the reaction strikes the bottom line of truth.

"The first two consequences were contemplated with comparative indifference by the protectors of the church; but when men began to call in question the authority of the creeds, and to teach the people that they ought either to be revised or abolished, then the slumbering lion was aroused, and an attempt was made to frighten men into submission to the constituted authorities. Thus a strife has commenced between ruler and subject on the question of religious liberty, which is now shaking the very fabric of the state, and which threatens to increase in intensity till one of the parties perish in the struggle. It can hardly be a question which side will win the day.

"It is a singular circumstance, that while religious liberty is defended by the unbelieving part of the church, the pious members are closely linked with the state, and are now the apostles, and will soon be the martyrs, of intolerance. There is now a very large body of educated men who are determined on asserting and maintaining their rights as men; and, beside these, there is a revolutionary party, who have imbibed the political sentiments of the Swiss and the French.

"In the present sad state of religion in Germany, it is hoped that the pious Lutherans may do something towards restoring their church to its ancient orthodoxy, and bringing the people, now perishing in sin, to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. But in the light of the scriptures and of reason, rendered more clear, if possible, by the experience of three centuries, we can hardly fail to perceive that a pure christianity can never, in this way, be secured and perpetuated in Germany. By identifying themselves with the cause of an intolerant state religion, and by relying on the civil arm to enforce religious convictions, they array themselves against God not less than against humanity.

"The baptists, on the other hand, have, without any interference with political matters, proved themselves in Germany, what they have always and everywhere been,—the martyrs of religious liberty. *By the providence of God*, they were unexpectedly placed in the very van of that great movement which is now agitating all Germany. The imprisonment of Oncken and the Mönsters not only presented to multitudes, already weary of ecclesiastical rule, an illustration of that tendency which they detested, but introduced to the whole German nation the baptists in their true character, as a quiet, virtuous and truly christian denomination, entirely distinct from the old Anabaptists of that country. Such is the statement of the Germans themselves, as found in their most respectable periodical publications. Numerous pamphlets and articles were written against the baptists, as a heretical and disorderly sect; and these called forth others, written, too, by members of the Lutheran church, in their defense; and we have been gratified to see, within a short time, that the leading journals, both theological and literary, have not hesitated to say, that the principles of the baptists can never be overthrown by any such attacks as have been made upon them by their opponents in Germany and Denmark. While this state of things is not such as greatly to promote our cause by any direct influences, it is adapted effectually to remove external hindrances to the prosecution of our work out of the way; and, perhaps, this is all the aid that a spiritual church can safely seek from men of the world.

"If we now turn our eye to the indications of Providence, as found in the history of our German Mission, we shall discover abundant evidence of the presence of a divine hand in it all. Let us look, for a moment, at the men whom God has given us. They were found, already trained for the service. Mr. Oncken, well practised in speaking two or three languages,

was admirably educated for his work, by his previous employment as agent of the Edinburgh Bible Society, and secretary of the Lower Saxony Tract Society. Mr. Lehmann was a very efficient lay brother while a member of the Lutheran church, and was not only a hearty coadjutor in all deeds of piety and christian benevolence in which his brethren were engaged, but actually performed, single-handed, much missionary service in the city of Berlin. These men, to say nothing of their associates, are truly apostolical in spirit, discreet in all their deportment, energetic in action, and always ready to meet the emergencies of their high and holy calling. Where, in all our missions, have we been able to find, *on the very spot where their services were most needed*, two such laborers? This is the only instance in which *native* missionaries have been found, who were, in all respects, competent to be placed at the head of affairs.

“Again, let us look at their almost unexampled success,—at the wonders already wrought by them, or rather by God through them. Like a flame driven by the winds, the truth, proclaimed by them and witnessed by their sufferings, has been continually spreading wider and wider, and ever breaking forth at new and unexpected points. Never have we seen a better illustration of the common saying, ‘When God works, all things work.’

“As city and village tract distributors, or as traveling tradesmen, the private members of these apostolical churches perform a surprising amount of missionary labor, so that the ordained missionaries often find it necessary to follow in their train, for the purpose of baptizing the converts and forming them into churches, or branches of churches. Nor is it strange that this should be so. The common people in Germany are famishing for the bread of life. The new-born churches are fresh in their spiritual life, and full of vigor for their work; and are, moreover, under the direction of wise and mature instructors and guides. The converts, unedified and unattracted by the tedious discussions which they have been accustomed to hear, respecting the mysterious efficacy of sacraments, and the hopeful condition of those who, after reaching a certain age, are adopted as children of the church, turn instinctively away from such an impure national establishment, and seek a church where a broad line of distinction is drawn between believers and unbelievers.

“Let us look, finally, at the importance of the posts occupied in that country by our numerous and flourishing churches. They extend along the waters of all the north of Germany, dotting the whole coast from Holland to Russia. They are on the Weser, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula, that is to say, on all the important northern rivers, and in the great commercial towns on each, except the Vistula. They are in Holland, East Friesland, Oldenburg, the territories of Bremen and Hamburg, Holstein, Denmark, (both the peninsula and the islands,) and all the north of Prussia, from Mecklenburg to the borders of Russia. Then, from Hamburg they extend south through Hanover, Brunswick and Hess into Baden, and thence east into Wirtemberg and Bavaria. From Baireuth in Bavaria, after passing one considerable interval, they extend into Silesia, and then, in one unbroken series, pervade the eastern provinces of Prussia, thus completing the circle.

“If we contemplate the towns in which our churches are established, we shall be directed first to Hamburg, the chief commercial town in Germany. Here were our earliest efforts made; and here was the first struggle of our missionaries with the civil authorities. The senate of this ‘Free City,’ at length, ashamed of those oppressions which held it up in no enviable light to the gaze of the civilized world, yielded the contest and let the noble prisoner go free, with liberty to preach the gospel. Next, about 160 miles to the south-east, is Berlin, the centre of political and moral influence in the north of Germany. Here, too, restrictions were laid upon our missionaries. But these are now withdrawn, and the cabinet of Berlin has given an example of religious toleration, of unspeakable importance to all our German churches, one which the smaller states cannot long delay to imitate. A church has recently been founded in Stettin, a flourishing and important town near the mouth of the Oder, and about eighty miles north of Berlin; and another at Elbing, about 200 miles east of Stettin, and near one of the mouths of the Vistula. At the north-eastern extremity of Prussia, on a large basin of water into which the Dnieper empties, and about 600 miles distant from Hamburg, is the city of Memel with its two churches, from which the gospel is at this time spreading northward into Lithuania.

“Commencing again at Hamburg, and turning towards the south, we find a church at Bremen, the second commercial town in Germany, about fifty miles south-west of Hamburg; and about twenty-five miles west of this, another at Oldenburg, the capital of the duchy of the same name. There is a church also at Marburg, about 200 miles south of Hamburg. This place, in the time of the Reformation, was the chief seat of learning and of theological influence in the dominions of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, and is still very important as a university town. At Baden, the celebrated watering-place in the grand duchy of Baden, a

church was planted during the last year. About forty miles to the east of this, and about 400 south of Hamburg, is Stuttgart, the capital of the kingdom of Wirtemberg, the great Protestant literary emporium of the south of Germany, where a church has existed for several years. About 160 miles in a north-easterly direction from this place is Baireuth, an important town in the north of Bavaria, where we have had a church since 1840. In the east of Germany, about 270 miles from Baireuth, and about 320 from Hamburg, is the city of Breslau, the capital of Silesia and a university town, in which a church has also been recently organized.

"How advantageous for the prosecution of the work of missions is this distribution of our forces!—a distribution made without our counsels or even our knowledge. *The great Reformation which was commenced at Wyttemberg about three centuries and a quarter before, did not, within the first eight years of its existence, occupy so many important posts.*

"And now, in view of all these facts, what ought to be done? Shall an enterprise, commenced under such auspices, be vigorously prosecuted? We see not how any individual in our churches at home, can contemplate this state of things, and, at the same time, consent to withhold his action. The God of armies has gone before us, and has gone with us. A moderate outlay of cost and strength has been attended with the sublimest results, so that this young mission now takes rank with the oldest and the most successful. It now calls for our aid. Shall that aid be granted? We doubt not, a thousand voices are ready to answer 'yes,' and let a thousand hands, by the right token, give the hearty 'amen.'"
S—s."

FRANCE.

In this ancient kingdom, once so renowned for the success and sufferings of the Albigenses, Waldenses, and other ancient and evangelical parties, incipient measures were taken by the Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, in 1832, and soon after, Professor Chase, of Newton Theological Institution, and the Rev. J. C. Rostan, a native of France, and a man of distinguished literary attainments, sailed for Havre. By these gentlemen the way was opened and the foundation was laid for the prosecution of the missionary operations which the Baptists have since sustained in this country.

Not long after, Rev. Messrs. Wilmarth, Sheldon, and Willard, were designated to the same field of labor; a number of preachers who were raised up in the country were associated with them in their evangelical efforts, and now, it is said there are embraced in this mission, thirteen small churches, twelve ordained ministers, and less than three hundred members.¹

This country will also be brought up under the head of Missionary Affairs.

BRITISH BAPTISTS IN INDIA.

Some of the important operations of this people in the British possessions in the east, where their efforts were commenced a little more than half a century since, under the ministry of Carey, Marshman, Ward, and others, will be briefly described under the head of Baptist Missions in all parts of the world.

Under this head also, will be given some account of other missionary stations, which have long been sustained by our British brethren, and particularly of their great and successful efforts among the people of color in the West Indies.

The Bengal Association, in 1844, embraced eighteen churches, and 200 members.

The Jamaica Baptist Western Union, at the above date, reported upwards of twenty thousand members.

¹ Hist. of American Missions, pp. 572-576.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICAN BAPTISTS.

SECTION I.

A list of the oldest churches—Massachusetts—earliest Baptists in it—persecutions of Gould, Clarke, Holmes, and others—the oldest churches in Boston and vicinity, &c.

HAVING devoted much more space to Foreign Baptists, Baptist authors, and the baptismal controversy, than I at first intended, my accounts of the Baptists in this country must be more summary and less in detail than my readers may have generally expected.

The great mass of materials, however, which I have obtained by my own researches, and the contributions of my historical correspondents, will not be lost; but will be kept in reserve for the volume which is soon to follow, the plan of which may be seen in my preface; where also may be found the reasons why another volume is contemplated.

I shall begin the history of the American Baptists in that ancient Commonwealth where the few scattered members of the society first appeared; then take the neighboring state, where the first church of the denomination was formed—take up the other N. E. states in their natural order; then go down the Atlantic states to the end, and arrange the western and south-western states much in the same manner that is done in our annual statistical tables and manuals.

For the convenience of those who may not have access to my former volumes, I shall recapitulate in an abridged manner, the most important items of our history from the beginning. With but few exceptions, however, all articles of this kind are re-written; all new facts which come to light, relative to the oldest transactions, are incorporated in the narratives, so as to give the fullest as well as the latest accounts of all things that pertain to the history of the Baptists, of all classes, back to the earliest period of their existence.

In anticipation, and in advance of my narratives, I will here give

A list of a few of the oldest baptist churches in this country.

Providence, R. I.	1639	Middleton, N. J.	1688
1st Newport, "	1644	Lower Dublin, Pa.	1689
2d " "	1656	Piscataway, N. J.	1689
1st Swansea, Mass.	1663	Charleston, S. C.	1690
" Boston, "	1665	Cohansey, N. J.	1691
North Kingston, R. I.	1665	2d Swansea, Mass.	1693
7th Day, Newport, "	1671	1st Philadelphia, Pa.	1698
South Kingston, "	1680	Welsh Tract, Del.	1701
Tiverton, "	1685	Groton, Conn.	1705
Smithfield, R. I.	1706	7th Day, Piscataway, N. J.	1707

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Hopkinton, R. I.	1706	Southington, Conn.	1739
Great Valley, Pa.	1711	West Springfield, Conn.	1740
Cape May, N. J.	1712	King Wood, N. J.	1742
Hopewell, "	1715	2d Boston, Mass.	1743
Brandywine, Pa.	1715	North Stonington, Conn.	1743
Montgomery, "	1719	Colchester, Conn.	1743
New York City, ¹	1724	East Greenwich, R. I.	1743
Scituate, R. I.	1725	Euhaw Creek, S. C.	1745
Warwick, "	1725	Heights Town, N. J.	1745
Richmond, "	1725	South Hampton, Pa.	1746
French Creek, Pa.	1726	Scotch Plains, N. J.	1747
New London, Conn.	1726	King Street, Conn.	1747
Indian Town, Ma.	1730	Oyster Bay, N. Y.	1748
Cumberland, R. I.	1732	Sturbridge, Mass.	1749
Rehoboth, Mass.	1732	Bellingham, "	1750
Shiloh, N. J.	1734	Killingby, Conn.	1750
South Brimfield, Mass.	1736	Westerly, R. I.	1750
Welsh Neck, S. C.	1738	Exeter, "	1750
Leicester, Mass.	1738	Thompson, Conn.	1750

Total, 58.

. A considerable number of these old churches were of the General Baptist order.

These are all the churches which acquired any durability that arose in these United States in a little more than a century after the baptists began their operations. The next century will show a very different result, as will be exhibited when the statistical accounts are made up.

For a number of the above dates I am indebted to Rev. Mr. Knight's *History of the General, or Six Principle Baptists, in Europe and America*, published at Providence, R. I., in 1827.²

The foregoing table brings us down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

From that period the increase of churches was much more rapid; so that, according to Morgan Edwards' table, in 1768, they amounted, in all the United States and Nova Scotia, to about 137.

The relative proportion of the different sections of country stood as follows, viz. :—

Nova Scotia,	2	New Jersey,	15
New Hampshire,	1	Pennsylvania,	10
Massachusetts,	30	Maryland,	1
Connecticut,	12	Virginia,	10
Rhode Island,	36	North Carolina,	8
New York,	4	South Carolina,	8
		Total,	137

¹ This has reference to the old church of General, or Armenian Baptists, out of which the present First church arose.

² As most of the oldest churches in this country, whether General or Particular, practised the *laying on of hands* on all newly-baptized members, Mr. Knight, *ipso facto*, on this account, claims them all on his side. Among the churches so claimed, are the old one at Providence, and all the rest in R. I., except the First in Newport, the First church in Groton, Conn., the Second in Swansea, Mass., &c., &c.; and, so far as the favorite doctrine of the *Six Principle* brethren is concerned, his claim is no doubt well-founded. Matters of this kind will be more fully discussed when we come to the history of this people.

Mr. Knight, also, on account of their theological dogmas, or for their adherence to the doctrine of the imposition of hands, claims the two old churches founded at *Burley* and *Surry*, in Virginia, the cluster in North Carolina, under Paul Palmer and others, and the one at *Stono*, near Charleston, S. C., all which arose more than an hundred years ago. They appear to have been of too transient a character to be placed among the permanent bodies of the society.

In 1790, when John Asplund's first Register was published, the statistics of the denomination, by this laborious man, were thus exhibited, viz. :—

STATES.	Chur-ches.	Ministers.		Mem-bers.
		Ord.	Lic.	
1. New Hampshire	32	23	17	1732
2. Massachusetts	107	95	31	7116
3. Rhode Island	38	37	36	3502
4. Connecticut	55	44	21	3214
5. Vermont	34	28	15	1610
6. New-York	57	53	30	3987
7. New Jersey	26	20	9	2279
8. Pennsylvania	28	26	7	1231
9. Delaware	7	9	1	409
10. Maryland	12	8	3	776
11. Virginia	207	157	109	20157
12. Kentucky	42	40	21	3105
13. Western Territory	1			30
14. North Carolina	94	86	76	7742
15. Deceded Territory ³	18	15	6	889
16. South Carolina	68	48	28	4012
17. Georgia	42	33	39	3184
18. Nova Scotia	4			
Total,	872	722	449	64975

The tables for my old volumes were made up in 1812.

Churches.	Ord. Ministers.	Members.	Associations.
2633	2142	204,185	111

Rev. I. M. Allen, in his Triennial Register of the Baptists for 1836, makes the statistics as follows, for the U. S. and British possessions in America :—

Associations.	Churches.	Ministers, (ord.)	Do. (lic.)	Members.
372	7299	4075	966	517,523. ⁴

The present number I have not yet ascertained, but shall give it at the close of the statistical tables.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Although the oldest church of the Baptists in America was organized in Rhode Island, yet this state was the nursery from which the members came; for this and various other reasons, I have thought it proper to place it at the head of the American Baptists.

Places distinguished for the early operations of the denomination.

Boston, and vicinity, is of course the first region to be named under this head. Swansea, Rehoboth, and the surrounding county is the next; and in very few places beside, were any considerable number of the society to be found, until after the great Reformation, under Whitfield and others, generally denominated the *New Light Stir*, about one hundred years ago, when the foundations were laid for clusters of churches in other parts of the state. In Bellingham, Sturbridge, Sutton, Leicester, South Brimfield, Springfield, and places still farther north and west in the county of Berkshire, churches arose soon after that distinguished epoch. Some few were on the ground before it occurred, who hailed with joy a movement so congenial with their views. These places are all to the west and north-west of the metropolis of the state, and some of them in its remotest parts.

³ Now Tennessee.

⁴ This includes the Free Will, Seventh Day, and Six Principle, Baptists, and also those in Canada and West India islands.

In Middleboro', and around it, in the counties of Plymouth and Bristol, in a southern direction from Boston, Backus and his coadjutors were very successful in planting churches of the Baptist order, almost a century since. Still farther south from the capital, on Cape Cod, and on the island of Martha's Vineyard, but a short distance from it, among the aborigines of the country—in many locations, in all this lower region of the state, in what in old times would be denominated the bounds of the Plymouth Patent, arose a considerable number of churches in very early times.

From this summary view of the introduction of our sentiments in this oldest and most important of the New England States, I shall proceed to exhibit, somewhat in detail, the affairs of our brethren in their earliest movements, and in their severe and long-continued struggles with a sacro-secular power, which beset them at every point with priestly malignity and inquisitorial zeal.

Associations. As my historical sketches will be principally confined to these bodies, I shall in each State, in advance, announce their numbers, the different sections or locations where they are situated, and then go on to give some brief accounts of the churches in them which are the most distinguished for their age, location, prosperity, and trials, or for being nurseries of ministers and other churches. This is an outline of my plan for the history of the American Baptists; and, as there are upwards of five hundred of these bodies, of all sorts of the denomination to be disposed of in less than three hundred pages, it is plain to be seen that no small share of economy and abridgment will be needful.

The annual doings of Associations I shall not attempt, unless something comes up of unusual interest.

It is somewhat singular that this old Commonwealth had no Association of its own, until after the commencement of the present century; it now has twelve, which are spread over the whole state, so that there are probably but few towns in which churches of the society are not found.

But before we come to the history of these bodies, very long and interesting accounts are to be given of the trials and sufferings of our brethren in their early conflicts with the puritan fathers.

The first permanent settlement in this state was effected at Plymouth, in 1620, and although this colony of pilgrims was at first entirely distinct from those who commenced a settlement at Salem, in 1628, and who two years after, removed the seat of their operations to Boston, yet as they have long since been merged in one, we shall consider them as one body in the following narratives of the rise of the Baptists in this state.

The oldest church of the Baptist order in this state, is that at Swansea, on the southern side, near to the Rhode Island line, which was formed in 1663. Two years after, viz., in 1665, is the date of the first church in Boston.

It thus appears to have been over forty years from the landing of the pilgrim fathers, before the organization of any Baptist community in this ancient Commonwealth. But during all this time, and from the first settlement of the colony, there were individuals of this belief, and the constant fear of their influence was the source of alarming apprehensions to the ministers and rulers of those times. It is asserted by Dr. Mather, in his *Magnalia*, that "some of the first planters in New England were Baptists;" and this assertion is corroborated by some of the laws and letters which will be mentioned in the following sketches.

As our brethren in the mother country had been much intermixed with the dissenting pedobaptists, it is highly probable that the early emigrants of this class to the infant colony, continued to be so for the first years of their settlement here. And while they continued in this state of quiescence or concealment, they met with no trouble or opposition. And upon all the principles which the colonists had advanced in the commencement of their undertakings at home, and after their arrival in their new and wilderness location, they should have remained unmolested—freedom of conscience to all who united in the hazardous enterprise, should have been invariably maintained.

Dissent or toleration were terms which ought to have had no place in their chronicles or vocabularies. Whatever were their dogmas or their rites, they were all on a level. As they had fled from a common enemy—as their charters from home gave them no powers to establish religious tests—as the hostile aborigines looked upon them all, without distinction, as blasphemers of their gods, and intruders on their soil; they should have nourished the fraternal feeling of a common brotherhood, and rallied around a common standard for mutual protection and safety. And but for the grand mistake of forming the monstrous and dangerous union of church and state, and of transferring to the civil arm the punishment of religious offenders, this might have been done, as well in this, as in the adjoining state of Rhode Island.

On the 23d of August, 1630, on board the ship *Arabella*, before they landed, at the first meeting of the Court of Assistants, the first dangerous act was performed by the rulers of this incipient government, which led to innumerable evils, hardships, and privations to all who had the misfortune to dissent from the ruling powers in after times.

The first question propounded was, *How shall the ministers be maintained?* “It was ordered, that houses be built for them with convenient speed at the public charge, and their salaries were established.”

This was the viper in embryo; here was an importation and establishment in the outset of the settlement, of the odious doctrine of church and state, which had thrown Europe into confusion—had caused rivers of blood to be shed—had crowded prisons with innocent victims; and had driven the pilgrims themselves, who were now engaged in this mistaken legislation, from all that was dear in their native homes. From these resolutions, on board this floating vessel, which by subsequent acts became a permanent law, subjecting every citizen, whatever was his religious belief, to support the ministry of the established church, and to pay all the taxes which the dominant party might impose, for their houses of worship, their ordinations, and all their ecclesiastical affairs, proceeded the great mistake of the puritan fathers. And from the same incipient measure grew all the unrighteous tythes and taxes—the vexatious and ruinous law-suits—the imprisonment and stripes of the multitudes who refused to support a system of worship which they did not approve.

From this same principle of doing all in religion at the public charge, proceeded the odious name of the colonists abroad, and the infinite trouble to all parties at home; and finally it led on to the cruel scenes of banishment of no inconsiderable number of their valuable citizens, male and female, and in the end, to the more horrid and appalling tragedies of delivering over to the hangman's bloody functions, and sending from the ignoble scaffold into the eternal world, the innocent or misguided victims of their sanguinary laws.

Roger Williams plainly foretold them, in the beginning of their dangerous career, as early as 1643, when his book, the *Bloody Tenet*, was published, that their principles would end in blood.

The first principle of the early settlers, laid the foundation for an infant hierarchy, the evils of which run through all the New England states, except the little repudiated territory of R. I.; but by slow degrees, all at last have adopted her original policy, and have found by long experience of a contrary cause, “that a most flourishing civil state may stand and be best maintained with a full liberty in religious concerns.”

“The provident foresight and pious care of the puritan fathers, to provide by law for the support of religion, that their ministers should not be left to the uncertain donations of their flocks,” have been the subject of commendation and eulogy by many of their descendants. The plan was indeed specious in appearance, but could they have foreseen all the evils which followed it through all the colonies—could they have had a full view in their early movements, of all the distress to individuals and families, which their legal policy for many generations occasioned, and of the frightful extremities to which it soon conducted them, they must have shuddered at the prospect, and faltered in their course.

The most charitable exposition we can give of this unpleasant subject is, that good men with bad principles were led astray; that although they were driven by persecution from their native land, and here intended to form an asylum for the oppressed who should fly to them for shelter, of every nation and of every creed; yet from the strength of habit, and the general opinion of mankind, in that age, they dare not leave the sacred cause to its own inherent influence; and the spirit of the times, rather than the disposition of the men, hurried them forward to those persecuting measures which have fixed an indelible stain on their otherwise fair name.

Soon after the commencement of their operations, so numerous were the accessions to their number, and so great were the prospects of a splendid religious commonwealth, all to be stereotyped in their own way, more by the laws of Moses than of the gospel, that they lost sight of their original design, so far as its benevolent character was concerned. And then the pride of opinion, the overweening confidence in the correctness of their ecclesiastical establishment, and to close the whole, the stimulating influence of their secular coadjutors, who had been made to believe that the church was in danger without their legal and fostering care; that all the avenues of compunction were closed; they became deaf to all the remonstrances from their friends at home; to all the complaints and entreaties of those who suffered under their iron rule; and to all the reproaches from the throne itself for going counter to the principles which led them into the western wilds.

Having made these preliminary remarks, we shall proceed to give some details of baptist affairs in this state, and especially of their sufferings up to the time when the two oldest churches, viz.: those at Swansea and Boston were formed.

We get but a faint glimpse of this people, in a few insulated situations, until we come to the heart-rending sufferings which were inflicted on John Clarke, Obediah Holmes and others.

Although some of the first planters in this state were baptists, yet it was a long time before they gained much ground in either of the colonies of Plymouth or Massachusetts. One reason for this may have been, that all who came over to their sentiments, or who were inclined to embrace them, were induced to remove to the neighboring colony of Rhode Island, where they found an asylum congenial to their mind.

Hansard Knollys, who afterwards held a conspicuous place among the baptist ministers in London, landed and tarried awhile in Boston in 1638.

In 1639, the same year in which the first church in Providence was founded, an attempt was made in Weymouth, a town about fourteen miles south-east from Boston, to gather a small company of baptist believers. John Spur, John Smith, Richard Sylvester, Ambrose Morton, Thomas Makepeace, and Robert Lenthal, were the principal promoters of this design. They were all arraigned before the General Court at Boston, March 13, 1639, where they were treated according to the order of the day; Smith, who was, probably, the greatest transgressor, was fined twenty pounds, and committed during the pleasure of the court. Sylvester was fined twenty shillings and disfranchised. Morton was fined ten pounds, and counseled to go to Mr. Mather for instruction. Makepeace had, probably, no money; he was not fined, but had a modest hint of banishment unless he reformed. Lenthal, it seems, compromised the matter with the court for the present; consented to appear before it at the next session; was enjoined to acknowledge his fault, &c. How matters finally terminated with him I do not find; but it is certain he soon after went to Mr. Clarke's settlement on Rhode Island, and began to preach there before the first church at Newport was formed.

In 1640, Rev. Mr. Chauncey, a minister of the pedobaptist order, became an open advocate for the doctrine of immersion, but still held on to infants as proper subjects for the rite. This innovation, however trifling as it was, made no small stir among the magistrates and elders of the church. But president

Dunster, of Cambridge College, soon after this went much farther, and openly renounced the whole system of infant baptism; but I do not find that he ever united with any baptist church.

About this time, a lady of much distinction in those times, whom Governor Winthrop calls the *Lady Moody*, and who, according to the account of that candid statesman and historian, was a wise, amiable, and religious woman, was taken with the error of denying baptism to infants.

She had purchased a plantation at Lynn, ten miles north-east from Boston, of one Humphry, who had returned to England. She belonged to the church in Salem, to which she was near; where she was dealt with by many of the elders and others, but persisted in her error, and to escape the storm which she saw gathering over her head, she removed to Long Island, and settled among the Dutch. "Many others infected with anabaptism removed hither also." Eleven years after Mrs. Moody's removal, Messrs. Clarke, Holmes, and Crandal, went to visit some baptists at Lynn, by the request of an aged brother, whose name was William Witter. This circumstance makes it probable that although many anabaptists went off with this lady, yet there were some left behind. We shall soon have occasion to take more particular notice of the baptists in this place.

"In 1644, a poor man by the name of Painter was suddenly turned anabaptist, and for refusing to have his child baptized, he was complained of to the court, who, with judicial dignity, interposed their authority in the case in favor of the child. And because the poor man gave it as his opinion that infant baptism was an anti-christian ordinance, he was tied up and whipped."⁵

About this time, Mr. Williams returned from England with the first charter for the Rhode Island colony, and landed in Boston.

He brought with him a letter signed by twelve members of Parliament, addressed to the governor, assistants, and people of Massachusetts, exhorting them to lenient measures toward their dissenting brethren, and toward Mr. Williams in particular.⁶

But this appeal had no effect to mitigate the keenness of their resentment, or the severity of their measures.

The baptists, or those inclined to their sentiments, were, doubtless, emboldened by the favor which Mr. Williams had obtained at home, and by knowing that he had obtained the royal assent for a colony which would afford them an asylum in time of danger. About this time, we are told by Winthrop, that "the anabaptists increased and spread in Massachusetts." This increase was a most fearful and ungrateful sight to the rulers of this colony, and was doubtless the means of leading the general court to pass the following act for the suppression of this obnoxious sect:

"Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first rising of the anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of commonwealths, and the infectors of persons in main matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies therewith, though they have (as other heretics used to do), concealed the same, till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple; and, whereas, divers of this kind have, since our coming into New England, appeared among ourselves, some, whereof (as others before them), denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and the inspection into any breach of the first table; which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole commonwealth; it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons within this jurisdiction shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment."

⁵ Backus' Hist., Vol. I., pp. 151, 148.

⁶ Hubbard, as quoted by Backus, Vol. I., p. 156.

This was the first law which was made against the baptists in Massachusetts. It was passed November 13th, 1644, about two months after Mr. Williams landed in Boston, as above related. Two charges, which it contains, Mr. Backus acknowledges are true, viz.: that the baptists denied infant baptism and the ordinance of magistracy; or, as a baptist would express it, the use of secular force in religious affairs; but all the other slanderous invectives he declares are utterly without foundation. He furthermore asserts, that he had diligently searched all the books, records, and papers, which he could find on all sides, and could not find an instance then (1777) of any real baptist in Massachusetts being convicted of, or suffering for any crime, except the denying of infant baptism, and the use of secular force in religious affairs.

If a Puritan Court in the seventeenth century, professing to be illuminated with the full blaze of the light of the Reformation, could thus defame the advocates for apostolic principles, will any think it strange if we suspect the frightful accounts which were given of them in darker ages by a set of monkish historians, who believed that fraud and falsehood were christian virtues, if they could be made subservient to the good of the church?

Mr. Hubbard, one of their own historians, speaking of their making this law, says, 'but with what success it is hard to say; all men being naturally inclined to pity them that suffer, &c.'" The clergy doubtless had a hand in framing this shameful act, as they, at this time, were the secretaries and counselors of the legislature.

Mr. Backus' observations upon these measures, and the men by whom they were promoted, are very judicious. "Much (says he) has been said to exalt the characters of the good fathers of that day: I have no desire of detracting from any of their virtues; but the better the men were, the worse must be the principles that could ensnare them in such bad actions."⁷

According to Hubbard, in the following year a petition came into the general court against this singular law, and also against one more singular still, which had been made some years before, forbidding any one to entertain strangers without a license from two magistrates. The traveling merchant in the town, as well as the wandering pilgrim in the wilderness, all fell under this prohibition. The men of business complained of it as hurtful to their trade, and a multitude of others as an encroachment on the rights of hospitality, which they were willing to exercise towards the houseless and benighted stranger, which might seek a shelter in the darkness of the night from the raging storm.

Although the magistrates might be far away, and far apart, their signatures must be had, before the threshold of the remotest and humblest cottage could be passed.

So fearful were these bigoted puritans that some infectious anabaptist, quaker, churchman, or other contaminating heretic, should lead their people astray.

The catholics went great lengths in laws of this kind, but such police regulations as this were probably never known in the most despotic countries.

Sufferings of Obadiah Holmes, John Clarke, and others. We are now prepared to give an account of a scene of suffering peculiarly cruel and afflictive, and to see the *Bloody Tenet* literally exemplified.

We have already seen that there were some baptists at Lynn, in 1640, when Lady Moody left the place, and it is probable that a little band remained there until the period now under consideration. In July, 1651, Messrs. Clarke, Holmes, and Crandall, "being the representatives of the church at Newport, upon the request of William Witter, of Lynn, arrived there, he being a brother in the church, who, by reason of his advanced age, could not undertake so great a journey as to visit the church." This account is found among the records of the ancient church at Newport. The circumstance of these men being representatives, leads us to infer that something was designed more than an ordinary visit. Mr. Witter lived about two miles out of the town, and the next day after his brethren arrived, being the Lord's day, they concluded to spend it in religious worship at his house. While Mr. Clark was preaching from Revelations iii. 10,—"*Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth,*" and illustrating what was meant by the hour of temptation and keeping the word with patience, "two

⁷ Mass. Records. Hist., Vol. I., p. 152 as quoted by Backus, Vol. I.

constables (says he) came into the house, who, with their clamorous tongues, made an interruption in my discourse, and more uncivilly disturbed us than the pursuivants of the old English bishops were wont to do, telling us that they were come with authority from the magistrate to apprehend us. I then desired to see the authority by which they thus proceeded, whereupon they plucked forth their warrant, and one of them, with a trembling hand (as conscious he might have been better employed), read it to us; the substance whereof was as followeth:

“By virtue hereof, you are required to go to the house of William Witter, and so to search from house to house, for certain erroneous persons, being strangers, and them to apprehend, and in safe custody to keep, and to-morrow morning at eight o'clock to bring before me.

“‘ROBERT BRIDGES.’

“When he had read the warrant, I told them—Friends, there shall not be, I trust, the least appearance of a resisting of that authority by which you come unto us; yet, I tell you that, by virtue hereof, you are not strictly tied; but, if you please, you may suffer us to make an end of what we have begun, so may you be witnesses either to or against the faith and order which we hold. To which they answered, they could not. Then said we, notwithstanding the warrant, or anything therein contained, you may. They apprehended us and carried us away to the ale-house or ordinary, where at dinner one of them said unto us, Gentlemen, if you be free I will carry you to the meeting. To whom it was replied, Friend, had we been free thereunto we had prevented all this; nevertheless, we are in thy hand, and if thou wilt carry us to the meeting, thither will we go. To which he answered, Then will I carry you to the meeting. To this we replied, If thou forcest us into your assembly, then shall we be constrained to declare ourselves, that we cannot hold communion with them. The constable answered, That is nothing to me, I have not power to command you to speak when you come there, or to be silent. To this I again replied, Since we have heard the word of salvation by Jesus Christ, we have been taught, as those that *first trusted in Christ*, to be obedient unto him both by word and deed; wherefore, if we be forced to your meeting, we shall declare our dissent from you both by word and gesture. After all this, when he had consulted with the man of the house, he told us he would carry us to the meeting; so to their meeting we were brought, while they were at their prayers and uncovered; and at my first stepping over the threshold I unveiled myself, civilly saluted them, and turned into the seat I was appointed to, put on my hat again, and sat down, opened my book and fell to reading. Mr. Bridges being troubled, commanded the constable to pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine, there I let it lie, until their prayers, singing, and preaching were over; after this, I stood up and uttered myself in these words following: I desire, as a stranger, to propose a few things to this congregation, hoping in the proposal thereof, I shall commend myself to your consciences, to be guided by that wisdom that is from above, which, being pure, is also peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; and therewith made a stop, expecting that if the Prince of peace had been among them, I should have had a suitable answer of peace from them.

“Their pastor answered, we will have no objections against what is delivered.

“To which I answered, I am not about, at present, to make objections against what is delivered, but, as by my gesture at my coming into your assembly, I declared my dissent from you, so lest that should prove offensive unto some whom I would not offend, I would now by word of mouth declare the grounds, which are these: First, from consideration that we are strangers each to other, and so, strangers to each other's inward standing with respect to God, and so, cannot conjoin and act in faith: and what is not of faith, is sin. And, in the second place, I could not judge that you are gathered together, and walk according to the visible order of our Lord. Which, when I had declared, Mr. Bridges told me I had done, and spoke that for which I must answer, and so commanded silence. When their meeting was done, the officers carried us again to the ordinary, where, being watched over that night as thieves and robbers, we were the next morning carried before Mr. Bridges, who made our mittimus, and sent us to the prison at Boston.”

About a fortnight after, the court of assistants passed the following sentences against these persecuted men, viz.: that Mr. Clark should pay a fine of twenty pounds, Mr. Holmes of thirty, and Mr. Crandal of five, or be publicly whipped.

“They all refused to pay their fines, and were remanded back to prison. Some of Mr. Clark's friends paid his fine without his consent. Mr. Crandal was released upon his promise of appearing at their next court. But he was not informed of the time until it was over, and then they exacted his fine of the keeper of the prison. The only crime alleged against Mr. Crandal was, his being in company with his brethren. But Mr. Holmes was

kept in prison until September, and then the sentence of the law was executed upon him in the most cruel and unfeeling manner. In the course of the trial against these worthy men, Mr. Clark defended himself and brethren with so much ability, that the court found themselves much embarrassed. 'At length (says Mr. Clark) the Governor stepped up and told us we had denied infant baptism, and being somewhat transported, told me I had deserved death, and said he would not have such trash brought into their jurisdiction; moreover, he said, 'You go up and down, and secretly insinuate into those that are weak, but you cannot maintain it before our ministers. You may try and dispute with them.' To this I had much to reply, but he commanded the jailer to take us away.

"So, the next morning, having so fair an opportunity, I made a motion to the court in these words following:—

"To the honorable Court assembled at Boston.

"Whereas it pleased this honored court yesterday, to condemn the faith and order which I hold and practise; and, after you had passed your sentence upon me for it, were pleased to express I could not maintain the same against your ministers, and thereupon publicly proffered me a dispute with them: be pleased, by these few lines, to understand I readily accept it, and therefore desire you to appoint the time when, and the person with whom, in that public place where I was condemned, I might, with freedom, and without molestation of the civil power, dispute that point publicly, where, I doubt not, by the strength of Christ, to make it good out of his last will and testament, unto which nothing is to be added, nor from which nothing is to be diminished. Thus desiring the Father of Lights to shine forth, and by his power, to expel the darkness, I remain your well-wisher,
JOHN CLARK.

"From the Prison, this 1st day, 6th mo., 1651.

"This motion, if granted, I desire might be subscribed by their Secretary's hand, as an act of the same court by which we were condemned."

This motion was presented, and, after much consultation, one of the magistrates informed Mr. Clark that a disputation was granted to be the next week. But, on the Monday following, the clergy held a consultation, and made no small stir about the matter; for, although they had easily foiled these injured men in a court of law, yet they might well anticipate some difficulty in the open field of argument, which they were absolutely afraid to enter—as will soon appear. Near the close of the day, the magistrates sent for Mr. Clark into their chamber, and inquired whether he would dispute upon the things contained in his sentence, &c. "For," said they, "the court sentenced you, not for your judgment and conscience, but for matter-of-fact and practice."

To which Mr. Clark replied, "You say the court condemned me for matter-of-fact and practice;—be it so. I say that matter-of-fact and practice was but the manifestation of my judgment and conscience; and I make account, that man is void of judgment and conscience, with respect unto God, that hath not a fact and practice suitable thereunto. If the faith and order which I profess do stand by the word of God, then the faith and order which you profess must needs fall to the ground; and if the way you walk in remain, then the way that I walk in must vanish away—they cannot both stand together: to which they seemed to assent. Therefore, I told them that, if they please to grant the motion under the Secretary's hand, I would draw up the faith and order which I hold, as the sum of that I did deliver in open court, in three or four conclusions; which conclusions I will stand by and defend until he whom you shall appoint, shall, by the word of God, remove me from them;—in case he shall remove me from them, then the disputation is at an end. But if not, then I desire like liberty, by the word of God, to oppose the faith and order which he and you profess, thereby to try whether I may be an instrument in the hand of God to remove you from the same. They told me the motion was very fair, and the way like unto a disputant, saying, because the matter is weighty, and we desire that what can may be spoken, when the disputation shall be, therefore would we take a longer time. So I returned with my keeper to prison again, drew up the conclusions, which I was resolved, through the strength of Christ, to stand in defense of, and through the importunity of one of the magistrates, the next morning very early I showed them to him, having a promise I should have my motion for a dispute granted under the Secretary's hand."

Mr. Clark's resolutions were four in number, and contained the leading sentiments of the baptists, which have been the same in every age respecting positive institutions, the subjects and mode of baptism, and gospel liberty and civil rights. But while he was making arrangements and preparing for a public dispute, his fine was paid, and he was released from prison.

Great expectations had been raised in Boston and its vicinity respecting this dispute, and many were anxious to hear it. And Mr. Clark, knowing that

his adversaries would attribute the failure of it to him, immediately on his release drew up the following address :

"Whereas, through the indulgency of tender-hearted friends, without my consent, and contrary to my judgment, the sentence and condemnation of the court at Boston (as is reported) have been fully satisfied on my behalf, and thereupon a warrant hath been procured, by which I am secluded the place of my imprisonment, by reason whereof I see no other call for present but to my habitation, and to those near relations which God hath given me there; yet, lest the cause should hereby suffer, which I profess is Christ's, I would hereby signify, that if yet it shall please the honored magistrates, or General Court of this colony, to grant my former request under their Secretary's hand, I shall cheerfully embrace it, and upon your motion shall, through the help of God, come from the island to attend it, and hereunto I have subscribed my name,
JOHN CLARK.

"11th day, 6th mo., 1651.

This address was sent next morning to the magistrates, who were at the commencement at Cambridge, a short distance from Boston, and it was soon noised abroad that the motion was accepted, and that Mr. Cotton was to be the disputant on the pedobaptist side. But in a day or two after, Mr. Clark received the following address from his timorous adversaries :

"MR. JOHN CLARK,

"We conceive you have misrepresented the Governor's speech, in saying you were challenged to dispute with some of our elders; whereas it was plainly expressed, that if you would confer with any of them, they were able to satisfy you, neither were you able to maintain your practice to them by the word of God, all which we intended for your information and conviction privately; neither were you enjoined to what you were then counseled unto; nevertheless, if you are forward to dispute, and that you will move it yourself to the court or magistrates about Boston, we shall take order to appoint one, who will be ready to answer your motion, you keeping close to the questions to be propounded by yourself, and a moderator shall be appointed also to attend upon the service; and whereas you desire you might be free in your dispute, keeping close to the points to be disputed on, without incurring damage by the civil justice, observing what hath been before written, it is granted; the day may be agreed, if you yield the premises.

JOHN ENDICOTT, *Governor.*
THOMAS DUDLEY, *Dep. Gov.*,
RICHARD BELLINGHAM,
WILLIAM HIBBINS,
INCREASE NOWEL.

"11th day of the 6th mo., 1651."

This communication Mr. Clark answered in the following manner :—

"To the honored Governor of the Massachusetts, and the rest of that Honorable Society these present.

"WORTHY SENATORS,

"I received a writing subscribed with five of your hands, by way of answer to a twice repeated motion of mine before you, which was grounded, as I conceive, sufficiently upon the Governor's words in open court, which writing of yours doth no way answer my expectation, nor yet that motion which I made; and whereas (waving that grounded motion) you are pleased to intimate that if I were forward to dispute, and would move it myself to the court, or magistrates about Boston, you would appoint one to answer my motion, &c., be pleased to understand, that although I am not backward to maintain the faith and order of my Lord the King of saints, for which I have been sentenced, yet am I not in such a way so forward to dispute, or move therein, lest inconvenience should arise. I shall rather once more repeat my former motion, which, if it shall please the honored General Court to accept, and under their Secretary's hand shall grant a free dispute, without molestation or interruption, I shall be well satisfied therewith; that what is past I shall forget, and upon your motion shall attend it; thus desiring the Father of mercies, not to lay that evil to your charge, I remain your well-wisher,
JOHN CLARK.

"From prison, this 14th day, }
6th month, 1651." }

Thus ended Mr. Clark's chastisement and the Governor's challenge. The last communication which he had from his fearful opponents, was indeed signed by the heads of departments, but it was not made in official manner. Mr. Clark all along kept in view the law which had been made seven years before, which threatened so terribly any one who should oppose infant baptism. This was the reason of his requesting an order for the dispute in a legal form. But it was abundantly evident to him, as it will be to every impartial reader,

that neither the great Mr. Cotton, nor any of his clerical brethren, dared to meet him in a verbal combat. Infant baptism was safe while defended by the sword of the magistrate, but they dared not risk it in the field of argument. Mr. Clark therefore left his adversaries in triumph; but poor Mr. Holmes was retained a prisoner, and in the end experienced the full weight of their cruel intolerance. An account of his sufferings is thus related by himself:

"Unto the well-beloved brethren, John Spillsbury, William Kiffin, and the rest that in London stand fast in the faith, and continue to walk stedfastly in that order of the gospel, which was once delivered unto the saints by Jesus Christ: Obadiah Holmes, an unworthy witness that Jesus is the Lord, and of late a prisoner for Jesus' sake, at Boston, sendeth greeting.

"DEARLY-BELOVED AND LONGED AFTER,

"My heart's desire is to hear from you, and to hear that you grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, &c.

"Not long after these troubles (at Rehoboth which he relates in the first part of this letter) I came upon occasion of business into the colony of the Massachusetts, with two other brethren, as brother Clark being one of the two can inform you, where we three were apprehended, carried to Boston, and so to the court, and were all sentenced; what they laid to my charge you may here read in my sentence;⁷ upon the pronouncing of which, as I went from the bar, I expressed myself in these words: I bless God I am counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus. Whereupon John Wilson (their pastor, as they call him) struck me before the judgment seat, and cursed me, saying, the curse of God or Jesus go with thee. So we were carried to the prison, where not long after I was deprived of my two loving friends, at whose departure the adversary stept in, took hold of my spirit, and troubled me for the space of an hour, and then the Lord came in and sweetly relieved me, causing to look to himself, so was I stayed, and refreshed in the thoughts of my God; and although during the time of my imprisonment, the tempter was busy, yet it pleased God so to stand at my right hand, that the motions were but sudden, and so vanished away; and although there were that would have paid the money, if I would accept it, yet I durst not accept of deliverance in such a way, and therefore my answer to them was, that although I would acknowledge their love to a drop of cold water, yet I could not thank them for their money, if they should pay it. So the court drew near, and the night before I should suffer according to my sentence, it pleased God I rested and slept quietly; in the morning my friends came to visit me, desiring me to take the refreshment of wine and other comforts; but my resolution was not to drink wine nor strong drink that day, until my punishment was over; and the reason was, lest in case I had more strength, courage, and boldness, than ordinarily could be expected, the world should either say he is drunk with new wine, or else that the comfort and strength of the creature hath carried him through; but my course was this: I desired brother John Hazel to bear my friends company, and I betook myself to my chamber, where I might communicate with my God, commit myself to him, and beg strength from him. I had no sooner sequestered myself, and come into my chamber, but satan lets fly at me, saying, Remember thyself, thy birth, breeding, and friends, thy wife, children, name and credit; but as this was sudden, so there came in sweetly from the Lord as sudden an answer, 'Tis for my Lord, I must not deny him before the sons of men (for that were to set men above him), but rather lose all ~~yea~~, wife, children, and mine own life also. To this the tempter replies, Oh, but that is the question, is it for him? and for him alone? is it not rather for thy own or some other's sake? thou hast so professed and practised, and now art loth to deny it; is not pride

⁷ "The sentence of Obadiah Holmes, of Seaconk, the 31st of the 5th mo. 1651.

"Forasmuch as you, Obadiah Holmes, being come into this jurisdiction about the 21st of the 5th mo., did meet at one William Witter's house, at Lynn, and did here privately (and at other times, being an excommunicate person, did take upon you to preach and baptize), upon the Lord's day, or other days, and being taken then by the constable, and coming afterward to the assembly, at Lynn, did, in disrespect to the ordinance of God and his worship, keep on your hat, the pastor being in prayer, insomuch that you would not give reverence in vailing your hat, till it was forced off your head, to the disturbance of the congregation, and professing against the institution of the church, as not being according to the gospel of Jesus Christ; and that you, the said Obadiah Holmes, did, upon the day following, meet again at the said William Witter's, in contempt to authority—you being then in the custody of the law, and did there receive the sacrament, being excommunicate, and that you did baptize such as were baptized before, and thereby did necessarily deny the baptism that was before administered to be baptism, the churches no churches, and also, other ordinances, and ministers, as if all were a nullity; and did also deny the lawfulness of baptizing of infants. And all this tends to the dishonor of God, the despising the ordinances of God among us, the peace of the churches, and seducing the subjects of this commonwealth from the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and perverting the straight ways of the Lord, the court doth fine you £30, to be paid, or sufficient sureties that the said sum shall be paid by the first day of the next Court of Assistants, or else to be well whipped, and that you shall remain in prison till it be 1, or security given in for it.

By the Court,

"INCREASE NOWEL."

and self at the bottom? Surely this temptation was strong, and thereupon I made diligent search after the matter as formerly I had done."

Mr. Holmes proceeds in his narrative, and exhibits the strength of faith which bore him up in anticipation of the appalling scene which was before him.

"And when I heard the voice of my keeper come for me, even cheerfulness did come upon me, and taking my Testament in my hand, I went along with him to the place of execution, and after a common salutation there stood. There stood by also one of the magistrates, by name Increase Nowel, who for a while kept silent, and spoke not a word, and so did I, expecting the Governor's presence, but he came not. But after a while Mr. Nowel bade the executioner do his office. Then I desired to speak a few words, but Mr. Nowel answered, it is not now a time to speak. Whereupon I took leave, and said, men, brethren, fathers, and countrymen, I beseech you give me leave to speak a few words, and the rather because here are many spectators to see me punished, and I am to seal with my blood, if God give me strength, that which I hold and practise in reference to the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus. That which I have to say in brief is this: although I confess I am no disputant, yet seeing I am to seal what I hold with my blood, I am ready to defend it by the word, and to dispute that point with any that shall come forth to withstand it. Mr. Nowel answered me, now was no time to dispute. Then said I, then I desire to give an account of the faith and order I hold, and this I desired three times, but in comes Mr. Flint, and saith to the executioner, FELLOW, DO THINE OFFICE, for this fellow would but make a long speech to delude the people. So I being resolved to speak, told the people, that which I am to suffer for is the word of God, and testimony of Jesus Christ. No, saith Mr. Nowel, it is for your error, and going about to seduce the people. To which I replied, not for error, for in all the time of my imprisonment, wherein I was left alone (my brethren being gone), which of all your ministers in all that time, came to convince me of an error; and when upon the Governor's words a motion was made for a *public dispute*, and upon fair terms so often renewed, and desired by hundreds, what was the reason it was not granted? Mr. Nowel told me, it was his fault that went away and would not dispute; but this the writings will clear at large. Still Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office: so before, and in the time of his pulling off my clothes, I continued speaking, telling them, that I had so learned, that for all Boston I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruised upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a *wampum peague*⁸ to free it out of their hands, and that I made as much conscience of unbuttoning one button as I did of paying the £30 in reference thereunto. I told them, moreover, the Lord having manifested his love towards me, in giving me repentance towards God, and faith in Jesus Christ, and so to be baptized in water, by a messenger of Jesus, into the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, wherein I have fellowship with him in his death, burial and resurrection, I am now come to be *baptized in afflictions* by your hands, that so I may have further fellowship with my Lord, and am not ashamed of his sufferings, for by his stripes am I healed. And as the man began to lay the strokes upon my back, I said to the people, though my flesh should fail, and my spirit should fail, yet my God would not fail. So it pleased the Lord to come in, and so to fill my heart and tongue as a vessel full, and with an audible voice I broke forth, praying unto the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge: and telling the people, that now I found he did not fail me, and therefore now I should trust him forever, who failed me not; for in truth, as the strokes fell upon me, I had such a spiritual manifestation of God's presence, as the like thereof I never had nor felt, nor can with fleshly tongue express, and the outward pain was so removed from me, that indeed I am not able to declare it to you, it was so easy to me, that I could well bear it, yea, and in a manner, felt it not, although it was grievous, as the spectators said, the man striking with all his strength (yea, *spitting in his hands three times*, as many affirmed) with a *three corded whip*, giving me therewith thirty strokes. When he had loosed me from the post, having joyfulness in my heart and cheerfulness in my countenance, as the spectators observed, I told the magistrates, you have struck me as with roses; and said moreover, although the Lord hath made it easy to me, yet I pray God it may not be laid to your charge. After this, many came to me rejoicing to see the power of the Lord manifested in weak flesh; but sinful flesh takes occasion hereby to bring others in trouble, informs the magistrates hereof, and so two more are apprehended as for contempt of authority; their names were John Hazel and John Spur, who came indeed and did shake me by the hand, but did use no words of contempt or reproach unto any."

In imitation of the persecutors of old, these New England puritans made it a capital offence for any one to show any sympathy to the victims of their severity, or to afford them any comfort or relief.⁹

"Now thus it hath pleased the Father of mercies so to dispose of the matter, that my bonds

⁸ A *wampum peague* is the sixth part of a penny, with us.—*Backus*.

⁹ In a manuscript of Governor Joseph Jenks, written more than a hundred years ago, he says, "Mr. Holmes was whipt thirty stripes, and in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay."

and imprisonments have been no hindrance to the gospel, for before my return, some submitted to the Lord and were baptized, and divers were put upon the way of inquiry. And now being advised to make my escape by night, because it was reported there were warrants forth for me, I departed; and the next day after, while I was on my journey, the constable came to search at the house where I lodged, so I escaped their hands, and was, by the good hand of my heavenly Father, brought home again to my near relations, my wife and eight children; the brethren of our town and Providence having taken pains to meet me four miles in the woods, where we rejoiced together in the Lord. Thus have I given you as briefly as I can, a true relation of things; wherefore my brethren, rejoice with me in the Lord, and give glory to him, for he is worthy, to whom be praise forevermore; to whom I commit you, and put up my earnest prayers for you, that by my late experience who have trusted in God, and have not been deceived, you may trust in him perfectly. Wherefore my dearly beloved brethren, trust in the Lord, and you shall not be ashamed nor confounded; so I also rest,

Yours in the bond of charity,

OBADIAH HOLMES."

Warrants were issued out against thirteen persons, whose only crime was showing some emotions of sympathy toward this innocent sufferer. Eleven of them escaped, and two only were apprehended; their names were John Spur, and John Hazel. Spur was probably the man who had been apprehended at Weymouth. Hazel was one of Mr. Holmes' brethren at Rehoboth. Both of these men were to receive ten lashes, or pay forty shillings apiece. The latter they could not do with a clear conscience, and were therefore preparing for such another scourging as they had seen and pitied in their brother Holmes. But some, without their knowledge, paid their fines. Mr. Backus has given an account of their trial, and the depositions which were preferred against them, in which nothing more was pretended than that they took Mr. Holmes by the hand when he came from the whipping-post, and blessed God for the strength and support he had given him. But this was "a heinous offence," and called for the vengeance of the civil arm. Mr. Hazel was upwards of sixty years old, and died a few days after he was released, before he reached home.

Mr. Clark went to England this same year, where he published a narrative of these transactions, from which the preceding sketches have been selected.

These measures of intolerance and cruelty tended to promote rather than retard the baptist cause. And many pedobaptists, both here and in England, remonstrated with much severity against the intemperate zeal of their persecuting brethren. And, among the rest, Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the Massachusetts' magistrates, then in England, wrote to Mr. Cotton and Wilson, of Boston, in the following manner:—

"Reverend and dear friends, whom I unfeignedly love and respect,—It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are reported daily of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join you in your worship, and when they show their dislike thereof, or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceive) their public affronts. Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to do that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for so the apostle (Rom. xiv. 23,) tells us, and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for fear of punishment. We pray for you, and wish you prosperity every way; hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practise those courses in a wilderness, which you went so far to prevent. These rigid ways have laid you very low in the hearts of the saints. I do assure you I have heard them pray in the public assemblies that the Lord would give you meek and humble spirits, not to strive so much for uniformity, as to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

MR. COTTON'S ANSWER.

"HONORED AND DEAR SIR,

"My brother Wilson and self do both of us acknowledge your love, as otherwise formerly, so now in the late lines we received from you, that you grieve in spirit to hear daily complaints against us. Be pleased to understand we look at such complaints as altogether injurious in respect of ourselves, who had no hand or tongue at all to promote either the coming of the persons you aim at into our assemblies, or their punishment for their carriage there. Righteous judgment will not take up reports, much less reproaches against the innocent. We are amongst those, whom (if you knew us better) you would account peaceable in Israel.

Yet neither are we so vast in our indulgence or toleration, as to think the men you speak of suffered an unjust censure. For one of them (Obadiah Holmes), being an excommunicate person himself, out of a church in Plymouth patent, came into this jurisdiction, and took upon him to baptize, which I think himself will not say he was compelled here to perform.¹⁰ And he was not ignorant that the re-baptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of them manifest contestations against the order and government of our churches established, *we know*, by God's law, and, he knoweth, by the laws of the country. As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the court, was to have paid, as I know, £30 or else be whipt; his fine was offered to be paid by friends for him freely, but he chose rather to be whipt; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship.¹ The other (Mr. Clark), was wiser in that point, and his offence was less, so was his fine less, and himself, as I hear, was contented to have it paid for him, whereupon he was released. The imprisonment of either of them was no detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home, and, I am sure, Holmes had not been so well clad for many years before.

"But be pleased to consider this point a little further. You think, to compel men in matter of worship is to make them sin. If the worship be lawful in itself, the magistrate compelling him to come to it, compelleth him not to sin, but the sin is in his will that needs to be compelled to a christian duty. If it do make men hypocrites, yet better be hypocrites than profane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the profane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man. You know not, if you think we came into this wilderness to practise those courses here which we fled from in England. We believe there is a vast difference between men's inventions and God's institutions; we fled from men's inventions, to which we else should have been compelled; we compel none to men's inventions. If our ways (rigid ways as you call them) have laid us low in the hearts of God's people, yea, and of the saints (as you style them), we do not believe it is any part of their saintship. Nevertheless, I tell you the truth, we have tolerated in our churches some anabaptists, some antinomians, and some seekers, and do so still at this day. We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us."

Such were the apologies of the great Mr. Cotton, who was unquestionably the most talented and distinguished man among the pedobaptists of that day; and, as Mr. Ivimey well observes, "We have happily arrived at a period when arguments are not necessary to prove the absurdity of his reasoning," and also, "That the severities of those times were not so much the result of the disposition of these New England persecutors as of the principles which they had adopted."

Mr. Cotton's education at Cambridge, in England, was of the most finished kind for those times, and all ascribe to him a character every way good. And even Roger Williams, his great antagonist, with his characteristic magnanimity speaks of him with esteem and respect.

The city of Boston, as a compliment to this illustrious man, was called after that of the same name in England, where he had been settled, and from which he fled in haste to escape the Bishop's power. His life was long, active and useful; and had he lived in after times, when the rights of conscience were better understood, he would no doubt have saved his great name from the odium which now rests upon it, as the main projector of an unjust law against a handful of anabaptists and other dissenters, from the all-powerful sway of the infant hierarchy of which he was the *omnis homo*, or principal man.

Nothing but a blind infatuation in favor of a system, which has since been doomed to condemnation and neglect, could have led such a man, so distinguished for his mild and amiable qualities, to have not only looked on with approbation, but to have hurried forward, by his powerful pen—his commanding eloquence, and almost unlimited influence, the cruel scenes above described; which, by the request of some of the patrons of this work, I have given without abridgment, from the old edition.

¹⁰ What an evasion is this! Sir Richard spake of compelling persons into their worship; and Cotton here turns it as if he meant a compelling persons out of one government into another, to worship in their own way.—*Barkus*.

¹ Although the paying of a fine seems to be but a small thing in comparison of a man's parting with his religion, yet the paying of a fine is the acknowledging of a transgression; and, for a man to acknowledge that he has transgressed when his conscience tells him he has not, is but little, if anything at all, short of parting with his religion; and it is likely that this might be the consideration of those sufferers.—*Gov. Jenks*.

The only crime alleged against these men, was going peaceably to the house of an aged brother, which should have been a castle to them all, and there, in a devout and quiet manner, commencing the worship of their common Lord. But the rulers of the church, who were terribly afraid of encroachment and innovation, had entrusted its guardianship to a set of ill-bred and unfeeling secular officials, who knew not how to do their business in a decent and respectful manner; and the conveying the men to their meeting, there to tantalize and abuse them, went beyond anything I remember to have read of in the mother country.

Dr. Clarke, the principal object of their resentment, soon after this event, was sent an ambassador to the British court, from the colony of Rhode Island.

So completely was he at home in the baptismal controversy, that he was evidently as desirous for the public discussion, as his opponents were to avoid it.

But although the Governor had incautiously thrown out the challenge, yet the ministers shrunk back from the encounter.

It is said by Mr. Backus, that President Dunster was led to inquire into the Baptist sentiments by the persecutions which we have thus related, and it is highly probable that many others had their attention called to the subject by these severities.

And we may also suppose, that those Baptist members who had hitherto continued within the bounds of the pedobaptist churches, some of whom were accused of the *profane trick* of turning their backs when infant subjects were brought forward to the baptismal rite, were constrained to separate themselves entirely from such a persecuting church.

These events I state as probabilities, not being in possession of authentic details. But certain it is, the Baptists now began to increase, and to take a bolder stand against the encroachments of their opponents, and in defense of their own peculiar views.

They were conscious of having the sympathy of the dissenters generally, from the mother country, and of many of the party at home from whom their late trials had proceeded.

But so slow was the progress of the denomination in this state, that in one hundred years from the organization of the first churches in Swansea and Boston, they had planted but eighteen churches which had acquired a permanent standing.

Some few besides had arisen during the century, which had lost their visibility before its close.

Many were the oppressions and privations which our brethren suffered in this boasted asylum of liberty, until the war of the revolution; which calamitous scene in all other respects, was nevertheless peculiarly auspicious to the cause of religious liberty in this heretofore fast-bound commonwealth, as well as in all the colonies where religious establishments had exercised a domineering sway.

From these general accounts of the rise of the Baptists in this state, we shall proceed to give the history of some of the oldest and most distinguished churches, associations, and various institutions for education and missions, at home and abroad.

FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON.

Although the church in Swansea was organized a short time before this, yet as that was in a remote part of the state, on the borders of R. I., its formation produced but little excitement at the head-quarters of the ruling powers. But the community now to be described, was in the very centre of their operations. At this late period, when the principles of religious freedom are so fully established, and all denominations are permitted without any impediment to form as many churches as they please, it is difficult to comprehend how such

a feeble company of despised anabaptists, without power or patronage, with no place of meeting but their own private and humble dwellings, should for many years in succession throw the whole power of the state, sacred and secular, into such unusual commotion, and lead them to resort to so many expedients to hinder and suppress them.

After a full survey of all the circumstances of the case, I am strongly inclined to the opinion, that Mr. Gould and his associates had no definite plan as to their future operations, in the commencement of their course. They were among "the multitude" referred to by Dr. Mather, "of holy, watchful, faithful, and heavenly people among the first settlers of N. E., who had scruples as to infant baptism."²

No company of people could more fully answer the Dr.'s very candid description, than those whose history is before us. And as we have already suggested, there were probably many more of these quiet and pious dissenters in principle, who still traveled in connection with the puritan pedobaptist churches, in these infant settlements, as they had done in the mother country.

But the time had come for the advocates of believers' baptism to take a stand by themselves, and lay the foundation for those immense results which have since followed, in the metropolis of this important state, and in this populous and intelligent community.

Mr. Hubbard, one of the Massachusetts historians, observes, "That while some were studying how baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful in their several generations, there were others as studious to deprive all unadult children thereof, and restrain the privilege only to adult believers."³

Mr. Thomas Gould, a man of very humble pretensions, with no official character of any kind, but a mere private member of a small country church, was designated by divine providence, to be the principal instrument in this difficult and dangerous enterprise, and the patient victim of all the sufferings and reproaches which it involved. And the simple fact of his modestly declining to present his new-born child at the baptismal font, was the means of opening the crusade against him on the part of the whole pedobaptist community, which in the end enlisted all the logic, the stratagems, and bigotry of the whole corps of the priesthood, and a long train of legal enactments from the secular powers.

Ten thousand such omissions have since been silently overlooked by succeeding churches, and the offenders have continued in fellowship and repose. And had the conscientious scruples of Gould been treated with that kindness and charity which every dictate of christian forbearance suggests, there is no probability that the foundation of the first Baptist church in Boston, at that time, would have been laid. But such was the spirit of the times—the bigotry of the men—and especially of master Simes, the pastor of the church to which Mr. Gould belonged, that they hurried the good man forward much beyond his first design.

The following narrative from the pen of Mr. Gould, was found by Mr. Backus among Mr. Callender's papers, and as it is in a very plain and intelligent style, I have thought it best to insert it in its full extent, and in his own words, with the addition of such comments as naturally occur.

I would again remark that the term *elder*, is to be understood not as with us, but in the presbyterian sense of a secondary officer in the church.

"It having been a long time a scruple to me about infant baptism, God was pleased, at last, to make it clear to me by the rule of the gospel, that children were not capable nor fit subjects for such an ordinance, because Christ gave this commission to his Apostles, first to preach, to make them disciples, and then to baptize them,—which infants were not capable of; so that I durst not bring forth my child to be partaker of it; so looking that my child had no right to it, which was in the year 1655, when the Lord was pleased to give me a child, I

² Backus, Vol. I., p. 355.

³ This had reference to what was called the *half-way covenant*, which was a contrivance of those times to bring in all the children of succeeding generations, whether their parents were church-members or not.

staid some space of time, and said nothing, to see what the church would do with me. On a third day of the week, when there was a meeting at my house, to keep a day of thanksgiving to God, for his mercy shown to my wife at that time, one coming to the meeting brought a note from the elders of the church to this effect: that they desired me to come down on the morrow to the elder's house, and to send word again what time of that day I would come, and they would stay at home for me; and if I could not come that day, to send them word. In looking on the writing, with many friends with me, I told them I had promised to go another way on the morrow. Master Dunster (probably, President Dunster) being present, desired me to send them word that I could not come on the morrow, but that I would come any other time that they would appoint me; and so, I sent word back by the same messenger. The fifth day, meeting with elder Green, I told him how it was; he told me it was well, and that they would appoint another day, when he had spoken with the pastor, and then they would send me word. This lay about two months before I heard any more from them. On a first day in the afternoon, one told me I must stop, for the church would speak with me. They called me out, and Master Sims told the church, that this brother did withhold his child from baptism, and that they had sent unto him to come down on such a day to speak with them, and if he could not come on that day, to set a day when he would be at home; but he, refusing to come, would appoint no time; when we writ to him to take his own time, and send us word. I replied, that there was no such word in the letter, for me to appoint the day; but what time of that day I should come.

"Mr. Sims stood up and told me, *I did lie*, for they sent to me to appoint the day. I replied again, that there was no such thing in the letter. He replied again, that they did not set down a time, and not a day; therefore, he told me it was a lie, and that they would leave my judgment, and deal with me for a lie; and told the church, that he and the elder agreed to write, that if I could not come that day, to appoint the time when I could come, and that he read it after the elder writ it, and the elder affirmed it was so; but I still replied, there was no such thing in the letter, and thought I could produce the letter.

"They bid me let them see the letter, or they would proceed against me for a lie. Brother Thomas Wilder, sitting before me, stood up and told them, that it was so in the letter as I said, for he read it when it came to me. But they answered, it was not so, and bid him produce the letter, or they would proceed with me; he said I think I can produce the letter, and forthwith took it out of his pocket, which I wondered at; and I desired him to give it to Mr. Russel to read, and so he did, and he read it very faithfully, and it was just as I had said, that I must send them word what time of that day I would come down; so that their mouths were stopped, and master Sims put it off and said he was mistaken, for he thought he had read it otherwise; but the elder said, this is nothing, let us proceed with him for his judgment. Now let any man judge what a fair beginning this was, and if you wait awhile you may see as fair an ending. They called me forth to know why I would not bring my child to baptism? My answer was, I did not see any rule of Christ for it, for that ordinance belongs to such as can make profession of their faith, as the scripture doth plainly hold forth. They answered me, that was meant of grown persons and not of children. But that which was most alleged by them was, that children were capable of circumcision in the time of the law, and therefore as capable in the time of the gospel of baptism; and asked me why children were not to be baptized in the time of the gospel as well as children were circumcised in the time of the law? My answer was, God gave a strict command in the law for the circumcision of children; but we have no command in the gospel, nor example for the baptizing of children. Many other things were spoken, then a meeting was appointed by the church, the next week, at Mr. Russell's."

The greatest sticklers for baptismal regeneration, the absolute necessity of the rite for the salvation of children, and the certain and unavoidable destruction of all who died without it, in any of the ancient national hierarchies, could not have laid a greater stress on infant baptism than did this puritan church. And what could be more unlike the kindness, and candor, and fair and honest dealing of the christian and gentleman, than the conduct of Mr. Sims, the pastor of the church, in his treatment of this offending brother?

At the meeting held at Mr. Gould's house, as a day of thanksgiving for his family mercies, it is probable that none attended but those who sympathized with this scrupulous man, which President Dunster, on account of his tinge of baptist sentiments, would be willing to do. As for the church generally, they would hardly be willing to join in any acts of religious worship, on account of a child, whose baptism had, in their view, been thus criminally neglected.

"Being met at Mr. Russell's house, Mr. Sims took a writing out of his pocket, wherein he had drawn up many arguments for infant baptism, and told the church that I must answer those arguments, which I suppose he had drawn from some author, and told me I must keep to those arguments. My answer was, I thought the church had met together to answer my scruples and to satisfy my conscience by a rule of God, and not for me to answer his writing. He said he had drawn it up for the help of his memory, and desired we might go on. Then I requested three things of them.

"1st. *That they should not make me an offender for a word.*

"2d. *That they should not drive me faster than I was able to go.*

"3d. *That if any present should see cause to clear up anything that was spoken by me, they might have their liberty without offence;* because here are many of you that have their liberty to speak against me if you see cause. But it was denied, and Mr. Sims was pleased to reply, that he was able to deal with me himself, and that I knew it. So we spent four or five hours speaking to many things to and again, but so hot both sides, that we quickly forgot and went from the arguments that were written. At last one of the company stood up and said, I will give you one plain place of scripture where children were baptized. I told him that would put an end to the controversy. That place is in the 2d of the Acts, 39th and 40th verses. After he had read the scripture, Mr. Sims told me that promise belonged to infants, for the scripture saith, *The promise is to you and your children, and to all that are afar off;* and he said no more; to which I replied, *even so many as the Lord our God shall call.* Mr. Sims replied that I spoke blasphemously in adding to the scriptures. I said, pray do not condemn me, for if I am deceived, my eyes deceive me. He replied again, I added to the scripture, which was blasphemy. I looked into my bible, read the words again, and said it was so. He replied the same words the third time before the church. Mr. Russell stood up and told him it was so, as I had read it. Aye, it may be so in your bible, saith Mr. Sims. Mr. Russell answered, yea, in yours too if you will look into it. Then he said he was mistaken, for he thought on another place; so after many other words, we broke up for that time."

Mr. Gould's three propositions, contained in this section of the narrative, shows him to have been not only a man of good sense, but capable of a clear arrangement of ideas. It is, also, plain that he wished to secure for his friends who might wish to participate in the debate, a better opportunity than Mr. Sims, the chairman of the meeting, with his strong and unfriendly bias, would be likely to give.

"At another meeting, the church required me to bring out my child to baptism. I told them I durst not do it, for I did not see any rule for it in the word of God. They brought many places of scripture in the Old and New Testament, as circumcision and the promise to Abraham, and that children were holy, and they were disciples. But I told them that all these places made nothing for infant baptism. Then stood up W. D. in the church and said, '*Put him in the court! put him in the court!*' But Mr. Sims answered, '*I pray forbear such words.*' But it proved so, for presently after they put me in the court, and put me in seven or eight courts, whilst they looked upon me to be a member of their church. The elder pressed the church to lay me under admonition, which the church was backward to do. Afterwards I went out at the sprinkling of children, which was a great trouble to some honest hearts, and they told me of it. But I told them I could not stay, for I looked upon it as no ordinance of Christ. They told me that now I had made known my judgment, I might stay, for they knew I did not join with them. So I stayed and sat down in my seat when they were at prayer, and administering that service to infants. Then they dealt with me for my irreverent carriage. One stood up and accused me, that I stopped my ears; but I denied it."

"Put him in the court," was the *ultima ratio*,—the last argument of this mistaken church, which had so lately fled from the same kind of cruel discipline—from the strong arm of ecclesiastical tyranny at home. And here we see, in the act of this religious commonwealth, the evil of committing to the civil power the regulation of religious affairs. Had it not been for the power of this infant court, the church in this case could have done this handful of dissenters no personal harm. It would have been a mere verbal contest about dogmas and rites, and if they could not have reclaimed their delinquent members by their ecclesiastical discipline, their only alternative would have been, to let them go, and closed the door against them after their departure.

But they well understood that there was a power behind the church, to which they could appeal; and it is to the credit of Mr. Sims that he at first dissuaded his brethren from this cruel resort. But soon afterwards he must have joined in the measure.

"At another meeting they asked me if I would suffer the church to fetch my child and baptize it? I answered, if they would fetch my child and do it as their own act, they might do it; but when they should bring my child, I would make known to the congregation that I had no

hand in it; then some of the church were against doing of it. A brother stood up and said, 'Brother Gould, you were once for children's baptism, why are you fallen from it?' I answered, 'It is true, and I suppose you were once for crossing in baptism, why are you fallen from that?' The man was silent, but Mr. Sims stood up in a great heat, and desired the church to take notice of it, that I compared the ordinance of Christ to the cross in baptism; this was one of the great offences they dealt with me for. After this, the deputy-governor, Mr. Bellingham, meeting me in Boston, called me to him and said, 'Goodman Gould, I desire you, that you would let the church baptize your child.' I told him, that 'if the church would do it upon their own account, they should do it, but I durst not bring out my child.' So he called to Mrs. Norton, of Charlestown, and prayed her to fetch Goodman Gould's child and baptize it. So she spake to them, but not rightly informing them, she gave them to understand, I would bring out my child. They called me out again and asked me if I would bring forth my child? I told them, No, I durst not do it, for I see no rule for it."⁴

It is truly astonishing that the fact of one obscure child being withheld from the baptismal rite, should produce such an interest and sensation among all classes, high and low, in church and state. Seven years had thus rolled on in this religious warfare, and all parties seemed at a loss to know whether Mr. Gould was in the church or out of it. And he himself appears to have no settled plan for his future action.

But about this time, says this afflicted man, some Baptist friends from England desired to hold a meeting at his house. They well understood how to manage cases of this kind, from their own experience at home. The meeting was accordingly commenced, and on the 28th of May, 1665, the church was formed, consisting of Thomas Gould, Thomas Osbourne, Edward Drinker, John George, Richard Goodall, William Turner, Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall, and Mary Newall.

Gould and Osbourne were members of the pedobaptist church in Charlestown. Goodall was a member of a Baptist church in London, of which Mr. Kiffin was pastor. His wife was probably a member of the same church. Turner and Lambert were members of a church in Dartmouth, England, whose pastor was Mr. Stead. Of the others we have no particular information. Turner accepted a captain's commission in King Philip's war, and lost his life in the defense of a colony in which he was most cruelly oppressed.

This little anabaptist church, consisting of only nine members, a part of whom were females, and the rest illiterate ploughmen and mechanics, made full employ for the rulers of Massachusetts a number of years.⁵

Hitherto the secular powers had done but little; but in a few months after the organization of this feeble church their legislation commenced, and continued with much severity for a number of years, and some of the members spent most of their time in courts and prisons; they were often fined, and finally the sentence of banishment was pronounced against them, which, however, they did not see fit to obey.

It would take a volume, says Morgan Edwards, to contain an account of all their sufferings for ten or twelve years.

The burden of all their complaints were that they had formed a church *without the approbation of the ruling powers.*

"This principle," says Mr. Neale, "condemns all the dissenting congregations which have been formed in England since the *Act of Uniformity*, in the year 1662."

It is as difficult to reconcile the arguments of the New England fathers with common honesty in this case, as it is in all their legislations in church and state, so far as dissenters were concerned, with common sense.

From the first settlement of the country, the fixed and determined policy in both departments, civil and ecclesiastical, which were in substance the same,

⁴ Backus, Vol. I., pp. 359-365.

⁵ Mr. Backus has preserved the contents of a paper supposed to have been written by Mr. Gould's wife, in which are the following comments on the charge that their churches were in danger of destruction from the infant efforts of the baptists. "If, says she, eight or nine poor anabaptists, as they call them, should be the destruction of their churches, their foundation must be sandy indeed."—Vol. I., p. 366.

had been to establish and maintain a strict uniformity in church affairs, to the exclusion of all sects and parties, creeds and forms, not excepting the mother church, on whose civil functionaries they still hung in colonial dependence.

Not only were no provisions made, as in some despotic hierarchies, but all their laws were against any incipient movements of the kind.

Separation and anabaptistry were frightful chimeras in Roger Williams' time.

"They felt a thousand deaths in fearing one."

Severe laws had been made against the Baptists, the Quakers, and all others who by word or deed should show any dislike to their established worship; and some of their own party had been banished, as well as others, for protesting against what Backus calls the idol of uniformity which these people had set up.

No fact can be more notorious than that they had resolved that no other church should exist but their own. And it was well known to our brethren that no license or permission would be granted, under any circumstances whatever. How then could men who meant to be believed, assign the reason above stated for this long train of legal severities against this handful of conscientious men?

And equally absurd was their excuse for their treatment of men, who, in the language of the day, were *excommunicate persons*, when it was so well known that they were excluded for no fault but an honest difference of opinion with the dominant party.

And to crown the absurdity of these misguided leaders of a peculiar age, after Mr. Gould and his companions had been fined, imprisoned, and sentenced to banishment for opinions, which the highest tribunals, with the greatest confidence and most solemn assurance, had condemned as incompatible with the laws of God and man; they were then challenged to a public dispute, to settle the question whether they were erroneous or not! and the six following clergymen, viz.: Messrs. John Allen, Thomas Cobbet, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell, and Thomas Shepard, were nominated to manage the dispute on the pedobaptist side, which was appointed to be April 14th, 1668, in the meeting house in Boston, at 9 o'clock in the morning. But lest the six learned clergymen should not be a match for a few illiterate baptists, the Governor and magistrates were requested to meet with them. The news of the dispute soon spread abroad, and Mr. Clark's church in Newport sent William Hiscox, Joseph Torry, and Samuel Hubbard, to assist their brethren in Boston in it, who arrived there three days before it was to come on.

This dispute, different from the one proposed to John Clark, in some sort, was actually held and continued two days to little purpose. But all turned out a solemn mockery so far as the rights of the baptists were concerned; and it appears in the end that they were called together only to be tantalized and abused.

When the disputants were met, there was a long speech made by one of their opponents showing what vile persons the baptists were, and how they acted against the churches and government here, and stood condemned by the court. The others desired liberty to speak, but they would not suffer them, but told them they stood there as delinquents, and ought not to have liberty to speak. Then they desired that they might choose a moderator as well as they; but this they denied them. In the close, Master Jonathan Mitchell pronounced that dreadful sentence against them in Deuteronomy, 17th chapter, from the 8th to the end of the 12th verse.

The concluding sentence of this old Testament anathema is as follows:—
"And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest that standeth to minister there, before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die; and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel."

This strange application of this terrible denunciation, was made by the same

Mitchell who was afraid to converse with president Dunster, lest his mind should be shaken upon infant baptism; who ascribed all his scruples on the subject to an infernal power; and who, in the end, resolved that he would have an *argument able to remove mountains, before he would give it up.*

And, according to Backus, he was most active in stimulating the rulers in their persecuting measures against the baptists.

So far as we can gain information of the management of this singular dispute, in cowardly and contemptible tyranny, on the part of the pedobaptists, it exceeded anything of the kind which we read of in any age.⁶

The next month after this singular measure, the sentence of their banishment was pronounced against these *obstinate and turbulent* anabaptists (such is the language of the law), who, in open court, asserted that nothing that they had heard convinced them of the error of their ways.

The injuries sustained by Gould and his associates excited the compassion of many gentlemen whose religious views were different from theirs, both in Europe and America; and while they were suffering in prison because they would not go into exile, a petition was presented to the court in their favor, containing upwards of sixty names, among whom are said to have been Capt. Hutchinson, Capt. Oliver, and others of note in the country. But such was the strange infatuation of these puritan defenders of the church, in which it is well understood that their ministers were deeply concerned, that instead of producing any abatement of their severities, on the contrary, the chief promoters of the petition were fined and others were compelled, as a matter of safety, to make concessions to the all-powerful tribunal whose clemency they had sought for these innocent sufferers.

And here it may be proper to observe that no small number of gentlemen, of much distinction, were all along opposed to these persecuting measures, among whom was Gov. Leverett, Lieut. Gov. Willoughby, Mr. Symonds, and many others. "These men," says Backus, "were great opposers of these persecutions against the baptists."⁷ And many who did not take an open stand against them felt a decided disapprobation of these undue severities, on the score of sound policy and religious toleration.

The king's commissioners, and all who acted under immediate appointments from the crown, of course, would do all in their power to neutralize and restrain these intemperate ebullitions of puritan zeal, which they well understood was ready to be turned upon members of the establishment, who should become obnoxious to the *standing order.*

And the decided opposition and deep mortification of the English dissenters, with great plainness and christian fidelity, is expressed in a letter sent about this time from Rev. Mr. Mascal, probably an Independent minister, who had been in New England, to Capt. Oliver, whose name is mentioned above. We shall be able to give a few extracts only, which bear directly on the cruel and absurd conduct of these misguided friends.

• • • • • "Now the greater my love is to New England, the more am I grieved at their failings. It is frequently said here, that they are swerved aside towards prebytery; if so, the Lord restore them all. But another sad thing that much affects us, is to hear that you, even in New England, persecute your brethren,—men sound in the faith, of holy life, agreeing in worship and discipline with you—only differing in the point of baptism. Dear brother, we here do love and honor them, hold familiarity with them, and take sweet counsel together; they lie in the bosom of Christ, and therefore they ought to be laid in our bosoms. In a word, we freely admit them into churches;—few of our churches, but many of our members, are anabaptists: I mean, baptized again. This is love in England; this is moderation; this is a right New Testament spirit.

• • • • • "Anabaptists are neither spirited nor principled to hurt your government nor your liberties; but rather, these be a means to preserve your churches from apostasy, and provoke them to their primitive purity, as they were in the first planting; in admission of

⁶ Disputes in England between the ministers of the establishment and all classes of dissenters were managed with some degree of fairness; but the case was entirely different here.

⁷ Mass. Hist. as quoted by Backus, Vol. II., p. 332.

members, to receive none into your churches but visible saints, and in restoring the entire jurisdiction of every congregation complete and undisturbed.
 * * * * * "But, oh! how it grieves and affects us, that New England should persecute! Will you not give what you take? Is liberty of conscience your due? and is it not due unto others that are sound in the faith?"

Read the preface to the declaration of the faith and order owned and practised in the congregational churches in England.

* * * * * "Therefore, though we approve of the baptism of the immediate children of church members, and of their admission into the church when they evidence a real work of grace; yet, to those that in conscience believe the said baptism to be unclean, to him it is unclean. Both that, and mere ruling elders, though we approve of them, yet our grounds are mere interpretations of, and not any express scripture. I cannot say so clearly of anything else in our religion, neither as to faith or practice. Now, must we force our interpretations upon others, pope-like?"

* * * * * "And what principles is persecution grounded upon? Domination and infallibility. This, we teach, is the truth. But are we infallible? and have we the government? God made none,—no, not the Apostles, who could not err, to be lords over faith; therefore, what monstrous pride is this! At this rate, any persuasion getting uppermost may command, and persecute them that obey them not; all non-conformists must be ill used. Oh wicked and monstrous principle! Whate'er you can plead for yourselves against those that persecute you, those whom you persecute may plead for themselves against you. Whatever they can say against the poor man, your enemies say against you. And, what! is that horrid principle crept into precious New England, who have felt what persecution is, and have always pleaded for liberty of conscience! Have not those run equal hazards with you for the enjoyment of their liberties? and how do you cast a reproach upon us, that are congregational in England, and furnish our adversaries with weapons against us! We blush and are filled with shame and confusion of face when we hear of these things. Dear brother, we pray that God would open your eyes and persuade the hearts of your magistrates that they may no more *smile their fellow-servants*, nor thus greatly injure us, their brethren; and that they may not thus dishonor the name of God and cause his people to be reproached, nor the holy way of God (the congregational way), to be evil spoken of. My dear brother, pardon my plainness and freedom, for the zeal of God's house constrains me.

* * * * * "Persecution is bad in wicked men, but it is most abominable in good men, who have suffered and pleaded for liberty of conscience themselves. Discouragement men that certainly err, but persecute them not. I mean gross error. Well, we are traveling to our place of rest.

* * * * * "My respects and service to my dear cousin Leveret, and Mr. Francis Willoughby. The Lord make them instrumental for his glory in helping to reform things among you. I shall be glad to hear from you. I remember our good old sweet communion together. My dear brother, once again pardon me, for I am affected! I speak for God, to whose grace I commit you all in New England, humbly craving your prayers for us here, and remain,
 Your affectionate brother,

" ROBERT MASCALL.

" *Finsbury, nere Morefield, the* }
25th of March, 1659." }

Another letter of a similar import was about this time addressed to the Governor, signed by twelve dissenting ministers in London, among whom were the learned Drs. Owen and Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Caryl. Their arguments were similar to those already reported, and most obviously they all had great fears of a reaction of this persecuting spirit on themselves from the dominant party at home.

But all these remonstrances were without effect, and Mr. Backus concludes, from the best information he could give, that these much-injured men were imprisoned more than a year after the sentence of their banishment was pronounced against them.

After his release, Mr. Gould, who was their principal speaker, went to live at Noddle's Island (now East Boston), and at his house the church assembled once a week for a number of years.

When the weather was unpleasant, the brethren residing at and about Wobourn, assembled and attended the ministry of elder Russell, "a gracious, wise, and holy man." From these men arose the church at Wobourn.

The spirit of persecution still continued.

"Elder Russell and his son, and brother Foster, were thrown into prison, and confined there for nearly six months.

"On the 20th of May, 1673, the General Court ordered their law books to be revised, and inserted another act, sentencing to banishment every person who should openly oppose or condemn the baptizing of infants.

"Thus the baptists continued to be exposed to persecution, and two of them, Trumbel and Osborne, were, in 1673, fined twenty shillings each, for withdrawing from the public (that is, the established) meetings.

"But this year, Mr. John Leveret, who had all along been opposed to the measures used against the baptists, was chosen Governor, and they were permitted to enjoy their liberty for nearly six years."

In October, Mr. Gould died,—just ten years after the church was constituted, and Isaac Hull and elder Russell became pastors of the church, assisted in their labors, during two or three years, by Mr. John Miles, who was one of the two thousand ministers ejected from their livings in England, in 1662.

"Mr. Gould proved an eminent instrument, in the hand of the Lord, for the carrying on of this good work of God in its weak beginnings."

The members added to the church after its organization, up to 1669, were Isaac Hull, John Farnum, Jacob Barney, John Russell, jun., John Johnson, George Farlow, Benjamin Sweetser, and Ellis Callender. After them were added Joshua Turner, Thomas Foster, John Russell, sen., William Hamlit, James Loudon, Thomas Skinner, John Williams, Philip Squire, Mary Gould, Susanna Jackson, Mary Greenleaf, &c.

Of Mr. Gould's history, I can learn nothing more than what has been related in the preceding sketches. It is much to be regretted that a more particular account of him has not been preserved. He was, no doubt, a very plain, but a very honest and sensible man, whose name should be honored by all New England baptists. And when we consider, that the church, which he was the principal instrument in founding, first in Charlestown, within call of Boston, in 1665, included the whole of the baptist interest in the colony of Mass. for about seventy years, this full detail of enterprises and sufferings will not be regarded as improper.

The Swansea church was in the colony of Plymouth.

Of Mr. Hull, we have scarce any account; but of Mr. Russell, the following sketches have been preserved. He was ordained in 1679, but died the next year. Previous to his death, he wrote a narrative of the sufferings of this little flock, which was sent over to London, and was printed in 1680, with a preface to it, by Messrs. William Kiffin, Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Hansard Knollys, John Harris, and Nehemiah Cox. These eminent baptist ministers made some very severe but judicious reflections on the unaccountable conduct of the New England fathers. It seems strange, said they, that christians in New England should pursue the very same persecuting measures which they fled from Old England to avoid! This argument they knew not how to withstand, and their reasonings against it were altogether frivolous and contemptible. *Protestants, said they, ought not to persecute protestants; yet, that protestants may punish protestants, cannot be denied!*

Because Mr. Russell was by occupation a shoemaker, many low and abusive reflections were made upon him on that account, even after he was dead,—and stranger yet, by some of the dignified doctors of the church.

Those three eminent ministers of Swansea, Job, Russell, and John Mason, were great-grandchildren of this worthy, but much-despised man. From him, also, descended the Russells of Providence, Rhode Island.

"The church, under the occasional labors of Messrs. Russell, Hull, and Miles, who occasionally labored with them, and whose history will be given in that of the Swansea church, had become so large, that they agreed to divide into two churches; but, in January, 1678, they resolved to unite, and erect a place of worship in Boston, having for fourteen years been destitute of a house for

public worship, during which time, they met for worship in their dwelling-houses in Charlestown, Boston, and Noddle's Island.

"Before the meeting-house was finished, Governor Severet died, and former measures of severity were renewed against the baptists.

"On the 15th of February, 1679, the church met in their house for the first time. It was located at the corner of what is now called Stillman, and Salem streets. But their enjoyment of this commodious sanctuary was of short duration: for, in the following May, the General Court, not finding any old law which would bear upon the case, enacted a new one to this effect:—

"That no person should erect or make use of a house for public worship, without license from the authorities, under the penalty, that the house and land on which it stood should be forfeited to the use of the county, to be disposed of by the county treasurer, by sale, or demolished, as the court that gave judgment in the case should order."

This affair went the whole round of courts and legislatures. In the mean time the patient little flock being in danger of the loss of the building which had cost them so much labor and care to erect, quietly submitted to these unrighteous demands, and "waited to see what God would do for them."

News of the proceedings having reached the powers at home, the King in due time wrote to the rulers here, "requiring that *liberty of conscience* should be allowed to all protestants, so as that they might not be discountenanced from sharing in the government, much less, that no good subject of his, for not agreeing in the Congregational way, should by law be subjected to fines and forfeitures, or other incapacities for the same, which, said his majesty, is a severity the more to be wondered at, whereas liberty of conscience was made a principal motive for your transportation into those parts."

But these obstinate and resolute defenders of pedobaptism yielded a very slow and reluctant compliance with this positive injunction from the throne.

Deplorable, indeed, says Mr. Backus, was the case of these brethren. They had been often reproached for meeting in *private houses*. "But since," said they, "we have, for our convenience, obtained a *public house*, on purpose for that use, we have become more offensive than before."

How long they were excluded from their own premises does not appear. Communications from one country to the other, at that time, were slowly made, and no doubt a number of months intervened before the royal summons arrived. But, at length, having information indirectly, it should seem, of the king's letter in their favor, they presumed to re-enter their long deserted chapel. But three or four times, however, were they permitted to assemble before they were again called before the vexatious court to answer for the high offence; and soon they found the doors had been nailed up by the marshal, and a paper put on them to this effect:—

"All persons are to take notice, that by order of the court, the doors of this house are shut up, and that they are inhibited to hold any meetings, or to open the doors thereof without license from authority, till the General Court take further order, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Dated at Boston, 8th March, 1680.

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*."

The church had no alternative but to submit to the right of the strongest, and as there was no law against it, the next Lord's day they assembled in their yard, where they soon after erected a temporary covering. Such was the undue severity of these puritan fathers, towards this small assembly of Baptist professors; and that in the face of the express command of their royal master then on the English throne.

But on the second Lord's day, when they came together, they found their doors had been opened;—and their assemblies continued without interruption, until the following May, when their leading men were again cited before the ever watchful Assembly. But our brethren took a bolder stand, and plead:

1. *That the house was their own.*

2. *That it was built when there was no law to forbid it. Therefore they were not transgressors.*

3. *That it was the express will and pleasure of the King, that they should enjoy their liberty.*

The remainder of this part of the narrative presents a strange compound of authority and neglect. After enduring some reviling speeches, as nullifiers of the infant rite, and disturbers of religious order, and having been admonished in open court by the Governor, Simon Bradstreet, and charged not to meet in their house again, they were then dismissed, and the court agreed to suspend any further proceedings against them.

These scenes transpired during the lives of Elders Hull and Russell, but in less than a year after, quiet possession of the house was obtained. Mr. Russell died, and Ellis Callender, and Edward Drinker, were next called to officiate in the church, in their humble mode of worship; the first in the former, and the other in the latter part of the day.

“Previous to the year 1684, the church, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Elder Hull, had written to England for an assistant pastor, and obtained a man by the name of John Emblen, who continued in that office till about the year 1699, when he died.

“The church then applied to England again, for help, but as they could obtain none, they called Mr. Ellis Callender to become their pastor, (who, when the church was destitute of a pastor, had been ‘principal speaker among them for about thirty years.’)

“He was ordained in 1708. He continued in the pastoral office, highly honored and esteemed, for more than ten years.

“His son, Elisha Callender, became his successor in the pastoral office. He had received a liberal education in Harvard college, and graduated in the year 1710. He was baptized and received into the church, August 10th, 1713, and ordained to the solemn work of the ministry May 21st, 1718.

“The ordination of Mr. Callender was an interesting event, on account of its having been attended by those very ministers who a few years before had used their influence to drive the baptists out of the colony.

“So wonderful was the change which had already been effected in the public sentiment, that Dr. Increase Mather, and Cotton Mather, and Mr. John Webb—three principal clergymen of this town, of the congregational order, at the request of the church, not only agreed to the settlement of Mr. Callender, but performed the principal services on the occasion, and that too in the very house which had been once nailed up by the authority of the town!

“Every thing seemed to be in a prosperous train during the whole of Mr. Callender’s ministry; almost every month additions were made to the church, and a broad foundation laid for its future enlargements. But in the midst of life and usefulness, Mr. Callender was arrested by disease and removed from his beloved flock.

“On the 20th of January, 1738, he preached his last sermon, from the text, ‘Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.’

“His last advice to the church was, ‘Away with lukewarmness—away with remissness in attending the house of prayer. Live in peace, that the God of love and peace may be with you. Improve your time, for your standing in the church is *short*, and that is the way to prepare for the inheritance of the saints in light.’

“He died on the 31st day of March, 1738, in the twentieth year of his ministry.

“His life was unspotted, and his conversation always affable, religious, and truly manly. During his long illness he was remarkably patient, and in his last hours, like the blessed above. ‘I shall,’ said he, ‘sleep in Jesus,’ and that moment expired.

“He was the first of the pastors of this church, and the first baptist minister who received a college education in this section of the country.

“After the death of Mr. Callender, the church wrote to England for Mr. Jeremiah Condy, to become their pastor; in the mean time the pulpit was supplied by different ministers.

“Mr. Condy’s answer signified his acceptance of the call; he was accordingly ordained on the 14th of February, 1739.

“In 1743, a number of the members of this church withdrew, and formed the second church in Boston.

“Mr. Condy resigned his pastoral office, August, 1764, after which he retired to a private station, and died in 1768, aged fifty-nine years, twenty-five of which he was pastor of this church.

“Rev. Samuel Stillman, D.D., was the next person in office here. He was publicly installed, January 9th, 1765, just one hundred years from the formation of the church in Charlestown.

“During the occupancy of this town by the British troops, in the year 1775, the church was in a dispersed condition. Mr. Stillman, with his family, removed to Philadelphia, where they resided for more than a year. He returned the 2d of June, 1776, and the few brethren remaining here again assembled in the house, which was regularly opened for public worship, on Lord’s days, during the whole of the war, when most of the other meeting-houses in the town were shut.

“Dr. Stillman’s ministry was long and prosperous. He had always prayed that his life and usefulness might end together. Accordingly, the measure of his days being full, his course finished, and his work done, it pleased the Lord, after detaining him only two Sabbaths from the pulpit, to take him to himself, on Wednesday, the 12th day of March, 1807. On the Monday following, his remains were conveyed to the meeting-house, and, after an appropriate discourse by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, were followed to the grave by his bereaved family and flock, and a great number of citizens.

“During some of the last years of his ministry, he was permitted to witness a revival of religion of greater extent and power than had blessed this town since the memorable period of 1740. As this was the first season of special mercy that this town enjoyed in the early part of the present century, and as it was the first in the series of revivals that have since followed, its history is now become a matter of deep interest. In the Baptist Magazine of 1804–5, this work is thus described :

“‘A special seriousness made its appearance in both baptist churches early in 1803. Its first indications were a solemn stillness, and a deep, fixed attention on the Sabbath. The work gradually continued to extend from week to week, through two or three years.’ What are now known as inquiry meetings were not then instituted; but there was what amounted to the same thing.

“‘It has been usual, during the fall, winter and spring months,’ says the Magazine, ‘while the evenings were sufficiently long, for the people to tarry after the blessing, and frequently some minister present has again addressed them. Sometimes two or three have spoken and prayed. This custom seemed to arise out of the feelings of the people. They appeared loth to leave the place. There is no doubt but they would have tarried until midnight, had the exhortations been continued.’ The number gathered into the first church was 127; into the second, 185. ‘Although these two societies have been the principal sharers in the work,’ says the Magazine, ‘it has not been confined to them. Persons from almost every society in town, and numbers from the adjacent towns, have frequently attended on our lectures; and we have reason to believe that many have reaped saving advantages.

“‘The work was still, and without confusion. The gospel preached was principally blessed. *almost everything seemed to preach.* The converts generally had a deep sense of the depravity of their own hearts; of the infinite evil of sin, as committed against a holy God. It reclaimed the profane swearer, the gambler, and the Sabbath-breaker. It made the young men ‘sober minded.’

“After the decease of Dr. Stillman, the church invited Mr. Joseph Clay to become their pastor, which he accepted, and was installed on the third Wednesday in August, 1807. He continued with the church till the beginning of November, 1808, when, agreeably with his previous engagement, he left them, and sailed for Savannah, the place of his nativity, expecting to return to them

in the spring. But soon after, finding his health declining, he obtained a dismission from his pastoral charge, in October, 1809.

"On the 11th of January, 1811, after a long and tedious illness, during which he manifested much christian fortitude, he fell asleep in Jesus, in the forty-seventh year of his age.

"After the death of Mr. Clay, nearly five years elapsed before the church was supplied with another settled minister.

"On the 30th of March, 1814, Mr. James Manning Winchell was installed into the pastoral office of this church and congregation.

"As a devoted christian, a beloved pastor, and faithful minister of the New Testament, it might be well said of him, 'He was a burning and a shining light.' But in the midst of his usefulness and vigor, he was called to enter into his rest, February 22, 1820, aged twenty-eight years.

"In the year 1821, Rev. Francis Wayland, Jr., was ordained pastor of this church. He was an able minister of Christ, and has since become the efficient President of Brown University. He resigned his office in 1826, and was succeeded by Rev. Cyrus Pitt Grovesnor, in January, 1827, who was pastor nearly four years.

"In 1828, the new house was erected at the corner of Hanover and Union streets.

"In 1830, Rev. C. P. Grovesnor resigned his charge.

"The church being again destitute of a pastor, presented to the Rev. William Hague a unanimous call to accept of the office, with which he complied, and was installed February 5th, 1831, in whom the church were happily united for about six years. He then received a call from the first Baptist Church in Providence, to become their pastor, and considering it his duty to accept, he asked his dismission, which was accordingly granted in June, 1837.

"The church then invited the Rev. Rollin Hervey Neal to assume the ministerial charge of the church and society, of which he accepted, and was installed on Wednesday, the 27th of September, 1837."*

Mr. Neal still continues the pastor of this ancient community.

The Second in Boston.

The history of this church, which must be short, compared with the one just closed, I shall extract entirely from a centennial discourse delivered by its pastor, Rev. Baron Stow. And as it is a recent, well-written account, I shall adopt it without alteration, except it must be greatly abridged.

"Other churches of the same faith, that sprang into being at an earlier period, were subjected to many severities, inflicted by that intolerant spirit which disfigured the piety of our puritan forefathers; and of which, especially in Massachusetts, the baptists were ever the preferred victims. But this church was gathered after the storm of persecution had expended its fury, and after the authorities, both civil and ecclesiastical, had both become convinced, by the constant failure of their experiments, that the cruelties to which they had resorted, for the suppression of alleged heresy, were ill adapted either to enlighten the understanding, or to control the conscience. I find no certain evidence that the members of this church ever suffered either in person or property, on account of their relation to this particular faith, or for refusing to support a system of religion which they conscientiously, though never contentiously regarded as unscriptural. Freedom to worship God in their own way, and at their own expense, was all they asked of the civil government; and this, by a peaceable compliance with certain petty regulations, which were more vexatious than burdensome, they were permitted to enjoy without interruption. Other churches in Massachusetts continued for more than half a century longer

* The account of the pastors of this church is taken from the Church Manual of 1843.

to be annoyed and harrassed by the application of laws, which from time to time were gradually modified, but which in every form tenaciously retained that essential element of evil, the recognized right of the government to interpose between God and the soul, and to prescribe religious duties, as well as define religious rights. But in Boston, after 1692, those laws were not rigidly enforced, and therefore, perhaps by special courtesy, the baptists here suffered far less than their brethren in the country.

“Such being the fact, I am spared the painful necessity of reviewing scenes, over which christian charity would gladly draw the veil of oblivion, and from the contemplation of which every ingenuous mind would willingly be diverted. Mine is the delightful service to-day, to conduct your observation to a small department in the field of christian history, where you shall hear nothing of fines or imprisonments, whipping-posts, pillories or expatriations; but where, on the contrary, you shall see a church of Christ, a baptist church, living through a century, in the unmolested enjoyment of all christian rights and privileges, and sharing largely in the favor of her Sovereign Head.

“In the month of September, 1740, the Rev. George Whitefield made his first visit to Boston. His preaching in this town, whether in the old South, or in Brattle Square, or on the Common, was attended by immense throngs, drawn together by the captivations of his eloquence; and the result, by the blessing of God, was a powerful revival, such as New England had never witnessed. The work was opposed with great vehemence; and no impartial reader of the history of those extraordinary scenes can question, that much of the hostility was provoked by improprieties of both speech and action, that would at any time be offensive to those who love good order and christian decorum. But after making liberal allowance for all that was truly exceptionable, it is cheerfully admitted by the candid christian, that the excitement was, in the main, the product of the Holy Spirit, and that its fruits were eminently favorable to the advancement of true religion. A torpid community was aroused as by the trump of God, from its long and heavy slumber; ministers and people were converted; the style of preaching and the tone of individual piety were improved; a cold, cadaverous formalism gave place to the living energy of experimental godliness; the doctrines of the gospel were brought out from their concealment, and made to re-assert their claims to a cordial, practical credence, and all the interests of truth and holiness received new homage from regenerated thousands.

“At this period, the baptist denomination on this continent was exceedingly limited, numbering only thirty-seven churches, and probably less than three thousand members. The preaching of Mr. Whitefield and others who had caught from heaven the same hallowed fire, and the great awakening consequent upon their sanctified labors, gave currency to principles which wrought undesigned changes, and conducted to results that were neither anticipated nor desired. Little did those men of God who were such efficient agents in the ‘New Light Stir,’ as it was opprobriously called, and who pushed their measures with almost superhuman vigor, amidst a tempest of opposition and obloquy, imagine that they were breaking up the fallow ground of their own ecclesiastical system, and sowing seed from which a sect that was every where spoken against, would reap a bountiful harvest.

“The converts, who received the name of ‘Separates,’ were taught to throw aside tradition, and take THE WORD OF GOD ONLY as their guide in all matters of religious faith and practice. This was in perfect coincidence with all baptist teaching, and, as was predicted by the more sagacious among the opposers of the revival, ultimately led thousands, among whom were many ministers, to embrace our views and enter our churches.

“The Rev. Jeremiah Condy was at this time the pastor of the First Baptist church in Boston.

“He seems not to have participated, either personally or relatively, in any of the good effects of the revival whose gracious fruits were multiplied around

him. But a few of the more spiritual members of his church, became 'partakers of the benefits,' and experienced such a deepening of the work of grace in their own hearts, as made them discontented under his ministry. They regarded his preaching as grievously defective in the exhibition of christian doctrine, and took occasion repeatedly to express to him their decided dissatisfaction. But as he was sustained by a large majority of his church, and doubtless considered them as meddlesome enthusiasts, infected with the 'New Light mania,' their remonstrances, however sincere and modest, were utterly unavailing. On the 29th of September, 1742, they addressed to him and to the church a letter, in which they very respectfully and very explicitly, stated their whole difficulty. They complained of Mr. Condy, as denying 'original sin,' or 'explaining away the corruption and depravity of human nature;' as denying the 'doctrine of regeneration,' or improperly 'intermixing it with man's free-agency and co-operation;' as denying 'the operations of the Holy Spirit' as distinct from the operations of the human mind; as denying 'election and predestination;' and as 'holding to falling from grace.' This letter was signed by four individuals, who, in connection with a few others, soon afterwards withdrew, and commenced a separate meeting in a private house. They continued thus to worship by themselves for nearly a year, when, finding that no notice was taken of their communication, and that nothing was likely to be done to make their return either feasible or desirable, they regarded the path of duty as sufficiently obvious, and proceeded to make arrangements for a separate and independent organization.

"One hundred years ago, to-day," says Mr. Stow, "seven individuals—James Bownd, John Dabney, Thomas Boucher, John Proctor, Ephraim Bosworth, Ephraim Bownd, and Thomas Lewis, assembled at the house of James Bownd, which is still standing, at the upper corner of Sheafe and Snowhill streets, and solemnly entered into a covenant as a church of Christ. James Bownd and John Dabney, were from England; Thomas Boucher was from Wales; Ephraim Bosworth, afterwards a deacon of the church, belonged to the town of Hull. John Proctor, who was for several years the clerk of the church, was a native of Boston, and a public school-teacher. Of the origin of the other two members, we have no particular account. The records of that solemn transaction, most clearly indicate that these seven believers had a proper sense of the responsibility which they were assuming, and of their entire dependence upon the divine blessing for the success of their enterprize. They knew not that they should have the sympathy of any human being beyond their own limited circle, and they had reason to expect that the pastor and church whom they had slowly and reluctantly left, would treat them as disorderly schismatics. No minister was present to cheer them by a word of encouragement; no council was convened to extend the hand of fraternal fellowship. They stood alone in the presence of the Head of the church, and pledged themselves to him and to each other, that they would maintain unshrinkingly, and to the last, the standard around which they had rallied—the standard of evangelical truth and holiness. * * * * *

"This infant band were happy to find in their own number an individual whom they regarded as eminently qualified to be their spiritual teacher and overseer; and, considering the fact as indicative of the divine will, as well as the divine favor, they proceeded at once to invite him to receive ordination as their pastor. This was Ephraim Bownd, who, in order to be qualified for membership in this church, had visited Brimfield, and received baptism at the hand of the Rev. Ebenezer Moulton, 'a godly minister,' whose principles he preferred to those of Mr. Condy. For some months he had been their principal leader in religious services, and his 'conduct, gifts and graces' had made upon many minds the happiest impression. Having signified his readiness to comply with their request, arrangements were made for his ordination. In order to secure the services of an aged minister, the Rev. Valentine Wightman, pastor of the First Baptist church in Groton, Connecticut, who was un-

able to journey as far as Boston, it was agreed that the council should meet somewhere in his neighborhood. Accordingly, on Wednesday, September 7, 1743, Mr. Bownd and a committee of the church, proceeded as far as Warwick, Rhode Island, and there met the council, who had been previously invited, and who, after a perfectly satisfactory examination, publicly ordained Mr. Bownd as the pastor of the newly-constituted church. Mr. Wightman was assisted by the Rev. Daniel Whipple, pastor of a baptist church, 'in the upper part of Groton,' and the Rev. Thomas Green, pastor of the baptist church in Leicester, Massachusetts. These ministers, together with the Rev. Mr. Moulton, of Brimfield, who could not be present, were selected, because, said the church, 'we apprehend them to be sound, clear, and zealously affected to the doctrine of free and sovereign grace, and absolutely averse to the Pelagian and Arminian tenets.'

"Public worship was continued in James Bownd's dwelling-house, Sheafe street, from October 3d, 1742, till June 23d, 1745, 'and then,' says the clerk, in a private memorandum, 'we removed the meeting to my school-house, and there held our public worship, until Lord's day, March 15, 1746, when we met in our new meeting-house for the first time.' That meeting-house was erected on this spot, upon land presented by deacon Bosworth. In that house, though small and exceedingly plain, the people of God were often refreshed by the nutritive truth which was there dispensed with apostolic simplicity, and many of the impenitent found that same truth, made effectual by the Holy Spirit, the instrument of their conversion to God.

'Immediately after the church was constituted, it began to receive additions, not only from Boston, but also from nearly all the towns within a radius of twenty miles, and even from places still more remote. Such was its prosperity, that in five years the number of members had increased to one hundred and twenty, and for ten years no act of discipline was found necessary. Among the members received at an early period, was Mr. Philip Freeman, afterwards appointed a deacon of the church. He had been baptized in London, and was a staunch friend and supporter of the great principles which he found embraced in our Declaration of Faith, and in the 'Embodying Covenant,' to which the members had given their signatures. He sent over an account of the origin and doctrines of the church to the Rev. Dr. Gill, pastor of the baptist church in Carter Lane, London, and author of a voluminous Exposition of the Bible, which so much pleased that illustrious divine, that he expressed his approval by a generous donation of a complete communion service, seven suits of 'baptismal garments,' and a valuable collection of books. Accompanying these articles were several acceptable donations from other individuals, who sympathized with the infant church in its efforts to honor the truth and the institutions of Christ.

"'By the best information,' says Dr. Baldwin, 'which I have been able to obtain, it appears that Mr. Bownd, though a plain and unlettered man, was an able minister of the New Testament. Like Apollos, he was mighty in the scriptures, and the want of human learning was abundantly made up by that gracious unction with which God was pleased to favor him.' But in the midst of his activity and usefulness, it pleased God, in the year 1763, which was the twentieth of his ministry, to visit him with a paralytic affection, and partially disable him for public service. From this attack he never entirely recovered, though he preached occasionally until the time of his death, which occurred June 18, 1765.

"In consequence of the impaired health of the pastor, the church invited the Rev. Samuel Stillman, then preaching at Bordentown, New Jersey, to come and assist him for one year. He arrived in October, 1763, and continued with them until November, 1764, when he accepted an invitation to the pastoral office of the First Baptist church, made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Condy.

"Between the death of Mr. Bownd and the settlement of their next pastor, an interval of about five years, the church obtained such supplies for the pul-

pit as they were able to procure ; but, notwithstanding all their efforts, it was found difficult to preserve the integrity of the body. The members who resided in other places, as in Medfield and Chelmsford, were collected and formed into distinct churches, and, of course, this church was reduced in strength, as well as diminished in numbers. Some of the members, and many of the congregation, having become attached to Mr. Stillman, left the meeting, and became regular attendants upon his ministry. * * * * *

“After a season of affliction it pleased the Head of the church to provide for them a second pastor, Mr. John Davis, son of the Rev. David Davis, of Welsh Tract, Delaware. He was a young man, just graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and represented as ‘a man of fine talents, and of a finished education ;’ also, as ‘a truly pious man, and an excellent preacher.’ He commenced his labors here, on probation, in the spring of 1770, which was a period of high political excitement, in consequence of those oppressive acts on the part of the British authorities, which ultimately terminated in bloodshed and revolution. On the ninth of September following, Mr. Davis was ordained to the pastoral office.

“But in less than two years this young and very promising pastor, on account of his declining health, was compelled to retire from his office, and the next year, on the banks of the Ohio river, while on a journey to the west for his health, in company with Rev. David Jones, he was suddenly called away to his everlasting reward. He was buried by his companion in the best manner which the circumstances would admit.”

“The third pastor of the church was the Rev. Isaac Skillman, afterwards Dr Skillman, a native of New Jersey, and a graduate of Nassau Hall College, at Princeton. He continued in the pastoral office until October 7, 1787, a period of fourteen years, when at his own request, he was dismissed.

“The fourth pastor was the Rev. Thomas Gair, a native of Boston. At about the age of sixteen years, he was converted under the ministry of Mr. Skillman, and became a member of the first church.

“He was educated at Rhode Island College, and became the pastor of this church in 1788, having been previously settled in Medfield about ten years.

“The uniform testimony respecting Mr. Gair, both as a man and a minister, is altogether favorable. ‘To undissembled piety, and respectable talents,’ says Dr. Baldwin, ‘Mr. Gair added a dignified deportment and a gentleness of manners, which rendered him highly acceptable to all classes of people. Such was the interest excited by his labors, that the congregation rapidly increased, and it became necessary to enlarge the meeting-house. This was done in the year 1789, when the prospects of the church were exceedingly encouraging. But after a short ministry of only two years in this place, this excellent man sickened and died, in the 36th year of his age.’”¹⁰

“We have now reached a point in the history of this church, that is signally marked by the providence of God as a most important era. She had existed nearly half a century, and passed through various vicissitudes, some of which were peculiarly trying and painful. Her numerical strength had never been great, and, on several occasions, it had been reduced by most discouraging, if not alarming diminutions. But now the period had arrived when God would take her by the hand, and lead her up into the full sunlight of his favor, and accomplish in her and through her “*the work of faith with power.*”

“While all hearts were still bleeding under the recent bereavement, and little hope was cherished that the place of the beloved Gair could easily be supplied, the committee of the church and society had their attention providentially directed to the Rev. Thomas Baldwin, as a “*good minister of Jesus Christ,*” whom it was desirable that the people should hear. He was then residing in Canaan, N. H., where he was ordained, June 11, 1783, and where God had been training him in the school of hardship and self-denial for a course of extended and distinguished usefulness. The committee invited him to supply the pulpit for three months. “I was at this juncture,” says he, “at liberty : but

¹⁰ Mr. Gair has children still living. When I was in England, says Mr. Stow, in the spring of 1841, I received many kind attentions from one of them, Samuel Stillman Gair, Esq., of the house of Baring, Brothers & Co., Liverpool.

had the application been made a few weeks sooner, or a few later, it would have been out of my power to have complied." Mr. Baldwin came, as requested, and on the fourth of July, 1790, preached his first sermon.

Soon a unanimous call was given him, and on the 11th of Nov., 1790, he was installed over the people, with whom he continued the rest of his useful life.

"The ministry of Dr. Baldwin was continued till August 29th, 1825, when, after a long life, creditable to himself, and eminently useful to the church of God, he was suddenly called to receive the '*crown of righteousness that fadeth not away.*' He was a man of rare excellence, and the memory of his virtues will be cherished with affectionate reverence as long as truth and holiness shall have a friend or an advocate. Upon this church and people he left an impression, which the father transmits to the son, and the mother to the daughter, and seems likely to descend hereditarily through succeeding generations. From the day of his death till the present hour, his gentle, affectionate spirit has seemed to preside here, exerting a more than magic power over hundreds who never saw his shape or heard his voice, but who have felt the soft, subduing majesty of his presence; ever bland, soothing, healing, and ever like his apostolic prototype, whispering in our ears, '*little children love one another.*' Members who have been dismissed by us, and entered into the composition of other churches, have carried this influence with them, and there is scarcely a church of our faith, within thirty miles, that has not been modified in its spirit and character, by some emanation from the extraordinary qualities of this eminent servant of God. Far distant be the day when the name of Baldwin shall be redolent of no pleasant memories, or when the spirit of love and peace, of which he was an illustrious example, shall be supplanted by any spirit less amiable—less Christ-like."

Rev. James D. Knowles, then a tutor in the Baptist College at Washington, D. C., was installed in the pastoral office here, Dec. 28, 1825.

"Mr. Knowles had some traits of character that fitted him, perhaps better than any other man on the continent, to be the successor of the incomparable Baldwin. His natural temper was peculiarly amiable, his feelings were uniformly kind and tender; he was ever gentle, mild and forbearing; he loved peace, and for its maintenance would sacrifice almost anything but truth and conscience. In equanimity, amidst disturbing influences, I never saw him surpassed. He was ever cool and deliberate in forming his opinions, and therefore he seldom had to alter them. No man was firmer than he in the maintenance of the right and the true; while in matters that involved no important principle, no man was more flexible or conciliatory. On him rested the mantle of his departed predecessor; and taking up the work of the Pastor, just where that man of God had left it, he went forward, with a prudence, and a judiciousness, and an efficiency, that commanded general admiration."

Some very extensive revivals were enjoyed under Mr. Knowles' ministry, during which upwards of three hundred members were added to the church. But finding himself sinking under the pressure of his abundant labors, in September, 1832, he accepted a professor's chair, in the Newton Theo. Institution, where he held a conspicuous place until, on the 9th of May, 1838, he was called away, in a manner the most mysterious and impressive, beloved and deplored by a whole denomination.¹

Rev. Baron Stow, D.D., the present officiating pastor of this extensive community, was installed in office Nov. 15th, 1822.

These two old churches, for a long course of years, held an important rank in the denomination, not only in this state, but in all the adjoining ones, and indeed throughout the country. Their pastors had an extensive influence, and did much to give tone and direction to the general affairs of the society in all the surrounding region; they also added much to the reputation of the baptists as far as their names were known.

For these reasons it seemed proper that these extensive details of their history should be given.

Of the remaining churches in this city, and all the surrounding country, my accounts must be confined to some few facts relative to their origin and pastors.²

¹ He died of the confluent small pox, in its most malignant form, contracted, as it was supposed, in New York, while attending the ninth triennial session of the Baptist General Convention. *Stow's Centennial Discourse*, p. 41.

² It may be proper in this place to state the reasons why I cannot give these items of information respecting the present and former pastors of the churches, which I had proposed to do, and for

The Independent, formerly called the *African* church, is the next in point of age, in this city. It was formed in 1805.

Rev. Thomas Paul, a man of color, was the first pastor of this people, in which office he continued many years.

Charles Street Church. This body was organized in 1807.

Rev. Caleb Blood was the first pastor, and continued in office about three years. Next to him was

Rev. Daniel Sharp, D.D. Dr. S. was settled with this people in 1811; his long and successful services in this important location, are too well known to need any minute description.

Federal Street Church, was formed in 1827.

Rev. Howard Malcolm, D.D., now President of the Baptist College of Georgetown, Ky., was the first pastor. After him, was

Rev. George B. Ide, now pastor of the 1st Church, Philadelphia.

Rev. William Hague, is the present pastor of this people.

As this church is preparing to enter a new place of worship, in another part of the city, its name will probably be changed, to indicate its new location.³

This church was constituted with 65 members. Upwards of 600 have been baptized into its fellowship.

There have been connected with this church, 29 ministers, 18 of whom were licensed by it—19 ministers' wives have also belonged to this body.

It has sent out large colonies to unite in forming new churches, as will be mentioned in the accounts of their formation.

South Church. The foundation for this church, which, as its name imports, is situated in the southern section of the city, was laid by the B. Evangelical Society, in 1827, and the first collection of members became a branch of the Federal Street, and in this situation they continued until they were fully recognized as a distinct body, in 1831.

Rev. R. H. Neale, who was afterwards inducted into the pastoral office of the First Church, became the first pastor of this people, where he continued about three years.

Rev. Thomas Driver, now of Lynn, was his successor for about five years.

Rev. Duncan Dunbar, was the next in office; he remained about two years.

Rev. George W. Bosworth, their present pastor, was inducted into office in 1846.

This young community is represented as having been successful and flourishing from its commencement.

Their house of worship is the identical building formerly occupied by Dr. Stillman. "It was taken down, removed, and re-built, with a new and neat finish, in 1830."⁴

which, at my instance, a large amount of materials have been contributed. The whole may be summed up in one sentence—my limits will not allow it. But, as I have said in my preface, contributions of this kind will not be lost, but will be carefully reserved for future use, by myself or my successor in this department.

As I am considerably advanced on the last half of this volume, and the whole history of the American Baptists in a condensed manner, at last, is yet to be given, I am admonished to travel on with all possible dispatch in my remaining narrations.

³ Some of the brethren with whom I have conversed, speak in high terms of their new building which they are about to enter. I should be glad to give some account of it, but for reasons already given, all descriptions of *material churches* must be omitted in this volume. One thing I am glad to hear, they will enter it *free of debt*. This is an order of architecture which I hope all future builders will follow.

⁴ This house, in its day, was thought to be a considerable of a place for baptists to own. I have a distinct recollection of my first and favorable impression as to its amplitude and neatness when I first entered it, more than forty years since. Excepting the old church at Providence, it was then probably the best house the baptists had in N. E. How would it sink in comparison with the costly temples which have since been erected by the baptists in this city.

Harvard Street. This is also an offspring of the young and prolific mother of Federal street, as most of the members stood connected with that growing community at the time they were organized, which was in 1839.

Rev. Robert Turnbull, now of Hartford, Con., was installed in the pastoral office the same year in which the church was formed, where he continued about six years.

Rev. Joseph Banvard, late of the Second Church, of Salem, assumed the pastorship in March, 1846.

This people, for about three years, met for worship in Boylston Hall, in a southerly part of the city; next in a room of greater capacity, called the Melodeon. They dedicated their new and spacious sanctuary Dec. 1842.

The prosperity of this new interest may be inferred from the fact, that it is the third in size among the city churches.

Tremont Street. This church was also organized in 1839, with eighty-two members, who had been dismissed from the other churches in the city and vicinity.

This church, although in fellowship with her sister communities, adopted some maxims in the outset somewhat different from them.

"1. They resolved on having *free seats*, which should be equally accessible to the poor and the rich, and all classes and colors of society. This principle was acted on while they met in a hall, and they still continue it in their costly and commodious temple.⁵

"2. It was thought that certain prevailing sins, such as slavery and intemperance, were not allowed to be as freely discussed in the churches as they ought to be, and that consequently the standard of discipline was not as high as it ought to have been. And hence another object in the formation of this church was, that the brethren might enjoy more freedom of speech and action on those and kindred subjects, than would have been agreeable to those brethren with whom they were formerly associated.⁶

Description of the house of worship. "The Tremont Temple (formerly the Tremont Theatre), was purchased in June, 1843, fitted for a house of worship, and dedicated on the 7th day of December of the same year. The building is 135 feet deep, by 78 feet wide in front, and 90 feet in rear; the audience room is 88 by 90 feet and will seat 2000 persons, and is usually well filled on the Sabbath. There are two other lecture rooms, one 45 by 70 feet, and the other 36 by 60 feet. The original cost of the estate, including repairs and alterations, was a little short of eighty thousand dollars; of this sum, only about eight thousand dollars was donated, leaving a debt of about seventy-two thousand, with interest at 6 per cent. For the three first years, the income has paid all the current expenses connected with the estate, beside the interest, and reduced the debt about (\$3000) three thousand dollars."⁷

Rev. Nathaniel Colver, the present pastor of this people, has sustained the office from the organization of the church.

Bowdoin Square. This church was organized in 1840. About that time their spacious and costly house of worship was erected, which is in a very eligible situation in the central part of the city.

⁵ As the term *free church* was misunderstood abroad as implying *free will or open communion*, this body, in 1843, changed their name to that which stands at the head of this article.

⁶ Since the organization of the church, it has excepted from its invitation to communion slaveholders, and the apologists of slavery, and dealers in intoxicating drinks, and for a number of years past, it has excepted also all members of secret associations.

"With these exceptions, the church differs in no way from other strict communion Calvinistic baptist churches with which it is united in the Boston Association.

⁷ "The trust deed provides that the entire nett income shall be appropriated to the liquidation of the debts, until from that or other sources, they are reduced to \$20,000, after which, one-third part of the nett income may be appropriated in the manner in which the whole is to be after the debts are paid, which is as follows:

"One half for city missions, or to aid other baptist churches with free seats, in Boston, or to supply the wants of the poor, at the discretion of the church.

"The other half, may, at the discretion of the church, be appropriated to the same object, or to Foreign or Home missions, but can never be used by the church for their ordinary expenses, farther than to 'pay for lighting, warming, and salary of superintendant, together with taxes, insurance, and keeping the building in repair.'"

Rev. Robert W. Cushman, late of Philadelphia, the present pastor, was inducted into office soon after the church was formed.

East Boston Church was organized in 1844.
*Rev. J. M. Graves*⁸ is pastor

Union Church. This new interest bears date from 1845. Young and small as they are, they report a new and commodious house of worship, with a usual congregation of about 800. "This body is the legitimate fruit of sabbath school efforts, in connection with a ministry to the destitute."

Rev. William Howe is the pastor.

In addition to these churches there is a Bethel Meeting in which no church has been formed, sustained wholly by the baptists.

Rev. Phineas Stow is the minister.

Recapitulation of the Boston churches according to their dates.

CHURCHES.	Dates.	PASTORS.	Mem bers.
First—Hanover Street, - - -	1664	Rollin H. Neale, - - - - -	694
Second—Baldwin Place, - - -	1743	Baron Stow, - - - - -	734
Independent - - - - -	1805	- - - - -	136
Charles Street, - - - - -	1807	Daniel Sharp, - - - - -	337
Federal Street, - - - - -	1827	William Hague, - - - - -	353
South Boston, - - - - -	1831	G. W. Bosworth, - - - - -	260
Harvard Street, - - - - -	1839	J. Banvard, - - - - -	437
Tremont Street, - - - - -	1839	Nathaniel Colver, - - - - -	379
Bowdoin Square, - - - - -	1840	Robert W. Cushman, - - - - -	349
East Boston, - - - - -	1844	J. W. Graves, - - - - -	70
Union, Merrimack Street, - - -	1846	Wm. Howe, - - - - -	41
Total churches, 11.		Total members,	3610

This table is compiled from the minutes of the Boston Association, of Sept., 1846.

Besides these, there are churches of Free Will Baptists, and of the Christian Society.

BOSTON ASSOCIATION.⁹

This body arose out of a mutual division of the old Warren Association, with which the oldest churches had stood connected for upwards of forty years. It bears date from 1811. It began with twenty-five churches. Its accession of churches have been since large, but many have gone off to unite in forming new communities around.

Dr. Baldwin uniformly presided at the annual sessions of this body, till his death; since then this office, with but few exceptions, has been filled by Dr. Sharp.

SALEM ASSOCIATION.

This was formed by a division of the Boston, in 1827.

Of a few of the churches of this community, which are the most distinguished for their location, their age, prosperity, &c., some brief sketches will be given.

First Church, Salem. This town is thirteen miles eastward of Boston, and is a few years the oldest, being the first place settled in Massachusetts colony. Here, in a new location, in a comfortable dwelling of his own, Roger Williams,

⁸ Mr. Graves is the father of the principal editor of the Christian Reflector.

⁹ So much has been already said of the churches in this Association, that the few details I shall usually give have been anticipated.

with his family, resided at the time of his banishment. The severity of the laws against dissenters, induced all at that time who were inclined to baptist opinions to follow him in his exile, or to remove to other places, where they could remain unmolested, and one hundred and seventy years rolled away before the church under consideration arose, which was organized in 1804. This church, which at its commencement became prosperous and efficient, was gathered under the ministry of the late Rev. Lucius Bolles, D.D., for many years the highly respectable Foreign Secretary of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. He continued in the ministry of this church about 23 years, and from this station he was removed to the one which he filled with honor till his death, in 1844.

Rev. R. Babcock, D.D., was the immediate successor of Dr. Bolles.

Rev. John Wayland, now an Episcopal minister, was in the pastoral office here a number of years.

Rev. T. D. Anderson is the present pastor.

Second Church was formed in 1826.

Rev. Geo. Leonard was the first pastor.

Rev. R. E. Pattison, D.D., went from the pastoral care of this church to that of the First Church, Providence, R. I.

Rev. Joseph Banvard, to that of Harvard street, Boston.

Rev. Benjamin Brierly is their present pastor.

*Lynn.*¹⁰ This town, which is almost within call of Boston, is distinguished for some important facts in civil history, and for some interesting reminiscences pertaining to our denomination.

In the town of Lynn, about two hundred years since, resided the Lady Moody, who was taken with the error of denying baptism to infants; and here also, at the house of an aged brother by the name of William Witter, commenced the persecutions against Obadiah Holmes, John Clarke, and others of their associates, which terminated in the barbarous and unmerciful sufferings which the ill-fated Holmes was called to endure.

The present church here was formed in 1816.

Rev. Thomas Driver, is the present pastor.

Marblehead. This town lies between Salem and Lynn. The church here was organized in 1810.

Rev. Z. P. Wild is the present pastor.

Rev. M. M. Dean, who retired from the pastorate on account of ill health, is reported in the minutes as a resident member.

Beverly lies to the east of Salem, and is separated by a bridge of unusual length. The first church here was gathered in 1801.

Rev. Elisha Williams, a son of Dr. Williams, a pedobaptist minister of Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College, New Haven, sustained the pastoral office here many years. He died a few years since in Boston, in a very advanced age.

Danvers joins Salem on the north. The first church in this town was formed in 1793. *Rev. B. Foster* and *J. Chaplin*, two eminent ministers, were born here.

Rev. J. W. Eaton is the present pastor here.

Newburyport is still farther east, where a church was formed in 1805, and the late

¹⁰ This town, excepting Salem, is the oldest in Essex county. It was so called after *Lynn Regia*, in England. Its Indian name was *Saugust*. Its boundaries at first were so extensive, that nine towns on the Main, and Southampton on L. I., were included in them. The famous Nahant establishment is within this town.—*Barber, Hist. Col.* p. 194.

Rev. John Peak became its pastor soon after its formation, in which office he continued many years.

Rev. J. D. Crocker at present sustains the pastoral office with this people.

Rev. Nicholas Medbury is the pastor of a new interest got up in this town in 1846, which is styled as the CENTRAL CHURCH.

In Chelmsford and Georgetown churches arose, the first in 1771, the other in 1786; these two bodies stand next to Haverhill in point of age. Their present pastors are *Rev. Messrs. W. Mbrse* and *J. C. Hartshorn*.

I am indebted to *Rev. Mr. Cushman*, of Boston, for many of the late details of the city churches.

LOWELL CHURCHES.

This famous modern city, but twenty miles north of Boston, has, from its origin, been distinguished for the prosperity of the baptist cause; it now contains three large churches of our order.

The account of their origin and pastors stands as follows:—

FIRST CHURCH was gathered in 1826.

Rev. John Cookson was the first pastor for one year, from soon after the organization of the body.

Rev. Enoch Freeman was installed into the pastorship in 1828, and died in 1835.

Rev. Joseph W. Eaton was the third pastor for one year.

Rev. Joseph Ballard, the fourth in office, for about eight years.

Rev. Daniel C. Eddy, the fifth and present pastor, was ordained in 1846.

WORTHERN STREET was formed in 1831.

Rev. James Barnaby, now of Nantucket, was the first pastor, for about three years.

Rev. Lemuel Porter, the present pastor, was installed in 1835.

JOHN STREET bears date from 1840.

Rev. John G. Naylor, the first pastor, was installed the same year; his continuance was about four years.

Rev. Irah Person was his successor, who has lately been dismissed.

These three churches, as reported in the minutes of the Salem Association for 1846, contain over nineteen hundred members, all collected within twenty years.

I am indebted to the *Rev. Mr. Porter* for the account of the Lowell Churches.

Recapitulation of the Lowell Churches.

CHURCHES.	Dates.	PASTORS.	Members.
First Church,	1826	D. C. Eddy,	756
Worthern Street,	1831	L. Porter,	829
John Street,	1840	Irah Person,	333
Total members,			1917

From the minutes of the Salem Association for 1846.

FIRST CHURCH OF HAVERHILL AND ITS BRANCHES.

Although this is the oldest church in this association, and was for a long time the most important institution on the ground now occupied by it, yet as it is on its northern bounds, and furthermore as I shall give more extended details of its origin and operations than any other, I have preferred to give its history the last.

¹⁰ The town of Haverhill is thirty miles north of Boston, and about the same distance from Salem, on the north side of the Merrimack river, which is navigable to vessels of one hundred tons, to this place. It is opposite to Bradford, the birth-place of Mrs. A. Judson, the famous female missionary.

This church arose under the ministry of Rev. Hezekiah Smith, D.D., in 1766, and originated in the following manner.

In the *New Light Stir* in Whitfield's time, a small society of Seperates were formed in Haverhill, which, however, did not continue long; but the savor of this *New Light* spirit probably remained after the society was broken up. Sometime after this, one of the parish ministers of the town became obnoxious to the people; controversies and councils ensued, and in the end he was shut out of his meeting-house, and dismissed from his office, and the parish remained destitute of a preacher, until Mr. Smith, who was then traveling as an itinerant through New England, paid them a visit, and preached among them so much to their acceptance, that they invited him to tarry and supply them awhile. This was in the summer of 1764. He had calculated on returning to New Jersey the ensuing autumn, but finding his labors blessed, he consented to remain and labor for the present in this vacant parish. He had been treated with respect by the Pedobaptist ministers around, and some of them had invited him to preach in their pulpits; but as soon as he was stationed in one of their folds, which their controversies had made vacant, they dismissed their civilities, and exerted all their influence against him.

But the work of reformation went on, and a baptist church arose at the time above named, in the centre of the town; a rare occurrence in those days, when the denomination seldom made any efforts but in remote situations. Mr. Smith became its pastor, and continued in the successful and dignified discharge of that office for forty years.

A number of the first members of this church and congregation were, for a while, harrassed with sheriffs and *parish rates*; but their oppressors, finding them not easy of management, were induced soon to let them alone.

Mr. Smith was born on Long Island, in the State of New York, April 21, 1727. He was a happy instance of early piety, as appears by his making a public profession of religion before he was nineteen years of age. He was educated at Princeton College, New Jersey, that distinguished seminary of illustrious men, where he graduated in 1762. He was a companion of Dr. Manning from early years, and during the President's life, though stationed seventy miles apart, they were generally called together on all important occasions which regarded the baptists' interest. They were both taught the rudiments of science at Mr. Eaton's Academy, at Hopewell, N. J.; and they were also classmates in college. Mr. Smith, soon after he began to preach, took a journey to the southward, in which he was gone over a year; he went as far as Georgia, preached much in South Carolina, was ordained, and labored a while at a place called Cashaway, now Mount Pleasant, on the Pedee River, in that State, and in different places made collections of considerable amount for the College, which his friend Manning was about establishing in Rhode Island.

During the first movements in Haverhill, he was treated in a most rude and abusive manner by a set of outrageous zealots, who took upon themselves to defend from encroachment the old established order of things. The most scandalous reports were circulated against his character; and in addition to these, he was personally insulted, and his life endangered. A beetle was cast at him one evening as he was walking the street, which he took up and carried to his lodging. After he was in bed, a stone was thrown through his window, and struck near his head, of sufficient size to have proved fatal had it hit him. His horse was disfigured in the same way that many other baptist ministers' horses have been, and a paper put on the door of the house where he lodged, which threatened him worse treatment if he did not depart. He was once assaulted at a private house in Bradford, where he had appointed to preach, by a sheriff and his gang. As he got up to speak, the chair on which he leaned was snatched away, and much tumult ensued; but the rioters shortly withdrew, and he proceeded in his discourse. Some of them, however, laid wait for him on his return home; but he, without knowing their cruel design, providentially tarried till the coldness of the air forced them from their stand. These were some of

the opposing measures which at first attended this intruder upon parish lines. But such was his undaunted courage, his patient forbearance, and powerful eloquence, that his impotent adversaries were soon put to shame, and he arose to pre-eminent esteem among all around him. He made frequent excursions into the neighboring towns; and a number of churches arose mostly by his means. He also often journeyed in his active days considerable distances around in New Hampshire, Maine, and other places, and a large circle of his most cordial friends, and many of the seals of his ministry were to be found in almost every part of the surrounding country. As he advanced in years, his labors were mostly confined to his own congregation. During most of the revolutionary war he served as a chaplain in the American army, where his dignified and exemplary deportment gained him the confidence and esteem of both officers and soldiers. Like Mr. Gano, often did he expose his own life to danger in the field of battle, while animating the soldiers, and soothing the sorrows of the wounded and dying.

Rev. Mr. Smith, of Newton, editor of the *Ch. Review*, whose wife is the grand-daughter of Dr. Smith, has favored me with the loan of a valuable parcel of his old papers, comprising journals of his various travels in the ministry, and while chaplain in the army; letters from his correspondents; skeletons of sermons; and some large MSS. on controversial subjects, particularly on baptism and close communion.

These will furnish ample materials for the biography of this venerable man.

The following description, &c., was drawn by Dr. Baldwin, to whom we are also indebted for what has been selected from the *Baptist Magazine*.

"As a preacher, Dr. Smith was equaled by few. His subjects were well chosen, and always evangelical. His voice was strong and commanding, and his manner solemn and impressive. He was often led to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded conscience, but the general tenor of his preaching was calculated to arouse the careless and secure.

"In stature, Dr. Smith was considerably above the middling size, being about six feet in height, and well proportioned. His countenance, though open and pleasant, was peculiarly solemn and majestic. In his deportment, he was mild, dignified and grave, equally distant from priestly hauteur, and supercilious reserve. He never thought religion incompatible with real politeness; hence the gentleman, the scholar, and the christian, were happily blended in his character. And such was the urbanity of his manners, that many who differed from him in his religious opinions, honored and respected him as a gentleman and companion. While the wicked were awed by his presence, it was impossible for a good man to be in his company without being pleased and edified. In a word, he lived beloved and respected, and died greatly lamented."

Dr. Smith was one of the fellows of Brown University, and was, through life, a zealous promoter of that institution,

Rev. William Batchelder was Dr. Smith's immediate successor; he continued in office until 1832.

Rev. Stephen P. Hill, now of Baltimore, was the next pastor, for about two years.

After Mr. Hill, the church had for pastors or supplies, *Rev. Messrs. Harris and Keeley*, until 1836, when the present pastor,

Rev. Arthur S. Train, was inducted into office. Under his ministry this ancient community has enjoyed a scene of prosperity and increase.

BRANCHES FROM THE OLD HAVERHILL CHURCH.

"With regard to the churches which have been constituted wholly or in part from this, they are, as nearly as I can ascertain, those in Georgetown Rowley, Methuen, Andover, East Haverhill, Newton, N. H.; Derry, Chester and Plaistow, N. H. It is possible that other churches may have been formed in part from this, but they cannot now be easily ascertained."¹

¹ *Rev. Arthur S. Train's letter to the author.*

Remarks. In the two associations of Boston and Salem, we find about 80 churches, and upwards of fourteen thousand members.

These churches are all situated within about thirty miles of Boston; and but few of them are so far from the metropolis, as other associations at different points, press in to within a much shorter distance.

Nearly the whole territory now occupied by these two bodies, but one century since, contributed to sustain the two old churches in the capital, which, as we have seen in their history, drew their members from many of the neighboring towns, as far as the *Old Colony* on the south, and *New Hampshire* on the north; and what may seem strange at the present time, the whole baptist population which could be collected in the city and all the distant suburbs, could but feebly sustain two small communities in the days of Condy and Bound, and for a long time after.

What a change has one hundred years produced in the affairs of our society, in this populous and important portion of this ancient commonwealth.

As I view the matter, nothing but piety, prudence and evangelical enterprise, is wanting to produce greatly augmented results in the century to come.

SUBURBAN CHURCHES.

Probably no city in the United States exhibits such a cluster of churches of this description as this ancient and flourishing capital. In all directions on the land sides, populous towns and villages have arisen up, some of which are in close contact with the city. Indeed, to an observer not accustomed to the sight, all appears one continuous city for many miles around. In most, if not all, of these surrounding places, baptist churches have been formed, all besides Newton and Woburn, within the present century. In most cases, their origin has been quite recent, and what is somewhat remarkable, with but few exceptions, they are strong and flourishing bodies, well supplied with pastors, good houses of worship, and all accompaniments of prosperity and comfort for well ordered religious communities. Some of these suburban churches are said to be equal in strength to the first class in the city.

ROXBURY is the *Southwark* of Boston. The first church here, founded in 1621, now under the care of *Rev. T. F. Caldicott*, is mentioned as number one among the strong suburban churches.²

JAMAICA PLAIN, in this town, under the pastoral care of *Rev. J. O. Choules, D.D.*, and the 3D ROXBURY, under that of *Rev. J. S. Shailer*, are both of recent date.

CHARLESTOWN, on the north, which is separated from the city by a bridge, has three churches, under the care of *Child, Blain, and Stone*.

In this town, Gould and his associates laid the foundation of the first church in Boston, almost two centuries ago.

CAMBRIDGE, the seat of Harvard University, has three churches, whose ministers are *Parker, Leveret, and Lane*.

² I expected some remarks on this subject from one of the city pastors; but, as they have failed to come, I dare not venture to make any comparisons from my own information, as most of these churches have been formed since I have traversed the ground. I will, however, merely say, that Brookline, Old Cambridge, Charlestown, Malden, and some others, whose names I do not recollect, are mentioned as among the strong suburban churches.

In this favored region, it is only for a few men, who choose to have a new baptist interest, to say the word, and soon a good house of worship, and a flourishing baptist community, appears on the ground. The church is born as big as life, and is not compelled to linger out a long period of minority, half dead and half alive, as is the case with most of our new churches.

This disposition on the part of the new converts to baptist sentiments, tells well for the old pedo-baptist communities in which they have been trained.

One explanation of all this pleasing singularity is said to be found in the fact, that great numbers of the business men in the city reside in all the surrounding towns, and repair to their homes every night, which, from the facilities the numerous railroads and other conveyances afford, can be easily done.

Salem, Lowell, and Haverhill, are the centres of other clusters of numerous and flourishing churches, with which they are surrounded.

Newton and Dorchester, each have two churches. *Newton* is an old body, and has been the mother of a considerable number of others.

The late *Joseph Grafton*, an eminent minister in his day, was many years the pastor of this people.

Rev. S. F. Smith, the present editor of the *Christian Review*, is now in office here.

In this place is the Theological Institution which bears the name of the town.

Great increase of the Baptist interest in Boston and vicinity within the present century.

For a long time the progress of the denomination was remarkably slow.

Between the founding of the two oldest churches, was a period of 78 years.

Sixty-four years rolled away before the Third, or Charles Street (Dr Sharp's) arose. This brings us down to 1807. At this date, in all the towns contiguous, or near to the capital, within the present bounds of the Boston Association, we find the churches only of Charlestown, Malden, Woburn, and Newton.

In twenty years more, the Federal Street community begun its operations in all the vigor of manly maturity, and with all the ardor of evangelical effort.

The enterprising brethren who commenced this establishment, voluntarily left their beloved pastors and endeared religious homes, on the principle of colonization and enlargement. Some of the other churches in the city have been formed on the same principle; others, both in the city and suburbs, have been the fruits of city missions, Sabbath schools, and of the voluntary ministerial services of local preachers, who were engaged in secular vocations.

The late *Ensign Lincoln*, then of the publishing house of *Lincoln & Edmonds*, was for a long time distinguished for evangelical and successful labors of this kind.

SECTION II.

Taunton Association—First Church Swansea—John Miles—Rehoboth—Old Colony Association—Middleborough—Backus—Barnstable Association—seven Western and North-Western Associations, viz.: Sturbridge, Worcester, Wachusett, Westfield, Wendell, Franklin, Berkshire—much legal distress in old times.

I will now proceed to give some historical sketches of the three Associations in the southern portions of the state, in what was anciently within the bounds of the Plymouth Colony. This wide-spread colonial district, so far as the baptist interest was concerned, until less than a quarter of a century past, was occupied by the old Warren Association.

That we may arrive, as soon as possible, to the oldest church in the state, I will begin with that body in which it is situated, although it is the youngest of the three.

TAUNTON ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1837. The town from which it takes its name is 17 miles east of Providence, R. I., and about 30 south of Boston.

THE FIRST CHURCH IN SWANSEA. This, as has been already stated, is the oldest baptist community in the State; is near the age of the old church at Providence, R. I. These two oldest churches of American baptists, are but ten miles apart, and have always been on terms of friendship and fellowship.

Rev. John Miles, of whom mention has been made in the history of the baptists in Wales, was the founder of this ancient community. He brought

³ In my first volume, following Backus, I have said these Records were in the Welsh language. But this, on examination, I find is a mistake. These records are fairly written, and well preserved,

with him the records of the old church which he gathered at Swansea in Wales, in 1649, which are still in possession of this church.³

At the home of John Butterworth, which was then in the extensive township of Rehoboth, but which by a subsequent division of the wide-spread district, fell into the town of Swansea, at the time above named, the seven following persons united in a solemn covenant in church relation, viz.: John Miles, Elder; James Brown, Nicholas Tanner, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley, and Benjamin Alby. Females no doubt were associated with them, as they are the most numerous in all such organizations, but no names are given. In addition to these original constituent members, the names of Luther, Cole, Bowen, Wheaton, Martin, Barnes, Thurber, Bosworth, Mason, and Child, appear among the early planters of this town, whose posterity are still numerous in the surrounding country, in Providence and different parts of R. I.⁴

The date of this ancient church must of course be fixed as above, in 1663; but the foundation of it was laid twelve years before, viz., in 1649,⁵ when Obediah Holmes, John Hazel, and a few others, separated from the Congregational church in Rehoboth, then under the care of Rev. Samuel Newman, and from that period the way appears to have been opening, and events were maturing for a result which struck with terror all the surrounding churches of the pedobaptist order; and indeed the whole colony was filled with amazement and alarm. The account of this transaction is thus related by the historian of the town. "In 1646 Mr. Holmes removed his family to Rehoboth, and became a member of Mr. Newman's church. But disliking his discipline, and some of his tenets, he with eight others withdrew their connection from this church, and established, in 1649, what they called a new church. They soon declared for the principles of the baptists—chose Mr. Holmes for their minister, and were re-baptized, as is supposed, by Rev. Mr. Clark, of Newport. Mr. Newman excommunicated them, and incited the civil authority against them. Four petitions were lodged at court against them; one from Rehoboth, signed by thirty-five persons; one from Taunton; one from all the clergymen in the colony but two, and one from the government of Massachusetts. The magistrates merely ordered them to desist from practices disagreeable to their brethren; and Mr. Holmes and Joseph Torrey were bound, the one for the other, in the sum of ten pounds, for their appearance at court. One of the company promised to comply with the requisition, and was dismissed. This occurred in June, 1650.

"At the next October court, a bill of indictment was found by the Grand Jury, against John Hazel, Edward Smith and his wife, Obediah Holmes, Joseph Torrey and his wife, the wife of James Mann, and William Buell and his wife, for continuing their meeting from house to house, on the Lord's day, contrary to the order of court."⁶

but they are all in English. But, as the old church at home was not broken up, nor transported as a body, it is an embarrassing question, why these records should be brought away with the emigrating pastor and a few of his flock.

I have conversed with Rev. Mr. Fisher, late pastor here, on this subject; and the only satisfactory conclusion we could come to on the subject, was, that Mr. Miles made a copy of the original records for his own use.

³ The present seat of the church is about ten miles from Providence, R. I.

⁴ A hint is given by Rev. Mr. Fisher, the late incumbent, that probably there was a connection between the rise of this church, and the movements of the baptists in Weymouth, in 1639, with Mr. Robert Lenthal at their head; and this probability is strengthened from the fact that Rehoboth was settled by a colony from Weymouth, about 1643.

But, one thing is certain, from whatever source they came, baptist principles began to be developed in the very infancy of this old and highly-respectable pedobaptist community, which has existed more than two centuries, and very few places in the country have been greater nurseries of the principles of the order than old Rehoboth, as the bounds then stood. The influence might have been sent over from the settlement of Roger Williams, only a few miles from them, or, the lesson might have been brought with the emigrating colony from Weymouth.

⁵ History of Rehoboth, by Leonard Bliss, jr., p. 206.

⁶ The original presentment of the grand inquest, as preserved by Backus, reads as follows:—
"October 2^ond, 1650. Wee, whose names are heer underwritten, being the grand inquest, doe

The year after this event, Mr. Holmes was called to endure the terrible scene of suffering in Boston which has already been described, and John Hazel, his companion and associate in the persecutions of the puritan fathers, died on his way home. And it is highly probable that respect was had by the court which doomed them to such exemplary punishment while they had them in their power, to their enormous sin of separation from the established church in a colony where their legal influence could not extend.

Soon after his return, Mr. Holmes removed to Newport, and became successor to Mr. Clark, in the ministry of the first church in that town, and with him the rest of his company must have removed, about the same time, as the names of Torrey, Smith, Mann, and Beuell, appear among the freemen there soon after. Smith became a magistrate, and Torrey an assistant to Mr. Holmes, and secretary to the colony. This accounts for the absence of all their names when the church was actually formed.

Rehoboth, at this time, comprehended a large extent of territory, out of which a number of the adjoining towns in Mass., and Cumberland, in R. I., have since been formed.

As a matter of course, the court, the then guardian and defender of the established church—was solicited to interpose its influence to check this new and alarming innovation. Fines were imposed, and legal enactments of different kinds, for a few years, followed this infant and feeble band. But the doings of the rulers, which were evidently at the instance of the clergy, were for the most part rather in form than otherwise; and in confirmation of this suggestion, to the honor of the court at Plymouth, we have to record, that instead of passing the sentence of banishment against this little company of baptists, as the men at Boston had done, about this time, against Thomas Gould and his associates, they, in 1667, only four years after the church was formed, made them an ample grant of Wannamoiset, the Indian name for the country. The name of Swansea was applied to the township after the favorite place in Wales, from which Mr. Miles and his companions removed.

This township was then much more extensive than at present, as it included the region in which have since been formed the towns of Barrington and Warren.

From this period Swansea became a baptist town, where they had entire control—where their sentiments took deep root, and where, as in the neighboring colony of R. I., their brethren who were molested on account of their obnoxious opinions, found a safe and quiet retreat. And for a long time it was one of the important centres of operations—the seat of councils and advice for our brethren. It was also a stopping-place—a kind of half-way house, between Boston and Newport, as it was about midway from each.⁷ Here the good old baptist hospitality, which Welshmen always knew how to practice, was cordially extended to all who found their way to their well-stored and quiet mansions.

Houses of Worship. As Rev. Mr. Fisher, whose name has already been mentioned, has devoted much time and attention to this subject, and has made some new discoveries, over Mr. Backus or any former historian, I shall here give his description of the various changes, in his own words.

“As this church was forbidden to hold their meetings for worship in Rehoboth, and were permitted to do so when they would not prejudice any other church; they, it seems almost certain, went over the line of the town south, though they resided in Rehoboth, to hold their

present to this Court, John Hazell, Mr. Edward Smith, and his wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Tory, and his wife, and the wife of James Mann, William Deuell, and his wife, of the town of Rehoboth, for the continuing of a meeting upon the Lord's-day, from house to house, contrary to the order of this Court, enacted June 12, 1650.” Thomas Robinson, Henry Tomson, &c., to the number of fourteen. Backus, Vol. I., p. 214.—*Plymouth Records, as quoted by Backus.*

This is an exact copy of their presentment, but no sentence appears upon record against them. How different is this from the actings of Boston Court the next year.

⁷ The whole distance was between sixty and seventy miles.

meetings; and soon they appear to have erected a meeting-house, only a few rods from the line—about three miles north-west from Warren; about one and a quarter mile south-west of Miles' Bridge; and about two miles from our present place of worship. This house, in all probability, was small and cheap, and placed there to get out of Rehoboth. From that location, no one would think it ever had been, or even could be, the place for a meeting-house. About the time of the location of the meeting-house, the members of the church, and others, friendly to the interest, located themselves in the same neighborhood: this is confirmed by the fact, that there are appearances of cellars in several places in this vicinity, now entirely vacated. The town was incorporated in 1667, four years after the organization of the church. Settlements were soon made in different parts of the town, which in a little time made this house entirely one side; hence, in about ten or twelve years, a movement was made for removing it, or for building a new one in a more central place. At first a vote was passed for moving that house, but in fact a new house was built, about 1679, at Kelley's Bridge, on Tyler's point, opposite Warren. About the time of the building this house, a parsonage was built for Mr. Miles, into which he entered some three or four years before his death.

"This meeting-house remained at Tyler's Point about twenty years, when it was removed to the *Corners*, as it is now called, about a quarter of a mile from our present house, west by north.

"According to tradition, it was moved whole, on the ice, over the river. The present house was erected where it now stands, in 1717, one hundred and twenty-eight years ago. It is probably the oldest baptist meeting-house in America."⁸

Of the companions of Mr. Miles, in his emigration from his native land, we have no information, except what is contained in Backus' History, whose statement is, that Nicholas Tanner, Obediah Bowen, John Thomas, and others, came with him to this country.

We shall now give a brief account of the pastors of this ancient church.

Rev. John Miles. Of the place of his birth, and his early history, I can learn but little. It appears that he, in company with a Mr. Proud, visited the baptists in London, about the time the original church in Wales was formed, which was October 1st, 1649. This church, which arose in a dark and benighted region in the principality, enjoyed much prosperity for a number of years, so that by the year 1660, the names of 265 members were enrolled on their records, which were brought over by Mr. Miles, and are now in the possession of this body, as has already been stated. This was two years before the act of Uniformity, which drove him from his post and lead him to repair to this wilderness location.

Mr. Miles continued pastor of this church till his death, which happened in 1683, at a good old age.

What few sketches have been preserved of his life, go to show that he bore an excellent character, and was eminently useful in his day.

He lived near a bridge which still bears his name, but a small distance from the present meeting-house. He labored frequently with his brethren in Boston, in the time of their sufferings, and at one time there was a proposition for his becoming their pastor, which was not, however, carried into effect. We are told that being once brought before the magistrates for preaching, he requested a Bible, and opened to these words in Job: "*But ye should say, Why persecute we him? seeing the root of the matter is found in me;*" which, having read, he sat down, and such an effect had the sword of the Spirit, that he was afterwards treated with moderation, if not with kindness. All I can learn of his posterity is, that one son went back to England, and that his youngest son was an Episcopal minister in Boston, in 1724.

Rev. Samuel Luther succeeded Mr. Miles, and was ordained by the assistance of Elders Hull and Emblen, of Boston, in 1685. He was much esteemed both at home and abroad, till his death, in 1717; his ministry must of course have continued thirty-two years.

Rev. Ephraim Wheaton was the next in office. He had been Mr. Luther's colleague for thirteen years. He lived in the bounds of Rehoboth, and is well spoken of as a faithful and successful pastor, until his death, in 1734, aged 75. During five of the first years of his pastorship, fifty members were baptized and added to his church. Some account of this great encouragement, as it was then

⁸ Rev. Abial Fisher's letter to the author, 1845.

considered, was sent over by Mr. Wheaton to Mr. Hollis, of London, who sent him a letter of congratulation on his ministerial success, with a present of books.

The posterity of these two last ministers is numerous in all the surrounding parts of the country, and in Providence and other parts of Rhode Island. Next to him, was

Rev. Samuel Maxwell, who continued in office but about five years, when he became a Seventh Day Baptist, and was succeeded by

Rev. Benjamin Harrington, from the Narraganset county, in R. I. His ministry for a few years, was unusually popular, and crowds attended his meetings, but his moral character was impeached, and he left his station under a cloud of suspicion which was never removed.

Rev. Jabez Wood, of Middleborough, Mass., was inducted into the pastoral office in 1751, in which he continued about thirty years, when he removed to Vermont, where he died in 1794.

Rev. Charles Thompson, who had been pastor of the neighboring church in Warren, settled with this people in 1780, where he continued twenty-three years. As the war of the revolution had caused the dispersion of the Warren church, and many of them had gone back to the mother church at Swansea, Mr. Thompson found himself again among his own people. A more particular account of him will be given in the history of the church at Warren. Successor to him was

Rev. Samuel Northup, a native of North Kingston, R. I. How many years he continued in office, I have not ascertained.

Rev. Abner Lewis, then far advanced in years, succeeded to the pastorate, in which he continued a few years.

Rev. Messrs. Benjamin Taylor, Bartlette Pease, Luther Baker, Jesse Briggs, and O. J. Fiske, each, for short periods, either as pastors or supplies, officiated here, from the death of Mr. Lewis, to the time of the settlement of the present pastor.

Mr. Fiske, while a student at Brown University, but ten miles distant, preached for this people about a year, and labored with success to set in order the things that were wanting in this aged body, whose affairs were somewhat dilapidated by the frequent change of ministers, and more so, by having some who were not tenacious of maintaining the ancient order of things. By his means a good Sabbath school was established, and his efforts in general are well spoken of by his successor. He is now in Tennessee.

Rev. Abial Fisher succeeded to the pastoral office, October, 1836, in which he continued about ten years, when he removed to Bellingham, Mass.

THE SECOND CHURCH IN SWANSEA, was organized in 1693. This, for many years, held an important place among the few churches in this country, and had a succession of ministers of high standing in their day. As it was founded on the *six principle* plan, so called, its history will be given in connection with that people.

REHOBOTH CHURCHES. We have seen in the foregoing article that this town, as its name imports, was originally very extensive in its boundaries,⁹ and after a considerable number of subdivisions had been made, it still remained a township of an unusual size, which, according to Backus, in 1791, contained a population of nearly five thousand inhabitants. As it lay along side of Swansea on the south, and Providence, R. I., on the west, our brethren generally in this wide domain united with the churches in these places, until 1732, when Rev. John Comer removed from Newport, R. I., and raised up a distinct organiza-

⁹ Broad and spacious places.—*Gill*.

It is said Rev. Mr. Newman gave it this name in imitation of Isaac : Gen. xxvi. 22, whose paraphrase was, *The Lord has made room for us*.

tion in that part of Rehoboth called *Oak Swamp*, a few miles from the centre of the Swansea church, of which he became the pastor. And here, about two years after, he finished his earthly course, in the 30th year of his age.

Although baptists always abounded in this town, and no less than seven, and others say eleven different churches have arisen in Rehoboth proper, in a territory only a few miles square, within the course of a century, yet, as many of them were small, and had a number of shades of difference, none of them obtained to much eminence, and most of them have become extinct, or maintain but a lingering existence.

Old Rehoboth has been distinguished more for the overgrowth of its population than the exuberance of its soil, and for sending out ministers and members in many places in this and other states; in this way, it has done much to diffuse abroad the sentiments of the order.

Elder Isaac Case, of Maine, Mrs. Seammel, originally Rachael Thurber, the pioneer of the baptists in New Hampshire, Richard Rounds, who followed a colony of Rehoboth baptists about eighty years ago to Nova Scotia, Comer Bullock, so named from John Comer, who became a distinguished elder in the *Great Nine Partners, N. Y.*, all emigrated from this town.

Rehoboth has also been distinguished for the number of ministers who have been raised in the various churches, who have gone to other parts, or who in early times sallied out from their free abode into the neighboring towns, to plant new churches, or foster and nourish the infant baptist interests, which had to struggle against prejudice and power.

All the churches thus far enumerated as members of this young association, except Swansea, besides some eight or ten at least, of others whose names have not been given, are within the boundaries of Rehoboth, as they were when Obadiah Holmes and his small company of associates first set up their *separate* meetings from house to house, about two centuries ago. And to these may be added another church which has long been extinct, but was once large and flourishing, in Cumberland, R. I.¹⁰

Truly may old Rehoboth claim to have done much for the baptist cause; and if all the members who have emigrated to other parts, or have lived and died within its bounds; if all the ministers who have been born in this extensive domain, or who have officiated in its bounds in connection with the various churches and interests of the baptists could be enrolled in one list, it would be by no means small.

SEEKONK CHURCH was organized in 1794. The house of worship is situated on the plain from which it takes its name, but about three miles east of Providence, and near to the identical ground where, as historians generally suppose, Roger Williams first pitched his tent after his banishment.

¹⁰ The Blackstone River runs through the village of Pawtucket, and is here the dividing line between the States of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and about one half the church, of which the author was twenty-five years pastor, is situated in the latter State. For almost two hundred years Old Rehoboth came up to the R. I. line. In this town my old history of the baptists was written. The meeting-house is on the R. I. side of the river. Here are the famous *Pawtucket Falls*, and mill seats; and here Judge Durfee, the author of the poem in honor of Roger Williams, entitled, *What Cheer?* fixes the first stopping-place of this distinguished exile, when banished by the Puritan Court at Boston, about forty miles distant. It is four miles from Providence.

In a conversation, lately, with the honorable poet, I inquired of him the reason for this location of the exile, instead of the one about four miles down the river, opposite Providence, which historians have generally assigned him. "Why," said he, "it is more poetic and romantic to place such a man beside the *roaring and ragged cataract*;" and, again, the poet could more easily help him across the river, down to the Narraganset country, over the cragged rocks, by the aid of trees which he fell from one projection of the rocks to another.

About three miles up the Blackstone river, on its eastern side, while it was claimed as a part of Rehoboth, the famous Wm. Blackstone found a place of refuge in early times.

This man was the first who settled in the place where Boston now stands, which was then called *Shawmut* by the Indians. It is said of him, that he fled from England on account of the *lord bishops*, and from Boston, to escape the power of the *lord brethren*.

Rev. John P. Jones, of Providence, became their pastor soon after their organization, and continued in office about three years.

*Rev. J. Pitman*¹ sustained the pastorate here about twenty-five years.

After him the pastors in succession were *Rev. Messrs. B. Pease, B. C. Grafton, F. Bestor, H. Clark, and J. Allen*, which brings us down to 1840.

Rev. John C. Welsh, late pastor of the church in Warren, R. I., the present pastor here, was inducted into office in the year last mentioned.

ATTLEBOROUGH. Two churches arose in this town out of the *Separate order*, at first on the mixed communion plan, as was generally the case with those which originated from that peculiar people.

The one in the south part of the town, in which elder Elisha Carpenter officiated many years, has long been extinct, and the remnant of the members went to other churches.

THE NORTH ATTLEBOROUGH CHURCH has continued in existence under various circumstances, and is now a prosperous body, of upwards of two hundred members. It was organized in 1769.

Rev. Job Seamans, a native of Swansea, who afterwards removed to New-London, N. H., was their first pastor.

After him they had in succession *Messrs. Clark, Read, Nelson, Hall, Forbush, &c.*

Rev. Reuben Mowry is their present pastor.

In Dighton, Freetown, and Dartmouth, to the east of Rehoboth and Swansea, baptist churches arose between seventy and eighty years ago, under the ministry of *Messrs. Goff, Hicks*, and others, some of which were much more large and flourishing than now. The injurious tenets of the old ministers as to ministerial support have been the bane of the baptist cause in this region, as well as many other parts of our country.

FALL RIVER.² This church was originally gathered in Tiverton, R. I., about three miles east of its present situation, in 1788. It was removed to the flourishing village whose name it assumed about a quarter of a century since.

Rev. Job Borden was its pastor before its change of location, and for a number of years after.

After him, the pastoral office was filled in succession, by *Rev. Messrs. Ross, Ewer, Miner, and Blane*.

Rev. Asa Bronson became the pastor of this people in 1833, and continued in office about ten years, when he removed to Albany, N. Y.

Rev. V. R. Hotchkiss, the present pastor, was installed in 1840.

A SECOND CHURCH in this place was organized in 1840, and

Rev. Mr. Bronson, formerly with the old body, has become its pastor.

Fall River has for many years been distinguished for the number and activity of the people of our order. The church, when *Mr. Bronson* resigned his charge, consisted of over seven hundred members.

NEW BEDFORD. The boundaries of this town were formerly very large, and in some parts of it some churches have lived and died before the present community arose, which was organized in 1813.

Rev. George H. Hough was the first pastor here, for a short time, when he resigned, to engage in the India Mission, under the agency of the late *Rev. Luther Rice*.

Rev. Silas Hall was the next incumbent, for about two years.

Rev. James Barnaby for four years. After him, in unawakened quick succession, *Rev. I. Chase* and *David Curtis* assumed and declined the pastoral office.

¹ The father of Judge Pitman, of Providence.

² Fall River is a large manufacturing village about midway from Providence to the eastern shore of the Narragansett Bay, near the entrance of the Tiverton River. It is named, though mostly in Massachusetts, yet it extends on the west, into the State of Rhode Island.

Rev. Gideon B. Perry, who has since become an Episcopal minister, was in the pastorship about three years.

Rev. Asa Bronson, now of Fall River, was with this people about two years.

Rev. John O. Choules, D.D., now of Jamaica Plain, was installed in 1833, and resigned in 1839.

Rev. Henry Jackson was settled in 1839 and resigned in 1846.

Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D., late corresponding secretary of the A. and F. Bible Society, the present pastor, came into office in 1846.

A *Second Church* was formed in this town in 1845. This body is composed wholly of colored members.

OLD COLONY ASSOCIATION.

This was organized in 1622. This body extends from the eastern bounds of the Taunton association to the old town of Plymouth, where the pilgrims first landed in New England, in 1620.

No less than four of the churches in this association are in the town of Middleborough, in which the venerable Backus, the baptist historian, resided more than half a century.

FIRST CHURCH, MIDDLEBOROUGH, was formed on the baptist plan, in 1756, having existed a number of years before, with Mr. Backus for their minister, as a pedobaptist church of the *Separate* order. They experienced blessings from the Lord, but persecutions from men; for their own pedobaptist brethren soon began to distress them for the support of a minister and church from which they had dissented. Mr. Backus, among the rest, was taxed, seized and imprisoned, a short time, and was then released without paying the tax or coming to any compromise.

Disputes about baptism, as was usual in all the *Separate* churches, soon arose among this people. Some of them had been baptized before by elder Moulton, and soon Mr. Backus, with six more of his members, imitated their example. This was in 1751. Elder Paine, of Warwick, R. I., was the administrator. But strange as it may now seem, yet such was the matter of fact, this man, who for about fifty years was the champion of the baptist cause, and for a part of this time at least may be regarded as the Corypheus of the denomination in N. E., for five years after his baptism, remained pastor of a church on the mixed communion plan, and shielded himself in the practice from the arguments of John Bunyan and other old baptist divines.

From early experience and extensive observation, this eminent man imbibed a deep and settled aversion to civil coercions in religious concerns, and an uncompromising hostility to the unscriptural and ever hurtful union of church and state. His agencies and efforts in favor of the cause of religious freedom and a full toleration to all dissenters from the established church, as it then existed in all the New England states except R. I., will be fully illustrated in the biography of this distinguished minister.

Since the death of Mr. Backus, this church has had for its pastor Rev. Messrs. Kendall, Abbot, and others.

Rev. Silas Hall, a native of Raynham, an adjoining town, and who has been settled in different places, assumed the pastoral station a few years since.

SECOND CHURCH, MIDDLEBOROUGH. This church is but one year younger than the first, having been established in 1757. This body arose in the following manner. Thomas Nelson, formerly a member of the first church in Swansea, removed to this place, then called Assawamset, forty years before the church was formed, his being the first English family which had ventured in this then uncultivated wilderness. He set up a meeting at his house, and must be considered the father of the church, although he died at the age of 80, a short time before it was founded. His widow lived to the age of one hundred and five years and seven months, and died in 1780. She had living at her death of her posterity, by the best accounts, three hundred and thirty-seven. Of her grand-

sons, William, Samuel, and Ebenezer Nelson were baptist ministers ; of her great-grand-children were Stephen S. Nelson,³ now of Amherst, Mass., and Dr. Thomas Nelson, late of Bristol, R. I.

As with the first church, a large portion of the early members came from a decayed church of the *Separate* order in the neighborhood.

Elder Ebenezer Hinds was the first pastor of this people, where he continued upward of forty years. After him they have had for their pastors Rev. Messrs. Coombs and others.

THIRD CHURCH, MIDDLEBOROUGH, was formed in 1761, and Ebenezer Jones became their pastor. After him was Asa Hunt, and next to him was

Rev. Samuel Nelson, who settled with them in 1793. His ministry was long and successful, and by his efforts the church was recovered from a state of feebleness and depression, under which it had labored for many years. He died in office.

FOURTH CHURCH, MIDDLEBOROUGH, was organized in 1800.

Rev. Ebenezer Briggs has been in the pastorate for many years.

CENTRAL CHURCH, MIDDLEBOROUGH, was formed in 1828. This body, although it arose about three-quarters of a century after the denomination had become well established in the town, yet being, as its name imports, in a central position, both as to the population and the influence of our people, it has become the most efficient community in the town.

Rev. Ebenezer Nelson is their present pastor.

In **STOUGHTON CORNERS** and **MARSHFIELD**, churches have existed more than half a century ; and in the latter place were some members of Mr. Callender's church, more than a hundred years since. This church was formed in 1768.

PLYMOUTH CHURCH was founded in 1809. Although this landing place of the pilgrim fathers was the early residence of Roger Williams, before he was banished to R. I., and was surrounded with baptist churches from almost the first settlement of the surrounding country, yet it was nearly two hundred years before any church of our denomination was here established.

This is the birth place of Rev. A. Judson, who has been long known as one of the most efficient missionaries of the denomination in the foreign field. His father, at the time of his son's conversion to baptist sentiments, was the pastor of a pedobaptist church in this ancient town. He also, in a few years, came over to the same belief.

BARNSTABLE ASSOCIATION.

This body is a branch of the Old colony, and was organized in 1832. The churches are all situated on Cape Cod, and the neighboring islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. All but three have been formed within about twenty years.

HARWICH CHURCH is the oldest in the association, and was gathered in 1756. This, like most churches of that time, arose out of one of the old *Separate* pedobaptist churches. It was gathered under the ministry of *Rev. Elisha Paine*, a distinguished minister of that class of dissenters, and who suffered long and severely, mostly in Conn.

The church was remodeled on the baptist plan at the time above named, and Richard Chace, who had been a minister of the *Separate* order, was installed into the pastoral office at the time the church was organized.

Rev. Mr. Barnaby, now of Nantucket, was many years the pastor of this people.

BARNSTABLE CHURCH was formed in 1771. Although it took much longer to mature the operations, yet, about the same process was gone through with here as in Harwich, in transforming a *new light* pedobaptist into a baptist community.

Rev. Enoch Eldridge was their first minister.

³ The author's teacher in early life.

Rev. Andrew Pollard was their pastor in 1845.

Both of these churches were harrassed with ministerial taxes in the commencement of their course; and while, as yet, the Barnstable church remained in the pedobaptist connection, two *women* were set in the stocks under a process of this kind. So furious was the zeal, and such was the cupidity and infatuation of the dominant party.

In connection with the churches of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, are some historical facts of an ancient date and an interesting character. On these two islands are five churches belonging to this Association.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD. This place was famous in early times for the number and power of the aborigines; and, for more than a century, it was the scene of the evangelical labors of the Mayhews—pedobaptist missionaries,—whose success in the conversion of the natives to christianity, and bringing them under the mild and meliorating influence of the gospel, are facts well known to all who have paid any attention to this succession of distinguished men.⁴ The first churches raised up among the Indians were, as a matter of course, of the same order of their ministers. But, at an early period, baptist sentiments were introduced among them by the influence of a schoolmaster, named Peter Folger, in the employ of the elder Mr. Mayhew, who became a baptist, and joined Mr. Clark's church in Newport, about 1675; by his means a baptist church was gathered, about 1694.

Mr. Folger afterwards removed to Nantucket, where he was much esteemed among the early planters of that place.

The famous *Dr. Franklin* was the *grandson* of this early baptist, on the mother's side.⁵

The three last associations, viz.: Taunton, Old Colony, and Barnstable, are situated in the counties of Bristol, Plymouth, and Barnstable, on the main, with the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. This territory embraces all the southern portion of the State of Massachusetts, and lies between the State of Rhode Island and the Bay from which the State receives its name.

The old Warren Association spread over this whole region of country for more than half a century, as it did most of the other parts of Massachusetts.

From the foregoing narratives, we see that a few baptists were among the early settlers in this then infant colony, and that their increase, for the first hundred years, was extremely slow; but, during the second century, and especially in the latter part of it, they have spread with great rapidity in this as well as all other parts of the State.

Although established churches had full power, and claimed the right to compel all within their parish bounds to contribute to the support of all ministers of their order, yet, as this part of the State was under the milder sway of the Plymouth colony, and, as the principles of religious freedom were early and continually diffused from the land of Roger Williams, from old Swansea, Rehoboth, &c., where the baptists had got a foothold, and from which their itinerants went out in different directions, annoyances on dissenters were less frequent and severe than in some other parts of the State.

As the soil in all this region is not generally prolific, but, in most cases, far otherwise, multitudes of baptist members, for many years past, have gone to other parts of the country; by these emigrants, many baptist communities have been formed, some in this State, and others in remoter regions.

I shall now turn to that section of the State which extends west and north-

⁴ Allen's Biographical and Historical Dictionary.

⁵ Beckus, Vol. III., p. 167.

west from the vicinity of Boston. It is bounded by Rhode Island and Connecticut on the south, New York on the west, and Vermont and New Hampshire on the north. This territory lies mostly in the counties of Worcester, Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin, and Berkshire.

In this region of the State are situated the Sturbridge, Worcester, Wachusett, Westfield, Wendell, Franklin and Berkshire Associations, which I shall briefly describe in the order here proposed. Here, we see, are found more than half the associations in the State, and nearly that proportion of churches, although they embrace but one-third the members, as a number of their organizations are young and small, and they are generally in small towns and country locations. All of them have arisen up within the present century.

The old Warren Association, in its most expanded operations, spread over most of that part of Massachusetts now under consideration. Baptist churches in it, at that time, were very few, and feeble, and far between; but, as they came into being, they fell into its fellowship. Some few on the northern extremity belonged to the old Shaftsbury, whose seat was in Vermont. These two bodies came in contact for a number of years, and embraced all the associated churches from the seaboard to the lower regions of the Mountain State.

STURBRIDGE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in the place from which it took its name, in 1802, of churches which had belonged to the Warren Association. This body, like that of Worcester, is situated on old ground, as to baptist operations, and where, for a long time, the early members were harrassed in a ruinous and most vexatious manner for the support of the State religion.

STURBRIDGE CHURCH. This ancient community arose out of a *Separate* church, which was formed in the town in the great Reformation in Whitefield's time. Rev. Mr. Blunt was their pastor. In about two years' time the minister, the deacons, ruling elders, and some sixty or seventy of these zealous pedobaptists, had come on to baptist ground, and in 1749 they assumed operations as a church of this order. Elder Moulton, then of Brimfield, appears to have had a principal hand in producing this transformation.

For three years from that period the civil officers pursued them with great severity; five of their principal men were imprisoned in Worcester jail, and property of different kinds taken from them, to a large amount, for an infant church.⁵

Some of the principal brethren in Boston interposed their friendly influence to allay and avert this work of vengeance and destruction; but the crime of dissenting was not to be forgiven. The anabaptists, as these innocent sufferers were still denominated in the legal enactments of the day, were placed be-

⁵ Mr. Moulton, by authority of an old law, was dragged to prison as a stroller and vagabond, because he came from another town. From 1750, and onward, for a few years, the assessors acting by State authority for the support of the established church, seized upon every kind of property which came in their way, however trifling in value, or needful for the owners. Kitchens were robbed of their shovels and tongs, trammels and andirons; larders of their pewter ware; housewives of their spinning-wheels, warming-pans, tankards, and quart pots; the mechanic of his broadaxe, saw, and other tools; and the farmers of their cows, oxen, and smaller stock, in great abundance. And to complete this scene of outrage and oppression, to put a finishing stroke to this high-handed course of ecclesiastical greediness, from Dea. John Newell they took a flock of geese, besides his cow and pewter ware. All this was done in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the support of a pedobaptist minister by the name of Caleb Rice. It is not for us to set in judgment on his plety; but, in this age of the world, it is difficult for us to conceive, how a man possessed of any portion of that charity which the gospel inspires, could sit still and see such wanton and unrighteous havoc made of the scanty possessions of his neighbors, under religious pretences. In one case, a yoke of oxen was sold for one sixth of their value. The whole society estimated their damages at more than one hundred pounds;—and all for the support of a minister whom they did not wish to hear. Such are the sad effects of the dangerous and ever-hurtful union of church and state.—*Bactus*, Vol. II., pp. 191-194.

Mr. Edward's materials for the church in Sturbridge.

yond the pale of mercy or forgiveness, and the petty agents of the law continued their work of seizure and confiscation, as may be seen in the note below.

But this furious storm was of short duration. The baptists soon arose to respect, and were let alone by the established party; and Deacon Fisk, one of the five enumerated victims of this pitiful Junto, afterwards became a member of the General Assembly for the town, and belonged to that body at the time of his death, in 1778.

Rev. Zenas L. Leonard, a graduate of B. University, was the pastor of this church many years.

Rev. Isaac Woodbury now fills the station.

WALES, formerly called SOUTH BRIMFIELD, was organized in 1736.

Rev. Ebenezer Moulton was its pastor many years. This church was for a long time a rallying point for the baptists in this region.

Rev. Volney Church is their present pastor.

In the progress of this community, it extended its bounds into the adjoining parts of Connecticut; but all churches of this kind have fallen into the more recent communities in their own state.

WORCESTER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1819. The country in which nearly all the churches of this body are situated, as to its geographical boundaries and population, is about equal to the whole state of R. I., on which it is bounded on the south. The population is generally stable and substantial, and although the congregationalists are the prevailing denomination, yet the baptists are gaining fast in number and efficiency. Most of the churches in this community have arisen within the present century, and a considerable number of them are of recent origin.

At three places within the bounds of this Association, baptist members were found, and incipient measures were adopted for the formation of churches of the order, more than one hundred years ago; viz., Bellingham, Sutton, and Leicester. And it is highly probable that stationary professors of this belief had resided in them many years before.

BELLINGHAM. All the historical details necessary for this church, are happily furnished to my hands, in *Rev. Mr. Fisher's Discourse*, referred to before.

"The origin of the baptists in Bellingham may be traced to 1736, and it is probable they existed some time before. Those who first embraced their peculiar sentiments, united with the first baptist church, Swansea. They were, it is most probable, all baptized there. Early in January, 1737, those who had been previously baptized, were, by their desire, permitted and encouraged by the church to hold meetings for their mutual improvement, and exhorted to procure preaching as often as convenient. In October, of that year, these brethren petitioned the church with which they were connected, for liberty to form themselves into a distinct body, and obtained permission; in November following, they were constituted into a distinct church. It is probable the church at Swansea assisted in organizing this body without a special council, as it was then difficult calling one.* The number of constituted members was fifteen, all males.

"*Rev. Elnathan Wight*, one of their number, was their first minister. His pastoral labors commenced in 1750.

"*Rev. Noah Alden*, from Stafford, was his successor, and was installed in 1766. This elder's name frequently occurs in baptist affairs about this time. His ministry was about thirty years; a sure indication that it was acceptable to the people.

"While the strong arm of ecclesiastical domination was extended over the

* At this time there were only three baptist churches in Massachusetts, viz.: the First in Boston, the First in Swansea, and the one in South Brimfield.

whole country, Mr. Alden was the firm and steady coadjutor of Backus, and the small company in and about Boston, who put forth all their efforts in the baptist cause.

"When the constitution of this commonwealth was formed, he was the delegate from this town to the Convention called for that purpose. In this transaction he occupied a conspicuous place. He was the most able and active friend of religious liberty found in that body. To secure that object, he exerted himself to the utmost of his abilities. He had powerful opponents, who used their influence and much intrigue to prevent what he so much desired, and what was righteous in itself. Although he did not gain all he desired, he nevertheless gained much. The article on this subject was by no means so objectionable as it would have been, had his most violent opponents succeeded in getting what they desired. In relation to this subject the friends of religious liberty owe much to Mr. Alden. He was also a member of the Convention to which was submitted the Constitution of the United States."⁷

For many years Bellingham was the favorite resort of the few baptist ministers in the country. Here the Warren Association often held its sessions, and Mr. Alden's name generally appears in all meetings for counsel and advice, in all matters of trial and difficulty.

For some time after Mr. Alden's death, this ancient body was in circumstances of difficulty and division, mostly respecting a successor, and for a few years it ceased to operate in a church capacity. During this interval the pulpit was supplied about two years by *Dr. Kendrick*, now president of the Baptist Literary Institute, at Hamilton, N. Y., and about the same length of time by *Rev. Mr. Gammell*, late of Newport, R. I. Next to him was *Rev. Valentine Rathburn*, under whose ministry the church resumed its regular operations, in 1812.⁸

Mr. Rathburn's ministry was of short duration, as he ceased from his labors the next year.⁹

Rev. S. S. Nelson, was next in office one year.

Rev. Abial Fisher, late of Swansea, Mass., assumed the pastoral office in 1816, and continued here many years.

This church is distinguished for having sent into the ministry the *Rev. Messrs. John and Aaron Leland*, both eminent ministers in their day. The famous *Elhanan Winchester* was also sometime a member of this body, while he stood in the baptist connection.

Rev. N. G. Lovel is the present pastor.

This town joins Rhode Island on the south, and is almost a part of the State.¹⁰ This circumstance, no doubt, had an influence in early times to neutralize the proscriptive spirit of the dominant party in religious matters, which, in early times, generally prevailed in this ancient commonwealth.

FIRST CHURCH, SUTTON. Although the present church in this town bears date from 1785, yet, according to Backus, a baptist church was constituted here as early as 1735, and *Benjamin Marsh* was their first pastor.¹

This old church appears to have been mixed up with the Separates, in the New Light Stir, and to have experienced a number of dissolutions and reorganizations before it became permanently settled.

⁷ Century Sermons, pp. 9-14-22.

⁸ This is the date now given to this church on the minutes of the Association, but I see no good reason why it should not go back to its organization in 1737. Although its ordinary functions had been suspended, yet the members were on the ground, and readily coalesced at the period above named.

⁹ The biography of these three first pastors will be more fully given in the work devoted to this subject.

¹⁰ For many years past, the two states of Rhode Island and Massachusetts have been in litigation respecting the northern boundary of the former; and if it should be settled in their favor, a considerable part of Bellingham will fall on the Rhode Island side. In this town no pedobaptist minister has been settled for a century past.

¹ Hist. Bapt., Vol. III., p. 176.

Rev. J. B. Boomer is their present pastor.

A SECOND CHURCH was organized in this town in 1818, of which *Rev. N. B. Jones* is pastor.

LEICESTER CHURCH was formed in 1737. This body, unlike the two above named, has maintained an unbroken succession from its origin to the present time.

Elder Thomas Green, a native of Malden, near Boston, and who, through his long and useful life, was a practising physician in a wide circuit of country, officiated as the pastor of this people till his death, in 1773.

Rev. Benjamin Foster, D.D., was Dr. Green's successor about six years.

Rev. M. Harrington is now in office here.

FIRST CHURCH, GRAFTON, was gathered in 1800, and is the fourth in point of age in this body.

Rev. B. A. Edwards is their present pastor.

SECOND CHURCH, GRAFTON, was formed in 1836, at a large and flourishing manufacturing village, called *New England*.

Rev. W. C. Richards is the pastor in this place.

These two churches contain upwards of four hundred members.

WEST BOYLSTON was constituted in 1818.

Rev. Leonard Tracy is the present pastor.

FIRST CHURCH, WORCESTER. This is one of the largest and most flourishing inland towns in this state, and is about forty miles from Providence, on the south, and Boston on the east. This church was formed in 1812.

Rev. Jonathan Going, D.D., became its pastor in early times, and continued in office many years, when he resigned his charge to become Cor. Sec'y of the then newly formed B. H. M. Society. He afterwards became president of Granville college, Ohio, where he died a few years since.

Rev. S. B. Swain, is now in office here.

Second Church, Worcester, was constituted from the first, in 1842.

Rev. J. Jennings, is their pastor. These two churches are the largest in this body. Next to them are W. Boylston, 1st and 2d Grafton, Southborough, Holden, Webster, N. Oxford, &c.

The Worcester Association is the third in size among the kindred institutions in this state, and is much the largest of any similar body in this section of the country. It is a central point of operations and has always been distinguished for its activity and efficiency in evangelical and benevolent efforts

WACHUSETT ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed entirely from the Worcester, in 1842. The churches of which it was at first composed, were those of Harvard, Templeton, Princeton, Westminster, South Gardner, Bolton, Fitchburgh, Leominster, Sterling, and Barre.

The ministers were Sibley, Carpenter, Cunningham, Felton, Powers, Tracy, Goddard, Allen, and Walker.

WESTFIELD ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1811, of but six churches. It now takes rank among the second grade in the state. It is situated about one hundred miles west of Boston, on both sides of the Connecticut river, mostly in the counties of Hampshire and Hampden.

WEST SPRINGFIELD CHURCH is the oldest in this part of the country. As early as 1727 some persons were baptized in this town by Elisha Callender, then

pastor of the First Church, Boston; viz., Wm. Scott, Thomas Lamb, and three by the name of Leonard—John, Ebenezer, and Abel. These few members commenced a meeting among themselves, and as often as convenient, obtained the services of the few baptist ministers to whom they could have access, and in 1740, they, with others who had joined them, were constituted into a church.

Rev. Edward Upham, a graduate of Cambridge college, was their first minister, and continued with them about nine years, when he removed to Newport, R. I. At the end of twenty years, he went back, and spent the remainder of his days among his old people, where he finished his course in 1795, at the good old age of 87. Successor to him, was

Rev. Jesse Wightman, a grandson of the founder of the first baptist church in Connecticut.

This church appears to have been once or twice dissolved, as it does not bear the same date in different tables.

SECOND CHURCH, DO., was formed in 1803.

Rev. Thomas Rand, a graduate of B. University, was for many years their spiritual guide.

In the bounds of the two Springfields, are now five baptist churches; their succession of pastors, as by Mr. Warren's Historical Discourse, has been as follows:

FIRST WEST SPRINGFIELD—present date, 1789. E. Upham, J. Wightman, E. Ball, J. Grant, T. Barrett, E. Andrews, J. M. McDonald, P. Brocket, M. Bachellor, W. A. Smith, L. Lewis.

SECOND WEST SPRINGFIELD, 1803. T. Rand, R. Taggart, M. Archibald, J. Hall, H. D. Doolittle, Wm. L. Brown, J. Kenney.

FIRST SPRINGFIELD, 1811. A. Niles, E. Ball, A. Hough, D. Ives, H. I. Graves, J. W. Eaton, H. Richards, M. G. Clarke.

SECOND DO., CHICOPEE FALLS, 1828. M. Curtis, J. M. Graves, R. F. Ellis, R. G. Mills.

THIRD DO., CABBOTSVILLE, 1835. P. Brocket and J. G. Warren.

Of a few of the other churches in this body, I will give similar statements.

WESTFIELD, first date 1786, present, 1806. Pastors: A. Hamilton, D. Wright, A. M. Smith, N. M. Perkins, P. Hines.

CHESTERFIELD, 1780. A. Todd, I. Child, N. McCulloch, D. Brown, A. Day, J. M. Whipple, W. A. Smith.

MIDDLEFIELD, 1817. J. Child, E. Andrews, C. Townsend, H. Archibald, O. Spencer, F. Bestor.

NORTHAMPTON, 1826. B. Willard, D. Wright, A. Brown, Wm. M. Doolittle, H. D. Doolittle, D. M. Crane.²

Rev. B. Willard officiated here for a number of years, and by his laborious efforts, and in connection with other friends of this infant colony, a commodious house of worship was erected.

WENDELL ASSOCIATION.

This lies north of the Worcester; a part of the churches are in the county, the others are in Franklin. It was organized in 1824 of the seven following churches, viz.: Leveret and Montague, New Salem, Wendall, Sunderland and Montague, Royalston and Warwick, Athol, Royalston and Winchendon.

A number of the churches in this Association are of long standing, and in their infancy were exposed to troubles and privations on account of their obnoxious characters as dissenters from the legal establishment.

MONTAGUE CHURCH. Under this name it first appears in Mr. Backus' history.

² For much of the above information, I am indebted to Mr. Warren's Historical Discourse on this body, published in 1844.

In process of time, as the majority of the people lived in Leveret, an adjoining town, it assumed this name. At present, the two names are united, as appears by the minutes.

This church was formed in 1765, and soon after the rapacious harpies of the law, for the support of a legal priesthood, commenced their usual vocation, and a number of this infant community were made the victims of their unrighteous oppressions.

Major Montague, from whom it is probable the town received its name, and whose son, Elijah, was many years pastor of the church, was one of the earliest sufferers.

Rev. Baxter Newton is the present pastor of this body, which is the largest in the Association.

The churches of New Salem, Petersham, and Royalston were all gathered within five years after the one at Montague.

SHUTESBURY was formed in 1780.

FRANKLIN ASSOCIATION,

Was organized in 1831.

ASHFIELD CHURCH is the oldest in this body, and was gathered in 1761.

Elder Ebenezer Smith was their first minister. He was a son of one of the original planters of the town, and he, with his people, suffered severely from the legal operations of the dominant party, and, probably, matters were carried to a greater extreme against the baptists in this town, than in any other in this part of the state.

In 1770, about four hundred acres of their land was disposed of at public sale, by the furious parish tax-gatherers. For a demand less than four dollars, Mr. Smith was dispossessed of ten acres of his home lot. From his father was taken twenty acres, containing his orchard and burying-ground, which was struck off to one Wells for less than seven dollars. This coveting of fields, and taking them by force, goes beyond anything we read of in England. There is an account of the pope taking land in a similar way from the Waldenses in France; but in protestant countries no example of the kind appears. In these distressing circumstances the baptists petitioned the Boston Assembly for relief; a number of fair promises were made, but no assistance was afforded them, until they, by the assistance of Governor Hutchinson, addressed the king and council, by whom the law, which sanctioned their oppressions, was disannulled, and their land ordered to be restored. The business was not finally settled until 1774, by which time, the minister, who had been the occasion of all this oppression, became obnoxious to his own people, and went off with the avails of the estate which had been settled upon him.³

BERKSHIRE ASSOCIATION,

Was organized in 1827. This is a branch of the old Shaftsbury, in Vermont, as most of the churches formerly belonged to that body. The country in which this body is located, and from which it takes its name, is situated in the western part of the state, and joins Vermont on the north, New York on the west, Connecticut on the south, and the counties of Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden on the east.

³ As Gov. Hutchinson procured relief to this Ashfield people, some were disposed to blame the baptists for not adhering to him and his party, and espousing the British side of the question in the war of the Revolution. This suggestion is well answered by Mr. Backus. He also quotes a passage from a private correspondence of his Excellency, which goes to show that, as a general principle, he was by no means in favor of that full and equal liberty of conscience for which the baptists contended, and gave, as a reason against it, that, if all who were disposed to attend baptist meetings should be exempt from taxation, the congregations of the established church would be broken to pieces in all parts of the colony.—*Backus*, Vol. II., pp. 248-261.

CHESHIRE CHURCHES—JOHN LELAND.

It is now three-fourths of a century since a company of baptists, mostly from Rhode Island, Swansea, and Rehoboth, Mass., made large purchases of land, and laid the foundation of a number of churches, which soon after their settlement arose in this region. The place of the first settlement was called New Providence; afterwards a part of the territory assumed the name of Adams, and another that of Cheshire, where baptist principles extensively prevailed under the ministry of the famous John Leland, and others.

In 1784, this country, according to Backus' first table of the churches in New England, contained the eight following, viz.: Adams, Lanesborough, Pittsfield, Harwick, Washington, Sandisfield, Alford, and Westbridge. The ministers were, P. Worden, N. Mason, V. Rathburn, C. Rogers, J. Morse, J. Drake, and E. Wilson. Washington was vacant. The youngest of these churches is dated in 1781; of course, all of them were formed upwards of sixty years since.

The Cheshire churches, which afterwards became famous for their numbers and prosperity, under the ministry of Leland, Worden, and Mason, were either not yet formed, or existed under other names. In a number of cases, in this county, the same churches appear with new names, as new towns were set off.

This circumstance may probably account for a number of these old churches not appearing on the minutes of this Association. This is an old and important field of baptist operations. The churches were formerly scattered in different associations, but at present, they have become consolidated into one, and appear to be in a prosperous and well regulated condition.

NORTH ADAMS is the largest church in this community.

Rev. H. T. Love, late a missionary to Greece, is their present pastor.

SANDISFIELD was organized in 1779.

Rev. Joshua Morse was their minister for many years.

Rev. J. T. Smith is their present pastor.

LANESBOROUGH was formed in 1771.

Rev. Nathan Mason was their early pastor.

We have now gone through with the history of the denomination in this commonwealth, and it will be seen that in it have arisen more old baptist churches than any state in the union; and also, that for more than a century from their commencement, they were continually harrassed and plundered by the dominant party for the support of the established religion. This matter will be more fully discussed and the principal facts collected under one head for all New England, and all the other states where legal embarrassments were thrown in the way of the baptists and other dissenters from the established churches, whether puritan or episcopal, when I shall give the names of the men who were the most prominent actors in the different conventions and legislative bodies, by which the injurious laws in question were either modified or repealed.

In Massachusetts, Isaac Backus, Asaph Fletcher, Mr. Ewing, and Noah Alden were active and efficient members of these bodies.

The statistics of the denomination in this State will be given in the tables devoted to this subject.

Massachusetts furnishes more historical matter pertaining to baptist history in early times than any other state in the union; here the denomination were compelled to maintain a conflict long and severe with the dominant party, who had determined, at all hazards, that no encroachment should be made upon their legal sacro-secular establishment. Scarcely a tithe of the sufferings of our brethren in their persons and property have been related.

With all the embarrassments to which they were exposed, it is wonderful that so much success attended their efforts, and that they should go on planting churches and extending their influence in all parts of the State.

⁴ Cheshire was incorporated in 1793.—*Hayward's N. E. Gazetteer.*

Mr. Backus, their indefatigable historian, and the resolute defender of their rights, has supplied us with documents more in detail than can be found in any other part of the country ; and in no other state shall I be able to be so minute or extended in my descriptions of baptist affairs.

The numerous and efficient institutions for education, missions, domestic and foreign, and other benevolent objects which have long been sustained by the baptists in this State, will be noticed under their appropriate heads.

I would here say, that the Old Missionary Society for domestic missions, whose centre was in Boston, was one of the earliest and for a long time the most efficient institutions among the baptists in this country. It held the same rank for most of the northern states, that the General Home Society now does for all the states, and spread abroad its influences to Maine, Nova Scotia, Canada, New York, and to some remoter regions.

Of the Baptist State Conventions, those most well divided and useful institutions for the denomination, I shall be able to give little more in this volume than a list of their names, origin, &c., in the different states.

CHAPTER VIII.

RHODE ISLAND.

SECTION I.

The principles of religious freedom planted by Roger Williams and his associates—the whole history of this distinguished man, as exhibited by Backus, Knowles, Hague, Gammell, &c.

THIS small territory was settled under circumstances new and peculiar, and here were planted principles as to religious freedom, which at that time, in the fullest and most literal sense of the statement, all the world opposed as visionary in theory, dangerous, disorganizing, and impracticable. The system adopted by the founder of this state, on the principles of an unlimited toleration of all the varying creeds of theology, and of the unfettered and unobstructed exercise of all the rites and forms of religion which erring and imperfect mortals might choose to adopt, was treated with ridicule and contempt, with banter and abuse, not only by a pampered priesthood and lordly prelates, but also by the very men who had long been the victims of ecclesiastical oppression, and who, by the intolerant laws of the old country, had been driven to seek an asylum in these then western wilds. They came here, indeed, in search of freedom, political and religious; but their great error, and most palpable inconsistency, lay in seeking these inestimable blessings only for themselves and those of their own religious faith.

But the fathers of this little and long-despised colony, resolved in the outset to pursue an entirely different course, and to afford a shelter to men of all consciences and creeds, and to make a full trial of the experiment of founding a civil government where the secular functions should have no dictation or control in the concerns of religion—where the old doctrine of church and state should have no place—and where the ministers of religion should be left to depend on the voluntary contributions of their flocks.

This experiment has been made with singular success: every state in the union has in the end adopted this Rhode Island plan, and her primordial principles on this subject are rolling back on many of the nations of Europe, and some of her time-honored hierarchies, with a force and energy and revolutionary tendency, which forbode freedom to the oppressed, and calamity and downfall to their ancient ecclesiastical establishments.

Could Roger Williams again visit the land of the Puritans, and traverse the whole region of country, what a different state of things would he find! Instead of one little colony where the rights of conscience were respected and maintained, he would behold a mighty nation all cordially supporting the identical principles for which he was banished. Instead of meeting the finger of scorn from men in places and power, of being treated as a visionary and fanatic, and having his scheme of civil government denounced as an Utopian project which could never be realized; he would find the mighty men of all parties and creeds, of all churches, following in his footsteps, and pronouncing eulogies on his doctrines and his name.

From some quarters, it is true, he would hear the language of reproach and complaint; but we must bear in mind that, generally speaking, representations of this kind are aimed more at the baptist community than at Roger Williams

himself; the lashes of these detractors are intended to reach over his back, and to fall on the people whom they dislike, and whose progress they would be glad to impede.

Having made these preliminary remarks on the religious principles which were deeply laid in the foundations of this State, I shall now proceed to give a summary statement of the commencement and progress of its churches and institutions.

The first churches planted in this State, were at Providence and Newport: these two places were for a long time the two principal rallying points for the denomination in this small and feeble colony. In process of time, churches arose around these centres in different directions, and extended down into the Narraganset country.

Most of the oldest churches have long since either become extinct, or else still maintain a nominal existence. Others have been remodeled and revised, some on the Orthodox, others on the Free Will plan. The Old Six Principle order, or, as they are generally called, the *Old Baptists*, were once much more numerous and strong than at present; for some cause they have not flourished as in early times, when they spread over most of the state.

Their history will be given under a separate head. The *Seventh Day Baptists* obtained an early and strong foothold in Rhode Island, especially in Newport and in the lower part of the Narraganset country.

In 1768, as was shown in the table at p. 369, there were more baptist churches of all kinds in Rhode Island, than in any of the American colonies. Their number was 36. But mighty changes have since taken place in the relative proportion of churches in the different states. Massachusetts then had 30, now 234; New York 4, now more than 800; Virginia had 10, now about 600; &c., &c.

Formerly the two associations of Stonington and Groton, in Conn., extended far into this state on the south-western border, while old Warren spread over most of Massachusetts, and entered quite into New Hampshire. But by subsequent arrangements, the Connecticut Associations have fallen back into their own state, and the Warren, after supplying materials for about half the present associations in Massachusetts, has become limited to the bounds of the state. The Providence Association was lately formed from it. These two bodies comprise at present all the churches of our order in Rhode Island.

The *Seventh Day, Six Principle, Free Will Baptists*, with those of the Christian society, have altogether, probably as many churches and members as those of the associated class.

The old *Yearly Meeting*, is the oldest association in New England, and in America, if we except the Philadelphia. In the days of John Comer, it stood high in the baptist connexion, but its influence has greatly diminished. Some account of it will be given under the head of the *Six Principle Baptists*.

Before I proceed to exhibit the usual details of churches and associations, I shall give in a condensed manner a history of the founder of this state. As my readers will expect, somewhere in my narratives, some account of this eminent man, I have said but little of him in connection with Massachusetts affairs, for the purpose of bringing the whole story under the Rhode Island head.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

His early history—arrival in this country—causes of his banishment from Massachusetts—his settlement in Providence, and subsequent history in this state to the time of the foundation of the First Church in Providence.

The following sketches of the life, the distinguishing sentiments of this bold and uncompromising advocate of the principles of religious freedom, and his incessant and untiring efforts for about half a century, to plant them deep in the American soil and diffuse them wide in all lands, are taken mostly from my old history; from

FOUNDED BY ROGER WILLIAMS.

The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the Society since its formation in 1793. The names are arranged in alphabetical order of their surnames, and are given in full, as far as possible. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the Society since its formation in 1793 are given in full, as far as possible. The names of the persons who have been admitted to the Society since its formation in 1793 are given in full, as far as possible.

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ROGER WILLIAMS.

...are intended to reach over his back, and whose progress they would... the religious principles which... State, I had now proposed to... and progress of its churches and in-

PORTRAIT OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

This engraving is an accurate copy of a painting recently discovered, which came to this country, and was sold at auction in New York, with other paintings and books, from the library of the Duke of York, about the time that great collection was dispersed. At the sale Mr. Daniel L. Jones, of New York, a native of Wales, and a zealous antiquarian, bought two very dusty old paintings, which were sold together. Upon being cleaned, one of them proved, by comparison with other copies, to be a fine portrait of Oliver Cromwell, to whom Roger Williams was related. The other bears its own evidence, in the lettering, etc. distinctly legible, as in the engraving. Upon the back of the canvas of both, is the inscription, "Voit Van Saltzburgh, Dombrost zu Waltzburg."

It was, without doubt, made when Roger Williams went to England, in 1644, and his age 44. His right arm rests upon his "Key to the Indian Languages," and underneath which is a "Bible." Underneath this Bible, and rolling off from the table is the Charter, of which several lines can be distinctly read. In his left hand, he holds the "Bloody Tenet." In the back ground is seen a work, inscribed, "Coke upon Littleton," which goes to decide the controverted question of his having been educated by Sir Edward Coke. Also lying before him, are letters addressed to "Robert Williams, and the Committee of Providence Plantations," and "Mary Williams," which are in the painting in his own hand-writing. The force of all these circumstances will be appreciated by those who are familiar with his life.

The first association in New England, and in America, if we may so call it, was the church of John Cotton, it stood high in the beginning, but its influence has greatly diminished. Some account of it is given under the head of the Six Principles Baptists.

Before I proceed to exhibit the usual details of his life and associations, I shall give the condensed history of the founder of this state. As we shall, I expect, somewhere in my narrative, some account of the same, I have said but little of him in connection with Massachusetts, where he was the cause of upsetting the whole state under the Rhode Island head.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

...in the... of his... settlement in Providence, and subsequent history...

...the distinguishing sentiments of his... principles of religious freedom, and his incessant... a country, he plant them deep in the American soil...



Engraved by F. Holton, from an original Engraving for
"Benedict's History of the Baptists"

Roger Williams



the life of Roger Williams, by Rev. Mr. Knowles, late a professor in the Newton Theological Institution; from Hague's Historical Discourse at the second centennial anniversary of the first church in Providence, and from a sketch prefixed to Roger Williams' Key to the Indian Language, published among the collections of the R. I. Historical Society.

"It is a subject of regret," says Mr. Knowles, "that of the early life of Roger Williams so little is known. A few facts only have been preserved, and these do not rest on very certain evidence. It is remarkable, that in his numerous writings, there are no allusions to his parents, to the place of his birth and education, and to other points relating to his early years. There are, in his letters and books, but two or three incidental references to events anterior to his arrival in this country; though his allusions to early occurrences after his emigration are very frequent.

"He was about 32 years of age when he reached our shores; a period of life when the energy of youth remains without its rashness, and the mind has acquired steadiness, without the timid caution and fixed pertinacity of old age. It is a period, however, when the character of most men is already formed. Though new situations and difficult exigencies may develop unexpected powers, and give prominence to certain traits of character, yet the mind commonly remains unchanged in its essential qualities. It was long since said by Horace, that those who cross the ocean pass under a new sky, but do not acquire a new disposition. This was probably true of Mr. Williams; and if we could trace his early history we should undoubtedly see an exhibition of the same principles and temper which distinguished his subsequent career.

"It may, however, be said of most of the prominent men among the first settlers of New England, that their history begins at the period of their arrival here. Accounts of their early lives are very brief. They were too busy to record their own early fortunes, and too pious to feel any pride in displaying their descent, their virtues, or their sufferings. The present and the future filled their minds; and they seem to have felt that the wide ocean which separated them from the land of their fathers had effected a similar disjunction of their history. Of Roger Williams less is known than of some others, because no efforts were made by his early biographers to collect facts concerning him. His opponents were more disposed to obliterate his name, than to record his life. His contemporary friends were sharers in his sufferings, and were not at leisure to relate his story or their own. Even the records of the church which he founded at Providence contains no notice of him written earlier than 1775, when the Rev. John Stanford, a venerable minister late of New York, collected the fugitive traditions concerning the origin of the church. These traditions state that Mr. Williams was born in Wales, 1599; the place of his birth, and the character of his parents, are not known. We may easily believe that he was a native of Wales. He possessed the Welsh temperament—excitable and ardent feelings, generosity, courage, and firmness which sometimes, perhaps, had a touch of obstinacy.

"It appears from a remark in one of his books, that he became pious in early life. 'The truth is, from my childhood, now above three-score years, the Father of lights and mercies touched my soul with a love to himself, to his only begotten, the true Lord Jesus, to his holy scriptures,' &c.¹

"That his parents were in humble life, and that his disposition was pious and thoughtful, may be inferred from an incident which is related concerning him, and which, if true, had a great share in determining his future course. It is said that the famous Lawyer Sir Edward Coke, observed him one day during public worship, taking notes of the discourse. His curiosity was excited, and he requested the boy to show him his notes. Sir Edward was so favorably impressed by the evidences of talent which these exhibited, that he requested the parents of young Williams to entrust their son to his care. He placed him,

¹ George Fox Dugged out of his Burrowes: written in 1673.

as the tradition runs, at the University of Oxford, were he drank deeply at the fountains of learning. His writings testify that his education was liberal, according to the taste of those times, when logic and classics formed the chief objects of study at the universities.

"He afterwards commenced the study of law, at the desire and under the guidance of his generous patron, who would naturally wish to train his pupil to the honorable and useful profession which he himself adorned. The providence of God may be seen in thus leading the mind of Mr. Williams to that acquaintance with the principles of law and government, which qualified him for his duties as legislator of his little colony."²

With the details of his change of vocation, we can have no acquaintance, but all who have given any items of his history, agree in asserting, that in early life he was regularly admitted to orders in the Church of England, and preached for some time as a minister of that church, and that his preaching was highly esteemed, and his private character was revered.

"Possessing an ardent love for truth and liberty, he was led by his convictions to join the Puritans, and like others of them, emigrated to New England, which had become famous abroad as the home of piety and freedom. He arrived at Nantasket in February, 1631, and on reaching Boston, and finding the church there wielding a sceptre of civil power, at once he declared himself dissatisfied with them, because they had not abjured those principles, on the ground of which they had been united to the established church of England. Then he broached the great doctrine, that civil governments, being constituted only for civil and secular ends, the magistrate hath no right to interfere in the affairs of conscience. He seems at that time to have fully matured the truth, that a church established by civil law, cannot be, as to its outward order, a true church of Christ; that so far as civil authority enforces religious duties, so far the church which allows it, becomes a 'kingdom of this world,' and not the spiritual empire, of which Jesus Christ is the only sovereign. Giving offence to the rulers in Boston, by avowing opinions so adverse to their ecclesiastical polity, he went to Salem, where he was well received, and chosen teacher by the church. At this, the court in Boston marveled much, and raised such an excitement against him, that in less than a year he removed to Plymouth, where he was associated with Mr. Ralph Smith, the Pastor, as an assistant teacher. We have the testimony of Governor Bradford, to the excellent character of his ministry, but his distinguished doctrine of human liberty, which was involved in his idea of the spirituality of the christian dispensation, was the cause of an opposition to him, which disposed him, in 1663, to listen favorably to a call from the church in Salem, to return to that place. Of all the churches in Massachusetts, that of Salem was most attached to the principles of independency, and maintained it most resolutely.³ The next year he was ordained their pastor, on which account the court in Boston manifested strong hostility to them, refusing even to hold intercourse with them touching matters of civil justice, until they retraced their steps. Thrice was he called before them to answer to several accusations. One was, impugning the justice of that patent by virtue of which the colony held her lands, inasmuch as it paid no regard to the rights of the Indians. Another was, calling the established church of England antichristian. The third was, saying that an oath ought not to be enforced on an unregenerate man, which assertion, being based on the opinion that an oath is *an act of worship*, was defended by an argument, remarkable for its simplicity and strength. But the worst of all was, declaring that 'the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table, otherwise than it did disturb the civil peace.' His sentiments on that subject, are thus expressed in his own words:⁴

"As the civil permission of all the consciences and worship of all men in

² Knowles' Life of Roger Williams, pp. 22-24.

³ Upham's Second Cent. Disc., p. 41.

⁴ Hirelings' Ministry, p. 26.

things merely spiritual, is no ways inconsistent with true christianity, and true civility, so it is the duty of the magistrate to suppress all violences to the bodies and goods of men for their souls' belief, and to provide that not one person in the land be restrained from, or constrained to, any worship, ministry, or maintenance, but peaceably maintained in his soul (liberty) as well as corporal freedom."⁵

Such is Mr. Hague's account of the state of things among the new settlers of New England when Mr. Williams commenced his ministry among them.

Mr. Knowles' description is as follows, and in it we see a material difference, with respect to the mother country, between the two colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay :—

"*The settlers at Plymouth* were organized as a church before they left Holland, and as such they landed on our shores. This church was formed on the principle of entire independence of all human authority. Its members belonged to that class of the Non-conformists who had separated entirely from the church of England, and adopted a form of church polity which they deemed more consistent with the letter and spirit of the New Testament.

"The separate independence of each church of all others, the necessity of true piety as a qualification for membership, the right of each church to elect its own officers, the rejection of all officers except pastors, or elders, and deacons, and the entire equality of all pastors and elders, in respect to power and privileges, were among the principles adopted by this excellent body of christians. They are the principles which the scriptures teach, and it would have been happy for the cause of truth, if they had been held fast, without any corrupt mixture, by all the churches which profess to receive them. Another principle adopted by the church at Plymouth was, that ecclesiastical censures are wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties. In this respect, the church at Plymouth were in advance of their brethren in Massachusetts; and the history of the Plymouth colony is honorably distinguished by a tolerant spirit which contributed not less to her peace and prosperity than to her true fame.

"*The first settlers at Boston and vicinity* belonged, for the most part, to the other class of Non-conformists, who did not, while in England, separate wholly from the established church, though they opposed her corruptions. They desired only a farther reform of the church herself, and retained their membership,—some of them conforming, though reluctantly, to her ceremonies, to avoid persecution, and others, refusing such a conformity, protected awhile by the indulgence of some mild prelates, or by the friendship of powerful laymen. When, at length, despairing of the desired reform, and weary of persecution, they embarked for America, they came as members of the church of England. Winthrop and his associates, while on board the fleet at Yarmouth, addressed a farewell letter to the 'rest of their brethren in and of the church of England,' which is as beautiful in diction as it is admirable for its affectionate pathos. They say—

"We desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the church of England, from whence we arise, our dear mother, and cannot part from our native country where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and suckled it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk, wherewith we were nourished, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and, while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus."⁶

This difference of views in the religious character of the two colonies had no little influence on their conduct in after times; and it is a well-known fact

⁵ Hague's Historical Discourse, pp. 16-19.

⁶ Hutchinson, Vol. I., App. No. 1, as quoted by Knowles, p. 40.

that most of the persecuting measures which disgraced these Anglo-puritans, and were for ages a source of vexation and annoyance to all dissenters from their petty hierarchy, were carried on by the Boston company and their descendants; while, in all the region of the Plymouth settlers, a mild, benignant toleration, with scarce any exception, was always everywhere enjoyed.

But the people were not uniform in their opinions in either colony, but the leaven of religious freedom, or of ecclesiastical aristocracy, was diffused more or less in each company; but, by degrees the union of church and state gained the ascendancy in what was then called the Massachusetts Bay, and was thence carried to all the other settlements in New England, except the State whose history is now under consideration.

The Salem company partook much of the Plymouth character, in the mildness of their regimen, and their rigid adherence to the doctrine of church independence.

In this town a church was formed on the 6th of August, 1629, when thirty persons entered into a covenant in writing, and the Rev. Mr. Skelton was ordained or instituted as the pastor, and the Rev. Mr. Higginson as the teacher: these offices being considered as distinct, and both being deemed essential to the welfare of a church. The church thus formed was entirely independent. The Governor of Plymouth, and other members of the church there, who had been invited to attend the ceremony, were not permitted to give the right hand of fellowship to the new church, till an explicit declaration had been made that this service was not meant to indicate any right of interference or control. The pastor and teacher were inducted into office by the vote of the church, and by the imposition of the hands of the ruling elder as the organ of the church. Thus careful were this body to exclude, at the onset, all authority but that of the Head of the Church.

In a few weeks after Mr. Williams' arrival, he was invited by the church at Salem to become an assistant to Mr. Skelton, as teacher, in the place of the accomplished Higginson, who died a few months before. Mr. Williams complied with the invitation, and commenced his ministry in that town. But the civil authority speedily interfered, in accordance with the principle afterwards established in the *Platform*, that "If any church, one or more, shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly and obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the Word; in such case, the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power, as the matter shall require."

"Notwithstanding that the church at Salem had received Mr. Williams, he was not permitted to remain in peace. 'Persecution,' says Dr. Bentely, 'instead of calm expostulation, instantly commenced, and Mr. Williams, before the close of summer, was obliged to retire to Plymouth.' That this separation from the church at Salem was not a voluntary one, on her part or on his, may be presumed, from the fact asserted by the historian of Salem, just quoted, that 'he was embraced with joy at Salem, and throughout all his life supported a high place in their affections as a truly good man.' 'He was freely entertained among us,' says Mr. Prince, 'according to our poor ability; exercised his gifts among us, and after some time was admitted a member of the church, and his teaching well approved; for the benefit whereof, I shall bless God, and am thankful to him ever for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth.'

"His return to that town, by their invitation, two years after, is a satisfactory proof that the church there felt a confidence in his piety, and an attachment to his person and ministry."

"At Plymouth, Mr. Williams was received with much respect, and became an assistant to Mr. Ralph Smith, the pastor of the church there. Governor Bradford speaks of Mr. Williams in honorable terms, and even Morton, who

was not much disposed to speak favorably of him, acknowledges that he 'was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry.'

"During Mr. Williams' residence at Plymouth, Governor Winthrop, with Mr. Wilson, of Boston, and other gentlemen, visited the town. Winthrop's account of the visit is so strongly illustrative of the manners of those times, that it may be properly inserted.

"In 1632, September 25, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and the two captains, &c., went aboard the *Lion*, and from thence Mr. Pierce carried them in his shallop to *Wessagusset*. The next morning Mr. Pierce returned to his ship, and the Governor and his company went on foot to Plymouth, and came thither within the evening. The Governor of Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford (a very discreet and grave man), with Mr. Brewer, the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's day there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams (according to their custom), propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly; then Mr. Williams prophesied; and after the Governor of Plymouth spake to the question, after him, the elder, then two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon, the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the box, and then returned."¹

These minute details of the manner of conducting public worship in these early times, I have inserted for a two-fold purpose; first, to show the friendly relations which then subsisted between the head men of the two colonies, and the man who so soon after was driven with unrelenting severity from the Massachusetts' borders; and second to show the great simplicity, and, as I consider, primitive freedom maintained in their religious assemblies; and this was, probably, a fair specimen of the custom of those days.

"Mr. Williams continued about two years at Plymouth. While there, we may easily believe, he uttered his sentiments, on those points which had occasioned his removal from Salem, as well as on other subjects, in relation to which, his opinions were at variance with those of that age. They were not acceptable to the principal personages at Plymouth, though it does not appear that any public expression of disapprobation was made by the church. His heart was evidently drawn towards Salem, and being invited to return, to assist Mr. Skelton, whose declining health unfitted him for his duties, Mr. Williams requested a dismissal from the church at Plymouth. Some of the members were unwilling to be separated from him, and accompanied him to Salem, after ineffectual efforts to detain him at Plymouth. But the ruling elder, Mr. Brewster, prevailed on the church to dismiss him and his adherents. Mr. Brewster, probably, disliked his opinions, and feared that he would be successful in diffusing them at Plymouth. He, therefore, alarmed the church, by expressing his fears, that Mr. Williams would 'run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry which Mr. John Smith, the Se-baptist, at Amsterdam, had done. Anabaptism was a spectre, which haunted the imaginations of the early settlers. The word possessed a mysterious power of inspiring terror, and creating odium. It has, perhaps, been sometimes employed to justify measures which might else have wanted the appearance of justice and humanity. It was one of those terms, which, in the language of the most original writer, perhaps, of his age—himself liable to the charge of anabaptism²—'can be made the symbol of all that is absurd and execrable, so that the very sound of it shall irritate

¹ Knowles' Memoir, pp. 51, 52.

² Rev. John Foster in his *Essay on the epithet Romantic*, as quoted by Knowles, p. 54.

the passions of the multitude, as dogs have been taught to bark, at the name of a neighboring tyrant.'

"While Mr. Williams was at Plymouth, his eldest daughter was born there, in the first week in August, 1633.¹⁰ She was named Mary, after her mother."

MR. WILLIAMS' TRIAL.

Soon after the settlement of Mr. Williams in Salem, the ruling powers commenced those legal and vexatious measures, which, in a short time, resulted in the sentence of his banishment.

It may be well here to observe that all this time this persecuted man was a regular minister in the pedobaptist connection; conformed to all the rites and forms of the denomination, and that no difference appears to have existed between him and his brethren as to faith and practice, aside from those peculiar, those sacro-secular dogmas, which had respect to the affairs of the new location.¹

And although fears were entertained that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry which John Smith, of Amsterdam, had done; and, again, in one year's time, in Salem, he had filled that place with principles of rigid separation, *tending* to anabaptism; yet up to the time of his banishment, nothing appears in Mr. Williams' movements different from other puritan reformers, who had solemnly abjured the errors and oppressions of the hierarchy of the mother country; who had resolved to take the bible for their guide in all matters of faith and practice; and who had taken a firm and uncompromising stand in favor of the new, and many alarming principles of religious freedom; and were determined to carry them out to their legitimate consequences, in opposition to all remonstrances and denunciations from their friends, and the fearful predictions of those who could foresee nothing but calamity and downfall, as the certain destiny of the infant colony.

In this age, and, indeed, in many ages before it, in the old country, anabaptistry often had as much respect to the principles of religious freedom, and to the opposition of the union of church and state, with all the dangerous and oppressive consequences of that connection, as to any disputes about the mode of baptizing, as we have shown in another part of this work.

So open and undisguised was Mr. Williams in announcing and maintaining his opinions in opposition to the favorite views of the rest of his brethren, that from his first settlement in the country he was looked upon with jealousy and dread, on account of his commanding eloquence, his dauntless zeal, and his increasing popularity among the people.

"The grand doctrine of LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE was then a portentous novelty, and it was the glory of Roger Williams, that he, in such an age, proclaimed it, defended it, suffered for it, and triumphantly established it.

"The principles of Roger Williams stood in the attitude of irreconcilable opposition to the system which the Pilgrims had established in New England. They could not blend with it. They came into collision with it, at every point. Mr. Williams was continually at variance with the government, because their measures were adjusted to their settled policy, but were repugnant to his great doctrine. There could be no peace between them, unless he yielded, or they abandoned their system. He was firm, and they were unconvinced. They possessed the power, and they banished him; not so much to punish him, as to remove from the colony a man whose doctrine they believed to be wrong, whose influence they feared, and whom they could neither intimidate, nor persuade to abandon his principles.

"The sin of the patents," to use the language of the times; or in other words, the doctrine that kings could dispose of the lands of the natives without

¹⁰ Backus, Vol. I., pp. 57, 516; Dr. Bentley, 1 Hist. Col., vi., p. 247, says, that the child was born at Salem; but Mr. Backus' statement is more probable, and he quotes the Providence Records as authority.—*Knowles*, p. 54.

¹ As yet, immersion or affusion had but little to do with their disputes.

their consent, was one of the most offensive positions maintained by Mr. Williams. On this subject he wrote a treatise, which, however, cannot now be found.²

But the most obnoxious position, and indeed the heresy of all others the most dangerous and pestilential in the estimation of the puritan fathers, was, that the magistrate had no right to punish breaches of the first table; or to vary the expression, to legislate in matters of conscience and religion.

Other complaints of minor importance were brought against him. But these two formed the substance of his indictment, and were the main points at issue before a tribunal secular in name, but in reality entirely under the influence of the ministers of religion, and swayed by the dictations of the church.

"These charges having been read, all the magistrates and ministers concurred in denouncing the opinions of Williams as erroneous and dangerous, and agreed that the calling him to office at that time, was a great contempt of authority. He and the church of Salem, were allowed until the next General Court, to consider of these charges, and then, either to give satisfaction to the court, or else to expect sentence.

"Much warmth of feeling was exhibited in the discussion of these charges; and in the course of the debate, it seems the ministers were required to give their opinions severally. All agreed that he who asserted that the civil magistrate ought not to interfere in case of heresy, apostacy, &c., ought to be removed; and that other churches ought to request the magistrate to remove him. Nothing will give a better idea of the state of feeling on this occasion, than the fact, that when the town of Salem, at this time, petitioned, claiming some land in Marblehead, as belonging to the town, the petition was refused a hearing, on the ground that the church of Salem had chosen Mr. Williams her teacher, and by such choice had offered contempt to the magistrates.

"The attendance of all the ministers of the Bay, at the next General Court, was requested. This was held in the month of November, 1636. Before this venerable congregation of all the dignitaries of the church, Williams appeared and defended his opinions. His defense, it seems, was not satisfactory. They offered him further time for conference or disputation. This he declined, and chose to dispute presently. Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him. But Mr. Hooker's logic, seconded as it was by the whole civil and ecclesiastical power of Massachusetts, could not force him to recognize the right of the civil magistrate to punish heresy, or to admit that the king's patent could of itself give a just title to the lands of the Indians. The consequence was, that on the following morning, he was sentenced to depart, within six weeks, out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

"Such were the causes of Mr. Williams' banishment, and such the circumstances under which the decree was passed. He was a man who fearlessly asserted his principles, and practised upon them to the fullest extent. Persecution could not drive him to a renunciation of his opinions.

"Subsequently to his banishment, he was permitted to remain until spring, on condition that he did not attempt to draw others to his opinions." But the friends of Williams could not consent to see their favorite pastor leave them, without frequently visiting him while they had an opportunity. In these interviews, the plan of establishing a colony in the Narraganset country, where the principles of Religious Freedom (the assertion of which had been the chief

² At this late period I am not disposed to enter into an investigation of this subject, which then had important bearings on many interests besides the Indians, as we shall see in the affairs of Mr. Williams in his exile.

Mr. Williams' policy on this point was steadily advocated from the beginning—with most others it was an afterthought, after the ignorant aborigines had parted with their extensive domains for the merest trifles; purchases were made with the toys and trinkets which children had thrown away; a mile square was often purchased for a blanket or a knife, and this was considered a fair business transaction. Williams and Penn pursued an honest and manly course in all their dealings with the natives, which cannot be said of many others who acquired possession of their territory.

cause of his banishment) should be carried into effect, was discussed and matured. It is also highly probable, that he did not fail to do what he conceived to be the duty of a faithful pastor in other respects. At length the rumor of these meetings reached the ears of the civil authorities; and, in January, 1635, (O. S.), "The Governor and assistants," says Winthrop, "met in Boston, to consider about Mr. Williams; for they were credibly informed, that he, notwithstanding the injunction laid upon him (upon liberty granted him to stay until spring) not to go about to draw others to his opinions, did use to entertain company in his house, and to preach to them, even of such points as he had been sentenced for; and it was agreed to send him into England by a ship then ready to depart. The reason was he had drawn about twenty persons to his opinions, and they were intending to erect a plantation about the Narraganset bay, from whence the infection would easily spread into these churches, the people being many of them much taken with an apprehension of his godliness. Whereupon a warrant was sent to him to come presently to Boston to be shipped, &c. He returned for answer (and divers of Salem came with it) that he could not without hazard of his life, &c. Whereupon a pinnace was sent, with commission to Captain Underhill, &c., to apprehend him, and carry him on board the ship which then rode at Nantascutt. But when they came to his house, they found he had been gone three days, but whither they could not learn.

"It thus appears that the object of the government, in directing his immediate apprehension at the time, was to prevent the establishment of a colony in which the civil authority should not be permitted to interfere with the religious opinions of the citizens."

"Williams was in the thirty-seventh or thirty-eighth year of his age, at the time of his banishment. He fled to a wilderness inhabited only by savages. The two principal tribes—the Narraganset and Wampanoags—had but a short time before he entered their country, been engaged in open hostilities. The government of Plymouth had on one occasion, extended its aid to its early friend and ally, Massasoit, chief sachem of the Wampanoags. This interference had smothered, but not extinguished the flame. With these warring tribes, one of which (the Narragansets) was a very martial and numerous people, and exceedingly jealous of the whites, Williams was under the necessity of establishing relations of amity. He himself says that he was forced to travel between their sachems, to satisfy them, and all their dependent spirits, of his honest intentions to live peaceably by them. He acted the part of a peace-maker amongst them, and eventually won, even for the benefit of his persecutors, the confidence of the Narragansets. It was through his influence, that all the Indians in the vicinity of Narraganset bay, were, shortly after his settlement at Mooshusick, united; and their whole force, under the direction of the very men who had driven him into the wilderness, brought to co-operate with the Massachusetts forces against the Pequots. See Winthrop's Journal, and a Sketch of the Life of Roger Williams appended to the first volume of the Rhode Island Historical Collections, for the above extracts.³

CIRCUMSTANCES ATTENDING THE BANISHMENT.

For the sake of distant readers, who are not familiar with the geography of the country, I shall here give a brief description of the various localities referred to in these details. Salem lies 13 miles north-easterly from Boston, and about 50 miles from Seekonk or Rehoboth, to which he at first repaired. His course was a south-westerly one. The distance, by railroad speed, is now traveled in about three hours. But by bridges, and various improvements, the distance is much shorter now than at the time when travelers had to go round by the head of the wide rivers, bays, and inlets, which were then all in a state of nature. And a further sweep than usual, was no doubt taken by Mr. Williams, to avoid dis-

³ Durfee's poem, "What Cheer?" pp. 166-171.

covery by his Boston opponents, whose watchful vigilance and exasperated feelings made them the objects of terror and alarm.

Plymouth is about 50 miles at the south of Boston, and about the same distance from Seekonk. The lines from each place form a triangle whose sides are nearly equal.

Of this eventful journey scarcely any details are given. It is a singular fact, and much to be regretted, that among all the writings of Mr. Williams so little has been said of the incidents of this perilous adventure, this devious travel by day, and lonely encampments by night, amidst savage men and beasts of prey.

All that can be gathered from his pen is contained in the following extract from a letter to Major Mason, of Conn., in 1670.

"*First*, When I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house, and land, and wife, and children, (in the midst of a New-England winter, now about thirty-five years past,) at Salem, that ever-honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote to me, to steer my course to the Narraganset Bay and Indians; for many high, and heavenly, and public ends, encouraged me, from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a hint, and voice from God; and waving all other thoughts and motions, I steered my course from Salem, (though in winter snow, which I feel yet,) unto these parts, wherein I may say *Peniel*, that is, I have seen the face of God.

"*Second*. I first pitched, and begun to build and plant at Seekonk, now Rehoboth, but I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, then Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay, to remove but to the other side of the water, and then, he said, I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together."

Judge Durfee, in his poem of "What cheer?" of which our exile is the hero, with the aid of poetic license, has extended the description in the following familiar manner.

"Morn came at last, and by the dawning gray,
Our founder rose, his secret flight to take;
His wife and infant still in slumber lay.

"Mary! (she woke,) prepare my traveling gear,
My pocket compass, and my raiment strong,
My flint and steel, to yield the needful fire—
Food for a week, if that be not too long;
My hatchet too—its service I require,
To clip my fuel desert wilds among;
With these I go to found in forests' drear,
A State where none shall persecution fear.
What! goest thou Roger in this chilling storm?
Wait! wait at least until its rage is o'er—
Its wrath will bar e'en persecution's arm
From thee and me, until it fails to roar."

But the prospect of transportation, as a felon, to his native land, was more terrible than all the perils of his lonely way.

"So forth he ventured"—

Leaving all endearments behind.

"In boundless forests now our founder trod,
And south-west far his doubtful course he took:"

His first night encampment, amidst the howling monsters of the wood, is thus described.

"Growling they come, and in dark groups they stand,
Show the white fang, and roll the bright'ning eye;
Till urged by hunger seemed the shaggy band,
Even the flame's bright terrors to defy—
Then 'mid the group he hurled the blazing brand;
Swift they disperse and raise the scattered cry;
But rallying, soon back to the siege they came,
And scarce their rage paused at the mounting flame."

In this situation Waban, a friendly Indian, whose lodge was near, attracted by his peril and the light of his fire, came to his assistance, and continued his friendly aid until his final settlement in Providence.

By this nimble-footed red man, he dispatched a hasty scroll to his wife, written on the inner bark of the pine, to allay her fears as to the danger of his exile.

Although some of his friends soon gathered around him after his settlement, yet there is no intimation that any of them were with him in his early movements.

The fourteen weeks which he spent in traversing the country, were employed in going to and fro among the Indian nations, in his visits to the different chiefs, and in adjusting matters for his final settlement.

All this time he was dependant on the natives for food and friendship; he lodged in "their filthy and smoky holes, and was sustained by their rude and peculiar fare; and could truly say that he "did not know what bed or bread did mean."

Under a mistaken apprehension as to the bounds of the Plymouth patent, his first location was on the wrong side of the river, on Seekonk plain, or prairie, as it would be called at the west, being an open field, about four miles in length, and two in width. Although the soil is generally much wanting in fertility, yet the ease of cultivation probably induced him to make this selection.

Here he began to build and plant, and had the prospect, in some small degree, of the comforts of life in his exile. To his humble dwelling, also, his family had been removed, and all was full of promise for the future, when, all at once, new and unexpected trials burst upon his view.

In the course of the day one of the elders⁶ of the Plymouth church, as a messenger from the ruling powers, came to him with the sad intelligence that all his labors were lost, that his Indian title was of no avail, but that all must be abandoned as a peace-offering to the persevering malignity of the rulers of the Bay. On this occasion, according to the poem just quoted from, the following dialogue ensued:—

Williams. "Just is my title here—the lands I took
Are part of Massasoit's wide domain,
And fairly purchased—mine they dearly are—
Make this to Plymouth known, and Plymouth must forbear."

Elder. "And didst thou think," the Elder cried, "to win
Of Pagan chief a title here secure?"

Williams. "God made that Pagan, and to him he gave,
Breath of this air, drink from yon crystal tide,
Food from these forest lawns and yonder wave;
Yea, He ordained this region, far and wide,
To be his home in life—in death his grave—
Is thy claim better? Canst thou trace thy right
From one superior, to the God of Might?"

Elder. "As to our title, then, we trace it thus:
God gave James Stewart this, and James gave us."

Williams. "God gave James Stewart this? I marvel when!
Fain would I see the deed Omnipotence wrote."

These quotations give us an intelligent view of the reasonings of the times on this abstract and interesting subject.

But the elder's exposition of the favorite doctrine of the superior power of the king over the original owners of the soil, and also,

"That saints alone are for dominion fit,"

were too powerful for the lonely exile; and soon he prepared for his removal

⁶ Elder is here used, not as with us, but in the presbyterian sense of the term.

beyond the claims of court or king, leaving his new-made house and growing crops all behind.

In a canoe, with five others, viz. : William Harris, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thos. Angell, and Francis Weeks, he proceeded down the stream. "As they approached the little cove near Tockwotton, now India Point, they were saluted by a company of Indians with the friendly interrogation, *What cheer?* a common English phrase, which they had learned from the colonists.⁶ At this spot they probably went on shore, but they did not long remain there.⁷ They passed around India Point and Fox Point, and proceeded up the river on the west side of the peninsula, to a spot near the mouth of the Moshassuck river. Tradition reports that Mr. Williams landed near a spring, which remains till this day.⁸ At this spot the settlement of Roger Williams commenced.

"O, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod;
They have left unstained, what there they found,
FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD."⁹

"To the town here founded, Mr. Williams, with his habitual piety, and in grateful remembrance of 'God's merciful providence to him in his distress,' gave the name of PROVIDENCE.

"There has been much discussion respecting the precise period at which this memorable event occurred. There is a perplexing confusion in the statements of different writers. We shall be excused if we examine the subject with some minuteness. Callender, in his Century Sermon (p. 18), says that it was in the spring of the year 1634-5. Governor Hopkins, in his History of Providence,¹⁰ places it 'some time in the year 1634.' Hutchinson (Vol. I., p. 41) assigns the same year. Later writers have naturally been led into the same mistake. Backus, (Vol. I., p. 70) states that in January, 1636, Mr. Williams left Massachusetts, which is the right date, according to the modern mode of computing time, though, by the style which then prevailed, it was 1635.

"But the period of his banishment is fixed decisively by the records of Massachusetts, and by Winthrop's Journal. His sentence of banishment was passed November 3, 1635. In January following, according to Winthrop, (vol. I., p. 175.) the court resolved to send him to England, and the messengers found that he had departed from Salem, three days before their arrival.

"In his letter to Major Mason, Mr. Williams says, 'The next year after my banishment the Lord drew the bow of the Pequod war against the country.' This war commenced in July, 1636, with the murder of Oldham. This fact corroborates the preceding statement. The time of his leaving Seekonk, for Providence, cannot be accurately determined, but we may approach very near the true date.

"Governor Winslow, of Plymouth, who advised him to leave Seekonk, entered on his official duties in March, 1635-6. This was the only year he held the office of Governor between 1633 and 1644. Mr. Williams must, therefore, have been at Seekonk subsequently to the date of Governor Winslow's accession to office.

"In Mr. Williams' letter to Major Mason, he says, that he began to build and plant at Seekonk." He did not begin to plant, we may presume, till the middle of April, if so early. In the same letter, he speaks of his removal as occasioning his "loss of a harvest that year," from which remark, we may reasonably infer, that the corn had attained a considerable growth

⁶ Equivalent to the modern *How do you do?*—*Knovles*, p. 102.

⁷ The land adjacent to this spot was called *What Cheer*, in memory of the occurrence.

⁸ Tradition has uniformly stated the place where they landed to be at the spring southwest of the episcopal church, at which a house has recently been built by Mr. Nehemiah Dodge.—*Mosses Brown*.

⁹ Mrs. Heman's noble ode, "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers." This beautiful stanza applies with more literal truth to R. Williams and his companions than to all the P. Fathers.—*Knovles*.

¹⁰ Published in the Providence Gazette, from January to March, 1765, and re-published in the 2 Mass. Hist. Col. ix.

before he left Seekonk, and consequently that he did not cross the river till the middle, perhaps, of June.

“ On the 26th of July, a letter was received from Mr. Williams by Governor Vane, informing him of the murder of Mr. Oldham, by the Indians of Block Island. This letter was written at Providence, and it proves that Mr. Williams had removed thither previously to the 26th of July.

“ We may safely conclude that he left Seekonk not far from the middle of June, 1636. The exact day will never, it is probable, be ascertained.

“ There is one circumstance which, perhaps, misled Mr. Callender and Governor Hopkins respecting the year of Mr. Williams' arrival. In a deed signed by himself and wife, and dated December 20, 1661, he used these words:— ‘ Having, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, and in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-five, had several treaties with Canonicus and Miantinomo, the two chief sachems of the Narragansets, and in the end purchased of them the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Moshassuck and Wanasketucket, the two sachems having, by a deed under their hands, two years after the sale thereof, established and confirmed the bounds of these lands.’

“ The statement that he had held several treaties with the Narraganset sachems, in 1634 and 1635, presents some difficulty. But we have already seen, that while at Plymouth and at Salem, he held some intercourse with these chiefs. In a manuscript letter, already quoted, he says :

“ I spared no cost towards them, and in gifts to Ousamequin and all his, and to Canonicus and all his, tokens and presents, many years before I came in person to the Narraganset; and therefore, when I came, I was welcome to Ousamequin, and to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English to his last breath.”

It is probable, therefore, that the “ treaties ” which he mentions, as having been held in 1634 and 1635, were propositions concerning lands, made by him, perhaps, to the chiefs, through Indians, whom he saw at Boston, or Salem, and by whom he was in the habit of sending to them presents. We have already intimated a conjecture, that for sometime before his banishment, he had entertained the thought of a settlement in the Indian country. If so, it was natural for him to enter into negotiations for lands. “ But these propositions, whatever they were, were not concluded in the years which he mentions. He says, that ‘ *in the end,* ’ he purchased the lands at Providence, and that the deed was dated two years after the purchase. We accordingly find that the deed was dated ‘ at Narraganset, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, in the second year of the plantation, or planting at Moshassuck, or Providence.’ The year is not mentioned in the instrument, but it is known to have been 1637–8. This deed corresponds with Mr. Williams' statement, and refers to the year 1636 as the time of his actual purchase and also as that of his arrival.”

“ We will add another fact, to strengthen a position, which has, perhaps, been sufficiently established. A parchment deed, now in the possession of Moses Brown, is dated the ‘ 14th day of the second month, in the 5th year of our situation, or plantation, at Moshassuck, or Providence, and in the 17th year of King Charles, &c., 1641.’ This deed also points to the year 1636, as the date of the first settlement of Providence.

“ In June of this year, the settlement of Hartford (Conn.), was begun. Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone, who had been settled at Newtown (now Cambridge), removed with their whole church, and founded the city of Hartford. A fort had been built the preceding year at Saybrook, at the mouth of the river Connecticut, and small settlements had been commenced at Weathersfield and Windsor.”¹

MR. WILLIAMS' SETTLEMENT AT PROVIDENCE.

We have thus traced the progress of the founder of this State, to his fixed

¹ Knowles' Roger Williams, pp. 102–106.

and permanent abode, where he afterwards lived upwards of forty years, and where he died, in a good old age.

And it is plain to be seen, the farther we are removed from the time of his labors, the more prevailing is the disposition of all who are not bound in the chains of ecclesiastical despotism to favor and adopt the principle of religious freedom, which, with such heroic fortitude and untiring assiduity, he labored to establish and promote.

And although opposition to his favorite views knew no bounds, yet his moral conduct was above reproach, and his private character was always respected and revered.

In his new location he found that favor among the savages, which christians had denied him. Many of his friends and adherents soon repaired to his new habitation. All accounts agree that Mr. Williams had paid much attention to the Indian language while at Plymouth and Salem, some years before his banishment; this was done for purposes of benevolence merely, as his mind was much absorbed in plans for the spiritual good of the natives, and in this way a foundation was laid beforehand—the elements of the barbarous dialects had been acquired, and now his daily intercourse, the best of all ways to gain facility in speaking a foreign tongue, enabled him to progress in a rapid manner.

The great advantage of this knowledge of their language is often referred to by Mr. Williams. In all the business of treaties and trade, he could manage without an interpreter. And then again, the shy and ignorant princes with whom he had to deal, at once felt a confidence and friendship for a man who could thus address them, and it is not, probably, too much to say that no settler among them on any part of our continent, not excepting the amiable and friendly Penn, had a more commanding influence over the savage tribes, than Roger Williams. This influence assisted him to soothe the irritated chiefs, and break up their confederacies against the English. And the first act of this kind was performed in favor of the colony from which he had been so cruelly banished.

Our first impressions would lead us to suppose that the powerful sachems, the lords of the soil, of whom his first purchases were made, were found upon the spot. But this is not the case. The residence of Miantinomy, the monarch of the Narragansets, is said by Gookin, to have been the island of Canonicut, and the territory now ceded to Mr. Williams was remote from his dwelling about 30 miles.

“The first deed which he obtained of his lands, or at least the first which is now extant, bears date the same day with that of Aquidneck, and was given two years after his settlement at Providence. It runs in the following style:—

“At Nanhiggansick (Narraganset),² the 24th of the month, commonly called March, in the second year of our plantation, or planting at Mooshausick, (Moshassuck), or Providence. Memorandum: That we, Caunannicus, (Canonicus) and Miantinomu, (Miantonomo) the two chief Sachems of Narraganset, having two years since, sold unto Roger Williams, the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Moshussuck and Wanaskatucket, do now, by these presents, establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the river and fields of Pawtucket, the great hill Neoterconkenitt,³ (Notaquoncanot) on the north-west, and the town of Mashapaug:⁴ on the west. As also, in consideration of the many kindnesses and

² Under the general name of Narraganset was included Narraganset proper, and Coweset. Narraganset proper extends south, from what is called Warwick, to the ocean; Coweset, from Narraganset northerly to the Nipinuck country, which now forms Oxford (Mass.), and some other adjoining towns. The western boundaries of Narraganset and Coweset cannot be definitely ascertained. Gookin says, the Narraganset jurisdiction extended thirty or forty miles from Seekonk River and Narraganset Bay, including the islands, south-westerly, to a place called Wekapage, four or five miles to the eastward of Paucatuck River. That it included a part of Long Island, Block Island, Coweset, and Neantick, and received tribute from some of the Nipinucks. After some research, I am induced to believe that the Neanticks occupied the territory now called Westerly. If so, then the jurisdiction of the Narragansets extended to the Pawcatuck, and perhaps beyond it.—*What Cheer, Notes*, pp. 176, 177.

³ This great hill, then called Neoterconkenitt, is three miles west of Weybosset Bridge, which is in the centre of the city.

⁴ This Indian town was two miles south of the great hill.

services he hath continually done for us, both for our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Quininkticutt, (Connecticut) and Apaun, or Plymouth; we do freely give unto him all that land, from those rivers, reaching to Pautuxett river; as also the grass and meadows upon Pautuxett river; in witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in the presence of,

The mark of † SEATAGH,
The mark of * ASSOTEMEWETT,

The mark of ‡ CAUNANNICUS,
The mark of † MIAINTINOMU.

"1639, Memorandum, 3d month, 9th day, this was all again confirmed by Miantinomu; he acknowledged this his act and hand; up the stream of Pautuckett and Pautuxett without limits we might have for our use of cattle; witness hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS,
BENEDICT ARNOLD." 5

This deed must have comprehended all the county of Providence, or the north part of the State, and most of the county of Kent.

A few months after this purchase was made, Mr. Williams admitted as his associates the persons afterwards named by the following instrument:

"Providence, 8th of the 8th month, 1638, (so called,) Memorandum: That I, Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Caunannicus and Miantinomu, this our situation or plantation of New-Providence, &c., the two fresh rivers of Wanasquatuckett and Mooshausick, and the ground and meadows thereupon; in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do freely and fully pass, grant, and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds and lands unto my loving friends and neighbours, Stukely Westcoat, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman, and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us: As also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pautuxett, with the grass and meadows thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me; witness my hand,

ROGER WILLIAMS."

The next who were admitted into this company, were Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, brother to Roger, Richard Scott, William Reynolds, John Field, John Warner, Thomas Angell, Benedict Arnold, Joshua Winsor, Thomas Hopkins, Francis Weeks, &c. 6

The following passage explains, in a very pleasing manner, Mr. Williams' design in these transactions:

"Notwithstanding I had the frequent promise of Miantinomu, my kind friend, that it should not be land that I should want about those bounds mentioned, provided that I satisfied the Indians there inhabiting, I having made covenant of peaceable neighbourhood with all the sachems and natives round about us, and having, in a sense of God's *merciful providence unto me in my distress*, called the place PROVIDENCE, I desired it might be for a *shelter for persons distressed for conscience; I then considering the condition of divers of my countrymen*, I communicated my said purchase unto my loving friends, John Throckmorton, and others, who then desired to take shelter here with me. And whereas by God's merciful assistance I was the procurer of the purchase, not by monies nor payment, the natives being so shy and jealous that monies could not do it, but by that language, acquaintance and favour with the natives, and other advantages which it pleased God to give me; and also bore the charges and venture of all the gratuities which I gave to the great sachems, and other sachems and natives round about us, and lay engaged for a loving and peaceable neighbourhood with them, to my great charge and travel; it was therefore thought fit that I should receive some consideration and gratuity." Thus, after mentioning the said thirty pounds, and saying, "this sum I received; and in love to my friends, and with *respect to a town and place of succour for the distressed as aforesaid*, I do acknowledge this said sum and payment a full satisfaction."

He went on in full and strong terms to confirm these lands to said inhabitants,

5 The Mooshausick River empties into Providence Cove from the north, a little below the mill bridge; the Wanasquatuckett is that which runs through Olneyville, a suburb of Providence. The Pawtucket river rises in, or near Rutland, in Worcester County, Mass., and empties into the Narraganset Bay at India Point, Providence. The Pawtuxet rises near the borders of Connecticut, and falls into the bay, five miles below Providence.

6 "Of these I find Williams (brother to Mr. Roger) among the Massachusetts freemen, but no more of their names upon those records. Perhaps most of them might have newly arrived; for Governor Winthrop assures us that no less than three thousand arrived this year in twenty ships; and Mr. Hubbard tell us, that those who inclined to the baptists' principles went to Providence; others went to Newport. Seven of the first twelve, with Angell, I suppose began the settlement with Mr. Williams, in 1636."—*Backus*.

reserving no more to himself and his heirs, than an equal share with the rest ; his wife also signing the deed.⁷

These details have extended over so much space, that we shall be able to do no more in the history of these early times and this distinguished man, than to give something of a chronological list of the most important events which transpired during Mr. Williams' life, and a brief exposition of his all-important doctrine of liberty of conscience.

MR. WILLIAMS' FIRST VISIT TO ENGLAND.

Sometime during the summer of 1643, Mr. Williams embarked at New York for his native land. A Dutch ship furnished him with a conveyance, which his own countrymen had denied him. Of the length and incidents of the voyage, we know nothing. The vessel, we may be sure, did not afford the sumptuous accommodations, nor pursue her course over the Atlantic with the celerity, of the steam packet-ships of the present day.

Whilst on this voyage, that no time might be lost for laying posterity under obligation to him, he wrote the *Key to the Indian Languages*; this, together with his *Bloody Tenent*, were published on his arrival in England. Here, as agent for the colonies of Providence, Rhode Island, and Warwick, he obtained a charter of incorporation, signed by the Earl of Warwick, then Governor and Admiral of the English Plantations, and by his council. This instrument was dated March 14, 1643-4. It was obtained by the aid of Sir Henry Vane, at whose country seat Mr. Williams resided for a part of the time, at least, while he was in England.

Mr. Williams returned to America in the autumn of 1644; he landed at Boston, Sept. 17. He was emboldened to venture on this forbidden ground, by a friendly letter from several noblemen, and other members of Parliament, addressed to the magistrates of Massachusetts.

This letter procured for Mr. Williams permission to proceed unmolested to Providence, but it produced no relaxation of the policy of Massachusetts towards him.

"*Mr. Williams' return to Providence*, was greeted by a voluntary expression of the attachment and gratitude of its inhabitants, which is one of the most satisfactory testimonies to his character. They met him at Seekonk, with fourteen canoes, and carried him across the river to Providence. This simple act of respect, must have been highly grateful to his feelings. It does equal honor to him, and to his fellow citizens, who thus showed themselves capable of estimating, in a manner worthy of freemen, the services of a friend and public benefactor."⁸

"Soon after this event, Mr. Williams had another opportunity to interpose his beneficent agency in favor of the colonists." And by his own account, which is corroborated by other testimony, he had a principal hand in breaking up the war between the Narragansets and Mohegans, which had actually commenced, and bore a most alarming aspect to all the infant settlements. This war arose out of the melancholy death of Miantonomu, the favorite chief of the powerful Narragansets.

MR. WILLIAMS' SECOND VISIT TO ENGLAND.

In 1651, serious difficulties having been raised in the colony, by Coddington's procuring a charter which gave him almost unlimited authority over the islands of Narraganset Bay, Williams and Clarke were dispatched as agents of the colony to procure a revocation of it. This they effected, in October, 1652. Williams returned in 1654, but Clarke remained in England, and procured the second charter of 1663. While in England at this time, Williams resided a principal part of the time at Belleau, a seat of Sir Henry Vane, in Lincolnshire: and on his return, brought a letter from him, recorded in the records of

⁷ Backus, Vol. I., p. 94.

⁸ Knowles, p. 202.

Providence, inviting the planters to a closer union with one another. This letter, aided by the urgent and constant solicitations of Williams, finally restored peace and union to the colony, which, during his absence, had been rent by many divisions. He was several times, both before and after this period, elected to the office of President or Governor of this colony, by the "free vote of the freemen."⁹

The following extracts from Rev. Mr. Hague's Historical Discourse, supply a pleasing and correct summary of the character and closing labors of this interesting man.

"The character of Roger Williams is an interesting subject of study. The more we contemplate it, the more shall we be struck with the rare combination of virtues which formed it; the more shall we admire the strength of his mind and the enlargedness of his heart, the warm attachments which he felt for his own opinions, connected with a deep respect for the right of private judgment in others; the zeal with which he maintained his own mental independence, and his "Godly jealousy" for that of his neighbor; the frankness with which he avowed his sentiments, and the heroic fortitude with which he defended them; the clearness with which he saw the bearings of a principle, and the unflinching fidelity with which he carried it out to its just conclusion."¹⁰

"It is remarkable, that notwithstanding all the hardships which Mr. Williams endured, he should have lived more than half a century after his arrival in this country, and enjoyed a vigorous old age. Vigorous indeed it was, for it would seem that after he had completed threescore years and ten, his physical force had not abated, and his mind glowed with all the ardor of his youth. What an extraordinary object is presented to our attention, when we contemplate him at the age of seventy-three, embarking in a small boat, and plying the oar through that day and until the ensuing midnight, in order to reach Newport at the appointed time, to engage in a public discussion with George Fox, on those points of theology wherein they differed.

When near fourscore, we find that he was engaged in preaching to the Indians, and afterwards, amid great debility, he was employed by his fireside, writing out those discourses for circulation among them. He thus filled thirty sheets of manuscript, and then asked aid of his friends in Boston, to enable him to publish them, saying, 'He that hath a shilling and a heart to countenance and promote such a soul-work, may trust the great paymaster for an hundred or one in this life.' Although he had opportunities of accumulating wealth, yet his sacrifices for the good of the colony were immense, and from the fact just mentioned, it seems that he died in a condition of honorable poverty. We are struck, in this case, with a view of the benevolence of his heart, and his untiring industry, which indeed can be no better proved than by the fact, that while in London, as agent of the colony, he earned his own support by teaching languages; contrived, when their funds failed, to pay their debts and maintain their credit; and at the same time living in friendly intercourse with Milton,¹ pursued with him a course of mutual instruction, in the knowledge of various tongues. Constantly employed in some pursuit of literature, or work of faith, or labor of love, he closed his earthly pilgrimage early in 1683, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and was interred in his own family burial-ground, "with all the solemnity which the colony was able to show."²

Mr. Williams was the father of six children, viz., Mary, Freeborn, Providence, Mercy, Daniel, and Joseph; the descendants from whom at this time, amount to many thousands.

The account of his baptism and the formation of the first church at Providence, will be given under the proper head.

⁹ Key, &c., p. 1.

¹⁰ Hague's Hist. Discourse, p. 87.

¹ In a letter from Mr. Williams to Mr. John Winthrop, soon after his second return from England, he gives an interesting account of his intimacy with this famous statesman and poet, who was then high in favor with the powerful protector, and of their learned pursuits together.

From this letter, it appears "that Mr. Williams was sufficiently versed in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, and French languages, to teach them."

² Callender, Elton's ed., p. 147. Knowles' Life, &c., p. 265.

R. WILLIAMS' ADDRESS TO THE TOWN OF PROVIDENCE. 441

As Mr. Williams' favorite doctrine of religious freedom was much misrepresented in his day, and he was accused of carrying it so far as to neutralize all the functions of civil government, and exempt from punishment criminal offenders who set up a false plea of conscientious impulses, or scruples, for their wayward actions, we will here insert his own exposition of this important subject. It is contained in an Address to the

TOWN OF PROVIDENCE, IN 1654.

"That ever I should speak or write a title that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and wo is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or an human combination, or society. It has fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked into one ship. Upon which supposal, I do affirm that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews or Turks, be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship; nor, secondly, compelled from their own particular prayers, or worship, if they practise any. I further add, that I never denied, that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also to command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help in person or purse, toward the common charges or defense; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny, and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write that there ought to be no commanders nor officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers; no laws nor orders; no corrections nor punishments—I say, I never denied but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This, if seriously and honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes. I remain studious of our common peace and liberty."³

ROGER WILLIAMS."

RECAPITULATION OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

He was born in Wales, in 1598, and was educated at Oxford University, England, under the patronage of Sir Edward Coke, and is supposed to have been a relative of Oliver Cromwell.⁴

He landed in America in Feb. 5, 1630-1, and was soon after called to the office of teacher, in Salem, Mass., in connection with Rev. Mr. Skelton.

On account of the opposition from the court in Boston, he soon removed to Plymouth, in the same State.

Two years after, he came back to Salem, in 1634.

He was banished from Mass. in Jan., 1635.

He settled at Providence in 1636.

In 1636, the same year of his banishment, by his interest with the Narragansets, he broke up the grand confederacy, or league between that powerful nation, the Pequods, &c., against the English, and so became the saviour of all the infant colonies.

In 1639, he was baptized by Ezekiel Holliman, a layman who was appointed

³ This clear description of the difference between civil and ecclesiastical affairs, and of the difference betwixt good government on the one hand, and tyranny or licentiousness on the other, confirmed by a correspondent practice through fifty years of incessant labors, are more than a sufficient balance to all the slanders that various parties have cast upon this ancient witness and advocate for the rights and liberties of men against the superstitions and enthusiasms of his day.—*Backus*, Vol. I., p. 293.

⁴ The place of his birth could never be ascertained. Mr. Jones, of New-York, a zealous Welshman, has men now in his employ in his mother country, examining parish records with reference to this subject. But the Welsh travel backward and forward so much—David Jenkins and Jenkins David, and so of all the rest—that it is exceedingly difficult to make much progress in these inquiries. I have looked over Mr. Jones' volumes of Welsh Heraldry and Genealogy, and the more I study them the more am I confused.

As to Cromwell, it is certain he was of Welsh descent, and that some of his ancestors were named Williams. But soon we are lost amongst other names.

And so of Williams' ancestors—they might have been Rogers, or Evens, Jones, &c.

by the little company for the purpose. Then he baptized the rest of the company, and thus laid the foundation for the first baptist church in Providence, and on the American Continent.

His first visit to England, to obtain the first charter for his infant colony, was in 1643.

He returned, and landed in Boston, in 1644.

In 1645, he was instrumental in breaking up an alarming war between the Narragansets and Mohegans. The principal causes of his commanding influence over the natives, was his ability to converse with them in their own language, and his uniform kindness and justice towards them.

His second visit to England, was in 1651, in company with John Clarke, of Newport. He returned in 1654, leaving Mr. Clarke behind, who obtained the second charter, under Charles II., which was the foundation of the Rhode Island government, until a few years past.

He was President or Governor of Rhode Island from 1654 to 1657.

The principal sachems or chiefs, with whom Mr. Williams had to deal in all his first operations, were, Ousamequin, sometimes called Massasoit, who was the father of the famous warrior King Philip; he resided at Mt. Hope,⁶ near the present town of Bristol, R. I., and claimed all the territory on the eastern side of the Narraganset Bay. The Womponoags were his subjects. This country was in the territory then claimed by the Plymouth colony.

On the Rhode Island side, the two principal chiefs, to whom a large number of smaller ones were tributary, were Canonicus and Miantinomy, uncle and nephew. Their residence was on the island of Conanicut, down the Narraganset Bay, about 30 miles from Williams' first settlement.

Canonicus was an old man when Williams first came to his dominions, and the cares of his government devolved mostly on his nephew, who acted as his prime minister and assistant; and probably the Narraganset dynasty was the most powerful one in the country, and could of itself easily have crushed at once all the colonies of the pale-faced strangers.

With all these chiefs Mr. Williams was well acquainted both at Plymouth and Salem, and they by turns had visited each other. The royal red men had experienced his hospitality and inviting gratuities, and he on his part had traveled among them, and had lodged in their smoky dwellings, for the sake of "diving into their language," to use an expression of his own, for the sake of their future good.

They knew him as a public teacher before his banishment, "and therefore with them he was held as a sachem."

Again, Mr. Williams says, "I had the favor and countenance of that noble soul, Mr. Winthrop, whom all Indians respected." This candid statement reflects the highest honor on the character of the illustrious ruler of the infant colony of the Bay, and affords a striking proof of the magnanimity of the injured exile.

The famous letter to Major Mason, of Conn., the hero of the Pequod war, was written in 1670. In this letter is contained a number of interesting facts as to his own early history, nowhere else to be found; and had this kind of autobiography been continued, we should not have had to depend so much on the garbled and distorted statements of opponents, or the kind conjectures of friends, for the opinions and actions of this bold and successful Reformer.

Amidst abundant means of acquiring wealth, Mr. Williams, in the end, was poor.

A large portion of the upper end of the State at first stood in his name; he had a store and large trading operations in the Narraganset country, where,

⁶ Since the above was written, General Fessenden, of Warren, R. I., whose researches into all old matters of this kind are very laborious and extensive, has shown me a paper in which he maintains that the seat of Massasoit was at the lower end of the town of Warren, a few miles to the north of Mount Hope, and that here he dwelt when visited by Mr. Winlow, from Plymouth.

His arguments, which are very plausible, are worthy the attention of all antiquarian inquirers.

by the Indian wars and the non-intercourse acts of the Boston people, he suffered the loss of many thousand pounds, as he declares in his letter to Major Mason; and through life he was a man of great frugality and good calculations; yet, such was his generosity to all new comers, who were distressed "for conscience sake," so much was he devoted to the public service at home and abroad, and so costly were his Indian gifts, and so much did he expend in the business of treaties, negotiations, and daily intercourse with the natives, that he never arose above the level of mediocrity in his worldly affairs, and in honorable poverty, like many others philosophers and reformers, he closed his earthly career.

Causes of his withdrawing from the infant church he had formed, and his peculiar sentiments in after life.

The more I study on this subject, the more I am unsettled and confused. As to his retiring soon from the pastoral office, there can be no dispute, but whether this was on account of the burden of public duties, or from embarrassments in his feelings, is a point by no means clear.*

It is a singular fact, that in all his writings which have survived the waste of time, controversial or epistolary, no reference is made to this subject.

Through all his life he showed no signs of heresy or schism, but always appears the same orthodox and pious man, and this character has been universally ascribed to him by all candid writers who have made mention of his name.

It has been said that he joined with the Seekers—became dissatisfied with all church organizations—with his lay-baptism, &c.—and waited for the revival of a new and apostolical order of things.

This whole subject is canvassed with much caution and candor in Mr. Knowles' life, &c., of R. Williams.

Versatility of character and fondness of novelty has been ascribed to Mr. Williams, not only by his opponents, but by some of his friends.

But this insinuation is disproved by the whole tenor of his life, on all primordial principles, and especially the all absorbing theme of liberty of conscience. This was a point which he stood to with such unbending firmness and uncompromising tenacity, as to acquire the name of being "conscientiously contentious," by a modern declaimer against him.

We have no knowledge of his ever abjuring his baptism, and although the reasons for his withdrawing from the church are wholly unknown to us, yet we may reasonably suppose that in his own mind they were entirely sufficient.

Since the above narrative was prepared I have examined all the authorities referred to by Mr. Knowles and others, on the subject of his departure from the sentiments of the baptists, from the time of his leaving the pastorate of the church he had founded. I am more and more confirmed in the opinion which I have already advanced that very little is known on the subject. None of the old American writers appear to be entitled to much credit. Their prejudices were very severe against him, and their facts were so much the result of conjecture and construction, and were so clashing and contradictory as to neutralize their force.

Robert Bailie, in his letters and journals, reports an interview which he had with Williams while he was in England, obtaining the first charter of Rhode Island, and by his account, the doctrine of the Seekers, as they were then called, he distinctly advanced. The younger Sir Henry Vane, who is claimed as a

* The records of the church name about four years as the duration of his pastorate. This brought it to the time when he went to England for the first charter. But this, Mr. Knowles is confident, must be a mistake. The arguments, however, are founded entirely on statements made by opponents.

But, with an infant church, with no provisions for ministerial support, it is altogether probable that the lines of distinction were very loosely drawn between the services of the pastor and those of other ministers who resided among them, as it is now in many parts of the country.

baptist, is also said to have adopted their views. But as I understand the matter, these *Seekers*, as they were nicknamed by their opponents, did not form any distinct community, and did not generally leave the societies in which they stood connected. Their superior aim at gospel order and primitive purity, were matters of opinion rather than of separate practice.

It is no uncommon thing for men to find much fault with the existing order of things in their own churches, and still maintain their connection with them. I could name some prominent cases of this kind among the baptists in modern times.

Although Mr. Williams may have ceased to travel in the baptist communion, yet I have seen no evidence which produces conviction in my mind that he ever renounced their principles, or adopted others which came in conflict with them. Their evangelical opinions he most certainly maintained to the last.

Many of the accounts of him would make him more of a Quaker than anything else, denying outward ordinances altogether. But that society not only never claimed him as an advocate for their opinions, but on the contrary consider him as one of their most decided opponents. It is well known that his debates with some of their leading men were painfully severe.

But if it could be clearly proved that Roger Williams gave up his baptist principles altogether, what weight would that have with candid men? And what but the strength of prejudice could lead to such untiring efforts as have been put forth for almost two centuries past, to manufacture capital against the denomination from the obscure or apocryphal history of this solitary man?

In all other cases men reason with candor and fairness.

Robert Brown, the founder of the Brownists or Independents, went back to the church of England; John Lightfoot, one of the principal men among the Presbyterians, in the time of the meeting of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, did the same. Both these men abandoned the dissenting interest and died in communion with the National Establishment, but no one ever thought of impugning the principles of either of the parties thus deserted on this account. But they were all pedobaptists, and, of course, could treat each other with common courtesy and fairness, which has always been denied to the opposers of the practice, by whomsoever administered, whether the anointed and in the succession, or unanointed and out of it; and to what year of our Lord this kind of treatment will continue it is difficult to foretel.

ROGER WILLIAMS' TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS.

Much has already been said on this subject, and nothing has thus far been referred to which is not praiseworthy and commendable; all his efforts tended to peace—to stop the effusion of blood; and I have seen no incidents in the long life of this distinguished friend of the red men, which by any construction can cause any regret to his most ardent admirers, but the part he took in the Pequod war, and the consent which he is said to have given to the selling of the captive women and children after the warriors were all slain. The exterminating cruelties of that war I could never approve, and I would say the same as to the insulting indignities which were offered to the remains of King Philip after he was vanquished and slain.

There is no probability that Williams or any other man of the common feelings of humanity anticipated such a direful result of the campaign against the Pequods, and we hear nothing of him in King Philip's war except his efforts at peace and reconciliation.

Both the Pequods and the Paganokets were indeed barbarous and ferocious, and were guilty of the most inhuman atrocities on multitudes of the unoffending whites; but we must bear in mind that they were fighting for their soil, and if war is lawful, which the puritan fathers most resolutely maintained, the Indians had as good a right as the new comers, to adopt their own modes of aggression and defense.

The whole history of the Indian wars abound with incidents on both sides which will not bear the test of modern ethics on the belligerent code. But upon this painful subject I have no disposition to enter. In the note below may be found a supposed speech of the son of Massasoit, the early and unwavering friend of the English, when about to engage in that war which filled all the colonies with terror and alarm, and threatened all the infant settlements with exterminating vengeance.⁶

⁶ Speech of King Philip, sachem of the Pokanokets, at a supposed war council, in 1675, before the Indian war broke out. He is preceded by Canonchet, who professes to have met the shade of Ossamequin or Massasoit, Philip's father. Part of a manuscript poem by Rev. James C. Richmond, rector of Trinity church, Pawtucket, Mass.

Thus, with a voice that thoughts of peace might wake,
The sachem of the Isles, prophetic spake ;
But not such thoughts in Philip's soul he woke,
And Ossamequin's son indignant spoke :—

Fathers and warriors, sages, mark me well ;
Now, by these lips let Truth her story tell :
As starving wolves the pathless forest scour,
Howl o'er their slain, first tear, and then devour,
So hungry white men vex the unwilling deep,
Here from our blasted plains poor spoils to reap ;
As cunning foxes cheat their guileless prey,
These pale and crafty would our race betray.
They buy our lands ; ah yes ! with glittering toys,
With trinkets which I've seen their baby boys
Cast from them, weary of such trifling ; then
Their fathers sell them for the lands of men.

They have a book which they 'the Bible' call,
Wherein they say God's words are come to all ;
They tell us, written in that book they see
That God to make the land for Israel free,
Drive out the heathen ! even thus they say
Our doomed and destined race shall melt away,
That these may sit in peace upon the shores
Which that Great Spirit gave to us and ours !
'Glad tidings' these for all the sons of men !
Let Philip's ears hear never such again.

Didst thou, Canonchet, dream that warriors dead
Might visit earth again whence once they fled ?
My father's *living* words are graven *here* ;
Voice from the dead I will nor heed nor fear.
The dead, when from the world their spirits cease
Come not again ; but in untroubled peace
They rest, or wander through those realms of joy,
Nor cares of time, nor woes their souls annoy ;
So when the northern winds, ere winter, blow,
The bright leaves perish on the aged bough—
Soft suns returning clothe with youthful green
That naked branch ; yet never more is seen
The ancient foliage of the forest bough,
So is it with the race of mortals now.
The dead come never to the realms of earth
Whence once they fled ; but nature's ceaseless birth
With endless toil, what nature took restores ;
Soon, therefore, other men upon these shores,
Where we now breathe, shall walk, and mouldering then
We shall be dead ; perchance, forgotten men.
'Tis well ; submissive to that voice I bow
When the Great Spirit calls, I hear, I go ;
But while I walk upon this living earth,
I may not sacrifice my rights of birth.
Who here his country's cause would dare betray,
And cast this glorious heritage away ?
No, while yon moon shall see her silver beams
Shine back to heaven from these rejoicing streams,

Closing remarks on the character of Roger Williams.

Mr. Williams' character, given by many, as a man, a scholar and a christian, was truly respectable. "He appears," says Mr. Callender, in his *Century Sermon*, page 17, "by the whole tenor of his life, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, and a most pious and heavenly-minded soul." Governor Hutchinson, reflecting on the life of this good man, says, "Instead of showing any revengeful temper, or resentment, he was continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence to his enemies." Vol. I., p. 38. Mr. Callender observes, "the *true grounds* of liberty of conscience were not understood in America, until Mr. Williams and John Clarke publicly avowed that *Christ alone is king in his own kingdom*, and that *no others* had authority over his subjects, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation." Governor Hopkins said, "Roger Williams justly claimed the honor of being the first legislator in the world that fully and effectually provided for, and established a free, full, and absolute liberty of conscience. He not only founded a State, but by his interest with the Narraganset Indians, broke the grand confederacy against the English, and so became the saviour of all the other colonies."

The descendants of this distinguished man, according to Governor Hopkins, had in 1770 been traced to the number of two thousand.

After the above article was prepared for the press, a new work on the *Life of Roger Williams*, by William Grammell, A. M., Professor of Rhetoric in Brown University, has been presented to the public.⁷

As this concise history of the founder of Rhode Island exhibits some of the incidents of his life in a somewhat new and inviting dress, I will append the few following extracts.

The first is in connection with the wanderings of the lonely exile, while bending his way to his new location.

* * * * * "Yet this outcast man, whom rulers had banished, whom churches and clergy had proscribed, bears with him, in his desert wanderings, a great doctrine of christian ethics, an eternal principle of civil right, of inestimable importance to all mankind. He alone comprehends it in its true significance; and, as an apostle commissioned from heaven, he alone has preached it to a blind and bigoted age. If he perishes amidst the fury of the storm, or from the rage of wild beasts, or of savage men, there is not another in New England, perhaps not in christendom who fully comprehends it, and dares assert it.

"But he was not destined thus to perish. In the days of his prosperity, he had assiduously cultivated the friendship of the Indians, who visited the settlements of the colonists. He had thus acquired the use of their language, and now, in his time of need, when he presented himself at their squalid cabins, a houseless wanderer, they received him to their rude hospitality."

Although the position seems a strong one, that Mr. Williams was the only man among all the puritan fathers at this time, who had a clear and distinct view of the doctrine of religious freedom, as to its nature and practicability, yet I am fully satisfied that it will bear the test of the strictest scrutiny.

His final removal and settlement is thus described:

* * * * * "As the little bark, thus freighted with the fortunes of a future state, was borne along on the waters of the Seekonk, Williams was greeted by some Indians, from the heights that rise on the western banks of the stream, with the friendly salutation,

Fixed on his rocky base, while Hope' shall stand,
No tame submission may disgrace this hand.

'Tis not for us, 'tis for our race we fight;
Spirit of battles, thou approve the right;
Sachems may fall, but warriors cannot bow;
Who thinks with Philip, let him follow now.

⁷ This treatise was originally prepared for Sparks' A. Biography. It has since been published in a separate volume by Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, of Boston.

¹ Mount Hope, Philips' seat, near Bristol, R. I.

'*what cheer, Netop? what cheer?*' and first came to land at the spot now called *State Rock*, in the rear of the mansion of his Excellency Governor Fenner.⁹

"After exchanging salutations with the Indians, and, as is probable, obtaining some additional information concerning the country, which stretched, in summer's beauty before him, he again embarked, and, coasting along the stream, passed around the headlands, now known as Fox Point, and India Point, up the harbor, to the mouth of the Mooshausic river. Here he landed, and, upon the beautiful slope of the hill that ascends from the river, he descried the spring around which he commenced the first 'plantation of Providence.'

"It was the latter part of June, 1636, as well as can be ascertained, that Roger Williams and his companions began the settlement at the mouth of the Mooshausic river. A little distance north of what is now the centre of the city, the spring is still pointed out, which drew the attention of the humble voyagers from Seekonk. Here, after so many wanderings, was the weary exile to find a home, and to lay the foundations of a city, which should be a perpetual memorial of pious gratitude to the superintending Providence which had protected him and guided him to the spot. How changed is the scene in the lapse of two hundred years! art and wealth have covered with their beautiful mansions the hill-side that rose in luxuriant verdure before him, and learning has erected her halls upon its summit. The solitary place has become a thickly peopled city, the abode of wealth and elegance, and, instead of the deep silence of nature, that then reigned over the scene, there are now heard, over hill, and plain, and water, the hum of the spindle, the bustle of trade, and the cheerful murmurs of busy life."⁹

My accounts already given of Mr. Williams' opportunity for the accumulation of wealth, and the transmission of a lordly domain to his family, is very fully corroborated in the following statement:

"Unlike the pilgrims, who had organized their commonwealth simply for securing liberty for their own faith and worship, Roger Williams, in framing the organization of the new colony, did not lose sight of the great principle of spiritual freedom, for which he had contended while in Massachusetts. This principle was as broad as humanity itself, and he did not fail to perceive its application to others, as readily and clearly as to himself. The persons who accompanied him from Seekonk, and the others who soon after joined him at Providence, came without any solicitation from him; yet he received them with the utmost kindness. He prescribed to them no conditions of their admission to the colony, and exercised over them no personal control, but freely shared with them all that the friendship of the Indians had given him to bestow. By the deeds of the sachems of Narraganset, the lands at Providence were conveyed to him alone, and 'were his as much as any man's coat upon his back.' He might have retained them as his own permanent fee, and, like the founders of Pennsylvania and Maryland, having secured them by a charter from the king, he might have continued the unquestioned proprietary of the entire domain. He thus might have amassed wealth and dignities, and bequeathed them as a legacy to his children.

"Such, however, was not the policy which he adopted. He desired that the new settlement might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience, 'and he welcomed with an open hand all who came to him for refuge.'¹⁰

The charges against Rhode Island, for the reputed partiality of her legislation against the *Roman Catholics*, in 1664, and the *Quakers* the year after, are promptly met, and most satisfactorily refuted by Mr. Gammell.¹

THE WRITINGS OF ROGER WILLIAMS,

are thus enumerated by Mr. Gammell:

1. *His Key to the Languages of the Indians*. This work was first published in England, in 1643, in a small 12mo. vol. of 197 pages. It was re-published by the R. I. Historical Society, in 1827, in an 8vo. vol. of 163 pages.

2. *Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, Examined and Answered*. London. pp. 47. 4to. 1644.

3. *The Bloody Tenet*. London. pp. 247. 4to. 1644.

4. *The Bloody Tenet yet more Bloody*, in answer to Mr. Cotton's *Bloody Tenet Washed, &c.* London. pp. 320. 4to. 1652.

5. *The Hireling Ministry None of Christ's*. London. pp. 36. 4to. 1652.

"It is, in reality, an argument against an established church, and the sup-

⁹ The adjacent estate still bears the name of "What cheer." This land, Roger Williams says, he planted with his own hands; and by him it was conveyed to James Ellis, who soon after sold it to Arthur Fenner, the first of the ancient and respected family to whom it has ever since belonged. *Netop* means "friend."—*Williams' Key*, p. 2, as quoted by Gammell, p. 63.

¹⁰ Gammell's *Life of Roger Williams*, pp. 63-65.

¹⁰ *Id.*, pp. 71-72.

¹ *Id.*, pp. 209, 202, G. K. L. Ed.

port of the clergy by law, and not, as its title would now seem to import, against the pecuniary compensation of ministers of the gospel. It is a sort of supplement to his other writings on religious liberty, in which he explains his singular views respecting the ministry, and earnestly contends for the right of all the people of the three nations, to choose and maintain what worship and ministry their souls and consciences are persuaded of."

6. *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health and their Preservatives.* London. 1652.

7. *George Fox digged out of his Burrows.*² This work was against the Quakers, or Friends, and is occupied principally with an account of a public debate with some of their leading men, at the time, viz., John Stubbs, John Burnett, and William Edmondson. Boston. pp. 327. 4to. 1676.

"Roger Williams appears to have written several other works, which either were never published, or have long since perished. Among these was the Treatise he wrote while at Plymouth, respecting the patent granted by King James to the New England colonies. This was the book which occasioned him so much trouble during his second residence at Salem. There is no reason to believe that it was ever published. In his 'Key to the Indian Languages,' he speaks of having 'further treated of the natives of New England, and that great point of their conversion, in an additional Discourse.' This Treatise, which may have been printed, has probably perished. No trace of it can now be found. He also, near the close of his life, prepared for publication a volume of the sermons he had preached at Narraganset, and wrote to Governor Bradstreet to solicit aid in printing it. The volume, however, seems never to have gone to the press.

"I have thus mentioned all the works of Roger Williams, which are now known to be extant, or of which any account has been preserved. They were regarded with little favor, on this side of the Atlantic, at the time of their publication, on account of the general hostility of the Puritans to his doctrines of religious freedom, and to the interests of the colony which he founded. Most of them were originally printed in London, and it is not improbable that many more copies of them all may now be found in Great Britain than in this country. It is to be hoped, however, that of the few that remain, a complete set may yet be collected, for some one of the public libraries of Rhode Island.

"In addition to those works, which were prepared especially for publication, there is a large number of letters and documents relating to both public and private affairs. Many of these have been published in the early volumes of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, and also in Mr. Knowles' Memoir. Others are scattered about, in the possession of individuals, or in places of public deposit. Of the published letters, that written in 1670, to Major Mason, of Connecticut, is by far the most interesting and valuable, and contains the fullest account, which he has left on record, of the period of his banishment, and his planting the settlement at Providence. No one can read it without admiring the simplicity of the narrative, or without feeling a lively sympathy for the perils he encountered, and the sufferings he endured."³

Did Roger Williams, at the time of his banishment, come from Salem to Seekonk, through the woods, and alone; or in a boat, around Cape Cod, through the Vineyard Sound, and up the Narraganset Bay?

After my MSS. on the history of Mr. Williams had nearly all gone to the press, a paper was put into my hands, in which the affirmative of this question with much confidence is maintained. It was prepared by G. M. Fessenden, Esq., of Warren, R. I., whose name will be mentioned in the history of War-

² This title was intended as a pun on the names of Geo. Fox and Ed. Burrows, two famous writers in defense of the principles of the society of Friends.

³ Gammell's Life, &c., pp. 220, 221.

ren, and vicinity. General Fessenden is a member of the R. I. Historical Society, for whose archives the paper was prepared.

This question, as far as I know, has never before been discussed; but all have taken it for granted, that the exile performed the journey on foot, and alone, and that he was *followed* by the few friends who soon appear associated with him in his new location.⁴ The distance in this way, must have been about fifty miles. The water route must have been about two hundred, and many more, if he followed the sinuosities of the indented shores. Both routes were practicable; the only question is, which the exile preferred and actually took; and as nothing bearing directly on this point appears in any of his writings, we have no alternative but to spell out and infer the facts of the case the best way we can.

General Fessenden has investigated this subject with much industry and patience, and appears fully satisfied with the position he has assumed. Some of his remarks I shall insert in the note below, in the form of extracts from his MS. of 30 pages.⁵

⁴ A few years since I heard Rev. Mr. Upham, of Salem, deliver two lectures on the history of Roger Williams, in which this theory was clearly advocated, and many touching descriptions, in the author's peculiar style, were given, of the dreariness and dangers of the way.

Judge Durfee, in his poem, *What Cheer?* does the same, as I have already shown.

⁵ "One of the most important of the unwritten portions of Roger Williams' history, is embraced in the space of time between his departure from Salem, about the middle of January, 1636, and his arrival and commencement of a settlement at Seekonk, about the middle of April; a space of about 'fourteen weeks,' as we are informed by him.

"Whether Roger Williams came to Seekonk alone, or unaccompanied by any white man; the mode of travel adopted by him; and the way in which he passed that period of time, are the points constituting the present subject of inquiry.

"The prevailing theory is, that he traveled alone, on foot, through the wilderness, and occasionally tarried at the humble abodes of the natives. This, we believe to be erroneous and unsupported by competent testimony; and that known facts establish and confirm the theory, that Roger Williams left Salem in company with five men, in a boat, passed around Cape Cod, entered and examined Narraganset Bay, from Newport to Seekonk, and thus passed the time until he concluded to locate at the latter place.

"We propose the examination of the whole matter in the following order:—

"1. *The cause of the prevailing theory.*

"2. *The proof that Roger Williams left Salem in the company of others.*

"3. *The proof that he came to Seekonk by water.*

"* * * * * "Whichever way Roger Williams came from Salem, whether through the then comparatively unknown interior of Massachusetts, or around Cape Cod and through the Vineyard Sound, it would be very remarkable if, in after life, he did not allude incidentally, at least, to some locality of the route he took. Now, we cannot find that he ever alluded to the former, but we have his own words for having been at the island of Martha's Vineyard:—'The Indians at Martha's Vineyard, at my late being among them.'—(*Key*, ch. 15.) He also says:—'I once travelled to an island of the wildest in our parts; I was alone, having travelled from my barke, the wind being contrary, and little could I speak to them, because of the change of their dialect from our neighbors, yet I did speake of the true and living God.'—(*Key*, ch. 3.)

This passage, the author admits, may have had reference to one of the Elizabeth Islands, which would have been in route by water.

"Mr. Winthrop privately wrote to me to *steer* my course to the Narraganset Bay. I took his prudent motion, and waiving all other thoughts and motions, I *steered* my course from Salem (though in winter snow, which I feel yet) into these parts.'—*Knovles*, p. 394.

"It pleased the Most High to direct my steps into this bay.'—*Id.*, p. 74.

"The word 'into' renders this passage applicable only to the journey by water. * * *

"I was sorely *tossed* for one fourteen week, in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean."

This amount of time, our author supposes, was consumed by Mr. W. in his water-passage and various explorations with Massasoit and other friendly chiefs in search of a place of settlement. All of which, in his opinion, were made in his own boat.

As Gen. F. has made a clear case, as we shall see, that Massasoit resided at Warren, a seaport town on the Narraganset Bay, it is very natural to suppose that Williams could navigate his Shallop Pinnance, or whatever craft he might come in, directly to the home of this illustrious sachem.

The probabilities of Gen. F.'s theory, as set forth by him, may be summed up under the following heads:—

I. That so careful a calculator as Roger Williams would not have undertaken such a hazardous and important journey alone, and that his ardent friends who had resolved to share his fortunes in his exile, would not permit it, and, of course, went with him.

II. Nearly all the traveling at that time was performed by water. This is a fact beyond dispute.

III. Williams is known to have been a skilful boatman, and well acquainted with nautical language; that the terms *steer*, *tossed*, &c., are to be understood, not in a figurative, but in a literal sense.

SECTION II.

The old church in Providence—other churches in the city—branches of the old church—northern churches—southern churches—Warren—Tiverton, &c.

FIRST CHURCH IN PROVIDENCE.

This church, which is the oldest of the baptist denomination in America, was formed in March, 1639. Its first members were twelve in number, viz.: Roger Williams, Ezekiel Holliman, Stuckley Westcot, John Green, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Thomas Olney. These men were probably most of them heads of families, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of their companions were among the first members of the church. But upon this point no information can be obtained.

As the whole company, in their own estimation, were unbaptized, and they knew of no administrator in any of the infant settlements to whom they could apply, they with much propriety hit on the following expedient: Ezekiel Holliman, a man of gifts and piety, by the suffrages of the little company was appointed to baptize Mr. Williams, who in return, baptized Holliman and the other ten.

Some of our writers have taken no little pains to apologize for this unusual transaction,¹ but in my opinion it was just such a course as all companies of believers who wish to form a church in such extraordinary circumstances should pursue.

Any company of christians may commence a church in gospel order, by their own mutual agreement, without any reference to any other body; and this church has all power to appoint any one of their number, whether minister or layman, to commence anew the administration of gospel institutions.

This is the baptist doctrine of apostolical succession, which they prefer to receive from good men rather than through the polluted channels of the papal power.

In ordinary cases this is not advisable, and is but seldom done; but in such a state of banishment and exile, or in any condition of a similar nature, none need to hesitate to follow the example of the founders of this ancient community.

This church was soon joined by twelve other persons who came to this new settlement, and abode in harmony and peace. Their names are not given, nor are we informed whether they came to them as members of baptist churches from the mother country, or were baptized here after their arrival. According to Chandler this church at first held to particular redemption, but soon after deviated to the *General* system; this was the main distinction between the two bodies of baptists, known in England as *General* and *Particular*, and in my opinion it is fair to admit that this body in early times, and for a long course of years afterwards, had it been in England, would have come under the *General* head.

Laying-on-of-hands was held in a lax manner, so that some persons were

IV. That he is known to have had a boat of his own soon after his settlement in this new residence, which he often loaned to the Indians, and in which he journeyed from one place to another among them.

In this boat, and not in an Indian canoe, as some writers say, Mr. F. supposes Williams and the five companions who accompanied him in his exile crossed over the river from Seekonk to *What Cheer* Point, and then worked their passage around India and Fox Points, to the head of Providence Cove, at the mouth of the Mooshasuck stream, where he made his final settlement.

As this is a matter of civil rather than ecclesiastical history, this is all the space I can appropriate for its discussion. Gen. F.'s theory is marked with some plausible aspects. What favor it will meet with among historical men, new developments will determine.

¹ Knowles' *Life*, &c.

received without it. But this practice, in the course of time, was more rigidly enforced, and became the subject of no little altercation and trouble, as their subsequent history will show. But at this early period, according to Governor Jenkes, the lax system prevailed throughout the colony.

Psalmody was first used, and then laid aside. These altercations took place about sixteen years after their settlement. The church at first met for worship in a grove, unless in wet and stormy weather, when they assembled in private houses. Rev. Chad Brown, was the second pastor of this body, having been driven from Massachusetts soon after the departure of Roger Williams.

He came to Providence in 1636, and was ordained to the ministry of this church about three years after its formation. He was one of the town proprietors, and from the day of his arrival to the present time, his name has been well known in this, his adopted home. He was the ancestor of a large and respected family, who have for many years past continued, by their public spirit and their liberality, to identify themselves with the fortunes of the town, and with the cause of literature and christianity.

“ We know only enough of his character to excite the wish to know more ; but from that little it is clear, that he was highly esteemed, as a man of sound judgment, and of a christian spirit. Often referred to, as the arbitrator of existing differences, in a state of society where individual influence was needed as a substitute for well digested laws, he won that commendation which the Saviour pronounced when he said, ‘blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called the children of God.’

“ We know not how long the ministry of Mr. Brown continued, but we find that Mr. Wickenden, who was at one time imprisoned in New York for preaching there without a license from the crown, was ordained by Mr. Brown. Mr. Wickenden officiated also in Providence, and with his name is connected our first intelligence of the rise of a controversy, which was long agitated in this town and throughout the commonwealth. It appears that many in that day, who were studying the constitution of the primitive church, regarded the declaration of Paul, in Hebrews i. 2, as containing a summary of essential principles, among which it was contended, that the imposition of hands on every baptized christian, held a distinct place. Although it is now very generally admitted, that ‘the laying on of hands,’ mentioned in that passage, is an allusion to the appointed sign, by which the apostles conferred the extraordinary gifts of the spirit ; a knowledge of which was of course received by their converts among the *first* elements, or lessons of christianity ; yet then, many excellent men supposed that the phrase referred to a perpetual ordinance, designed to succeed baptism, the reception of both which was as necessary to constitute a true profession of christianity, as repentance and faith were necessary to constitute a spiritual christian. With this view of the case, they felt justified in urging the laying on of hands after baptism, as a term of church communion.²

“ In 1652, Rev. William Vaughan, of Newport, embraced this view, and hearing that a church had been formed in Providence, on this basis, under the care of Rev. Mr. Wickenden, he repaired thither, and having received that rite himself, obtained the aid of Mr. Wickenden in forming a similar church at Newport.

Rev. Gregory Dexter, was next in office. He was born in London, and followed the stationery business, with a Mr. Coleman.³ It is said, he fled from his native country for printing a piece which was offensive to the then reigning powers. He came to Providence in 1644, and was the same year received into the church, being both a baptist and a preacher before his arrival. He

² Hague's Historical Discourse, pp. 95-97.

I am willing to publish Mr. Hague's exposition, and give him credit for the sentiments, which, I admit, I do not in all respects adopt.

³ This Coleman became the subject of a farce, called *The Cutter of Coleman Street*.

took the care of this church on Mr. Wickenden's removal to Solitary Hill. He was the first who taught the art of printing in Boston.

"He was a correspondent of Roger Williams, and printed his *Key to the Indian Language*, at London, in 1643. It is probable that he, and Mr. Green, of Boston, were the only two in New England who understood the art of printing at that time; at any rate, it is certain that Mr. Dexter used to go regularly to Boston, from year to year, to aid the latter in the publication of his almanac.

"When Mr. Vaughan visited Providence, in 1652, in order to procure the aid of Mr. Wickenden in forming a church which would hold the laying on of hands as a divine ordinance, Mr. Dexter accompanied them to Newport, and seems to have taken part in that service; from which we may infer that he had united with those who had formed a separate church here, under the care of Mr. Wickenden. After a while, the latter removed his residence a short distance from the town, to the place now called Olneyville, and then the whole care of his ministry devolved on Mr. Dexter, who lived to the advanced age of ninety years.⁴

"Mr. Dexter was never observed to laugh, and seldom to smile. So earnest was he in the ministry, that he could hardly forbear preaching when he came into a house, or met a number of persons in the street. His sentiments were those of the Particular Baptists.

"*Rev. Thomas Olney*, succeeded to the pastoral office.

From Hartford, in England, he had emigrated to Salem, and was banished from that place, with his family, in 1639—the year of his arrival in Providence. His name has a place among the signatures to the civil covenant, in 1640, and is found in various connections after that time. Backus speaks of him as officiating in the ministry immediately after Roger Williams' death, and Comer, in his manuscript, says, that he continued the pastoral care of the church, after Mr. Wickenden left it, in 1652. The breach which then arose out of the controversy about laying on of hands, as a divine rite, was afterwards healed, as the practice was adopted by the church, although it was not an indispensable term of communion or membership. In succeeding years, however, it is not probable that any entered the church without it, and the doctrine of the imposition of hands was universally received for more than a century.

Successor to Mr. Olney, was the *Rev. Pardon Tillinghast*. He was born at Seven-cliff, near Beachy-head, England, about the year 1622. He emigrated first to Connecticut, and came thence to Providence in the year 1645, where for more than half a century his life adorned the religion which he preached.

"It was an honorable testimony borne of him by Governor Jenkes, derived from those who knew him, that he 'was a man of unblemished character;'⁵ a testimony well confirmed by his acts of disinterested benevolence. Certainly, it was not without reason, that Morgan Edwards said, that the ministry of this church had been expensive to the ministers themselves, though it had cost the people but little; for the first house of worship which this church possessed, was built by Mr. Tillinghast, in 1700, at his own expence. Before that year they had worshiped in a grove, and in private houses when the weather was inclement. For his own services he would receive no pecuniary compensation, but he did not fail in his preaching to inculcate the principles maintained by Paul, that they who preached the gospel should live of the gospel, and that although he waived his own right to maintenance, it was the duty of the church to provide for those who should succeed him. Governor Jenkes quotes his words on that subject, as the words of a man whose name was honored, and whose opinions had weight with those whom he addressed. He died in 1718, and was interred in the burial place of his family, 'in a good old age.'

⁴ Hague's Hist. Disc., p. 98.

⁵ Gov. Jenkes' Letter to Backus, Vol. II., p. 118.

Rev. Ebenezer Jenkes, brother of the Governor, was ordained to the pastoral office in 1719. He was born in Pawtucket, in 1669, and was the first American minister who preached in Providence.

Mr. Jenkes belonged to a family who have been known as the liberal friends to literature and religion. His father, a native of Buckinghamshire, in England, was a pious man, and the first who built a house in the village of Pawtucket. His brother, the Governor, a member of this church, was for a number of years ambassador of the Colony to the Court of St. James, and distinguished not only by the urbanity of his manners, and his intellectual endowments, but by the graces of religion. His son, Daniel Jenkes, who was for forty-eight years an active member of this church, was for forty years a member of the General Assembly, Chief-Justice of this county, and a munificent donor to the college and the church. He, himself, is spoken of as a man highly esteemed for his talents and his piety, who, declining most of the public offices which were urged on his acceptance, discharged the duties of the sphere in which he moved with honor and fidelity.

Rev. James Brown, grandson to the Rev. Chad Brown by his eldest son, born at Providence, in 1666, was next ordained to the pastoral office in this church, and continued therein till his death, October 28, 1732. He was an example of piety and meekness, worthy of admiration. He was buried in his own lot, at the north end of the town, and a stone was erected to his memory.

Rev. Samuel Windsor was next in office. He was born in the township of Providence, 1677, and ordained 1733. He continued the care of this church until November 17, 1758, when he died. He was esteemed a worthy man, and had considerable success in his ministry.

Rev. Thomas Burlingham was in union with Mr. Windsor. He was born at Cranston, May 29, 1688, and was ordained at the same time with Mr. Windsor, but in a measure resigned his care of the church, a considerable time before his death, in order to preach to a new church at Cranston. He died January 7, 1740.

Rev. Samuel Windsor, son to the aforementioned Samuel Windsor, was next in office. He was born November 1, 1722, in the township of Providence, and ordained June 21, 1759. He continued his office till toward the year 1770, when he made repeated complaints to the church, that the duties of his office were too heavy for him, considering the remote situation of his dwelling from town. He constantly urged the church to provide help in the ministry, as he was not able to serve them any longer in that capacity, without doing injury to his family, which they could not desire.

At that time *Rev. Dr. James Manning* was officiating as President of Rhode Island College, which had been commenced in 1765, under his direction, at Warren. It was for several years a matter of doubt where the college would be permanently established, but in 1770, it was determined by the corporation, that the college edifice "be built in the town of Providence, and there be continued forever." The removal of Dr. Manning to this town was hailed by the church as a happy event, supposing, as they did, that by calling him to be their minister, they would carry into effect Mr. Windsor's wishes. Immediately on his arrival he was requested to occupy the pulpit, and as the first Sabbath on which he preached happened to be the day for administering the Lord's Supper, he was invited by Mr. Windsor to participate with the church. Soon after that, suspicions seem to have arisen among some, that Dr. Manning held the imposition of hands rather too loosely, and that he practised it more to accommodate the consciences of others, than to meet the demands of his own. A party of these was soon formed, with whom Mr. Windsor himself sympathized and acted. Still it was thought by some that this was only "the ostensible reason" of their dissatisfaction, and that they must have some other one more weighty. This was found in the opposition of Mr. Windsor to the introduction of music in public worship, which it was supposed Dr. Manning favored. On that point the sentiments of the quakers seems to have prevailed, and singing

was discarded, as unauthorized by the New Testament. "What diversity of opinion once existed touching a point which seems clear to us, may be inferred from the fact, that in 1691, a work was published in London, by the celebrated Keach, entitled, 'The Breach Repaired in God's worship; or, the singing of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, proved to be a holy ordinance of Jesus Christ.' In this the author proceeded to show—what it is to sing—that there can be no proper singing without the voice—that the essence of singing is no more in the heart or spirit than the essence of preaching—and to elucidate other points connected with the subject. It is probable that singing was first laid aside in times of persecution, on account of the danger of practising it, and afterwards it was difficult to revive everywhere a due sense of its worth as a divine appointment. In regard to this, the teachings of the New Testament seem to us to be quite explicit, and that the church is left to select her own songs and modes of singing; yet it is worthy of note, that among the Scotch presbyterians there has been more opposition to the introduction of metrical hymns, than there ever was in this place to the introduction of sacred music into worship. Such discussions may seem fastidious now, but it must be remembered that after popery had long made void God's word by man's tradition, the spirit which produced a reformation would be naturally characterized by an extreme and sensitive jealousy, touching every practice on which the seal of divine authority was not clearly seen. On this latter point Mr. Windsor strongly insists in his letter to the church touching the controversy before us, though the stress of his argument is applied to the doctrine of laying on of hands. After a series of church meetings, the whole matter was decided in favor of Dr. Manning, who thence became the pastor of this church, while Mr. Windsor afterwards became the founder of a new church in Johnston, which exists to this day."

"For three years Dr. Manning preached to great acceptance, but without much visible success in promoting the conversion of men as sinners unto Christ. But in 1774, one of those wide-spread revivals of religion, with which the American church has, from the first, been remarkably blest, pervaded the town of Providence. Its beginning was obscure, but its end was glorious. At a time when there seems not to have been known among the congregation any instance of attention to the nature and necessity of personal religion, two colored women were made the subjects of renewing grace and were united to the church. Soon afterwards others were awakened, and ere long the truths of religion became the subjects of thought and conversation in almost every family. Although before that time there had been a good attendance at church, yet now the sanctuary was found to be by far too small. In the history of this church, no event has occurred since its formation, which we can contemplate with so much pleasure. It is delightful to place ourselves in imagination amidst the scenes of that year, to picture before us the able and faithful preacher who then officiated here as he stood up amidst the large assemblies of the people who thronged around him, listening, as they did, to the gospel with intense attention as a message from the skies, the very word of God which worketh effectually in them that believe; to mark the lively interest which was kindled in every bosom and beamed from every eye, as one after another came forth "on the side of the Lord," and professed his faith in public baptism—to contemplate the fresh springs of spiritual life which were then opened in many a house when the family altar was first erected there, and parents and children bowed together, to worship the common Father and Redeemer in spirit and in truth. The wise men and the busy men of this world may deem the subjects of politics and commerce more fitting themes of popular thought and excitement, yet scenes like these, which this town then presented, were such as now awaken "joy in heaven among the angels of God."

As the fruits of that revival, one hundred and four persons were united to the church; a general spirit was fostered in the community, and fresh encouragements were furnished to those who had already projected the erection of the house of worship which they now enjoy. That subject was discussed in Feb-

Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D., was the successor of Dr. Manning in the ministry. He was a native of Attleborough, Mass., about 12 miles distance from Providence.

A little before the death of Dr. Manning, young Maxcy was licensed by the church to preach, having graduated three years before at the age of nineteen years. The following year he was ordained to the pastorate, and appointed Professor of Divinity in the college. The next year, 1792, he succeeded Dr. Manning in the presidency. Not long after, he resigned the pastorate of the church, and in 1802, accepted the presidency of Union College at Schenectady, N. Y. He remained there only two years, and then removed to Columbia, S. C., having been elected president of South Carolina College. Over that institution he presided sixteen years, until the time of his death, 1820. He was an accomplished scholar, an efficient instructor, and an eloquent preacher. His writings breathe the spirit of a pure christianity, and indicate that he was both a sound theologian and a clear reasoner.

Rev. Stephen Gano, was the next pastor of this church. He was born in the city of New York, December 25th, 1762. His father was the Rev. John Gano, for many years pastor of the first baptist church of that city. As his name imports, he was of French extraction, being descended from a family of Huguenots, who, with many others, fled from the dominions of Charles IX., after the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1699. They obtained lands of the English near New York, settled a township, and called it New Rochelle, in honor of that city, which was the strong hold of Protestantism in their fatherland.

It was the intention of Mr. Gano's father that his son should pursue a collegiate course of education, under the direction of his uncle, Dr. Manning. But when the war of the Revolution broke up the College, his attention was diverted to the study of medicine, which he pursued with Dr. Stiles, a maternal uncle, in New Jersey. The father being a chaplain in the American service, the son became connected with it as a surgeon, and on the return of peace, practised medicine in his native State.

At that time, in all his habits and associations, he was far from giving any promise of ever becoming a religious man. But in regard to that, all human reasonings were baffled by the power of him who is able to save to the uttermost; and the truth that man is saved by sovereign grace, was by his own conversion so displayed to his mind, as to make an impression that could never be erased.

Soon after this great spiritual change, although his profession opened before him a fair path to wealth, his heart turned towards the christian ministry. At the age of twenty-three he was ordained by the first baptist church in New York. He was soon zealously employed as a preacher at Hudson, in his native State, and in 1792 was invited by this church to preach first as a candidate, and afterwards was cordially received as a pastor. At that period the town was just beginning to rise from its prostration by the war, and the church embraced only one hundred and sixty-five members.

During the thirty-six years of Dr. Gano's pastorate, he was blessed with nine of those auspicious seasons which we denominate revivals of religion, in each of which the number of the church was much enlarged, and the pulse of piety greatly strengthened. The first of these was in 1793, and the last in 1820, when the number of the church amounted to 648, of whom 147 were baptized that year.*

Rev. John Stanford D. D., who died a few years since in the city of New York, although he was not formally inducted into office, yet he was in fact the officiating pastor of this ancient body about one year previous to the settlement of Dr. Manning, and was during that year the moderator of the Warren Association.

* Hague's Hist. Disc., p. 120.

Mr. Stanford was cordially invited to the pastorship, which invitation he respectfully declined, as it was his intention to return to New York.

By the efforts of this man of labor and skill the records of the church were collected, arranged, and placed in their present condition. The author, Messrs. Knowles, Hague, and all historians since, have been indebted to them for the few details which have been preserved, of the doings of this ancient community.⁹

Mr. Stanford, in these records, makes the pastorship of Roger Williams to have been about four years, or until he went to England for the first charter. The correctness of this statement has been challenged by Knowles and others as being much too long to agree with the facts of the case. But the testimony of such a careful compiler so long since made (1775) should not be set aside without strong proof to the contrary from other writers besides his most decided opponents. My own views on this subject are expressed on p. 443.

Rev. Robert E. Pattison, D.D., now in the Baptist Seminary at Covington, near Cincinnati, Ohio, was the successor of Dr. Gano for about six years, from 1830.

Rev. William Hague, the present pastor of the Federal Street Church, Boston, was next in office for about three years, from 1837.

Dr. Pattison was re-settled in 1841, for one year, when he became the Home Secretary of the B. F. Mission Society.

Rev. James N. Granger, the present pastor, was inducted into office in 1843.

SECOND CHURCH, PINE STREET. This church was constituted, in 1806, of members mostly from the 1st Church.

Rev. Joseph Cornel, was the first pastor, and continued in office about seven years.

Messrs. E. Cushman, D. Lewis, and E. Willey, officiated as supplies for the three succeeding years.

Rev. Luther Baker, for twenty-one years at Warren, was settled here in 1814, and continued in office about eight years.

Rev. Peter Ludlow occupied this pastoral station about two years, from 1823.

Rev. J. N. Seaman was the next in office, about three years, from 1825.

Rev. P. Church, now of Rochester, N. Y., was inducted into the pastoral office in 1828, where he remained about six years.

Rev. John Blain, now of Charlestown, Mass., was pastor here about two years, from 1834.

Rev. John L. Maginnis, D.D., now a Professor in Hamilton University, N. Y., followed Mr. Blain, about one year.

Rev. John Dowling, D.D., now of New York City, was installed in office in 1839, and continued five years.

Rev. Z. Bradford, the present pastor, came into office in 1844.

THIRD CHURCH was formed mostly from this old nursery of churches, in 1821.

Rev. Allen Brown was the first pastor, and continued in office about six years.

Rev. William Philips was the next incumbent, from 1828 to 1836, about eight years.

Rev. Joseph A. Warne was the next in office, about one year.

Rev. Miron M. Dean was ordained to the pastoral office in 1838, in which he continued about two years.

Rev. Thorndike C. Jameson, the present pastor, was ordained to the pastorship in 1841.

⁹ My present historical notices are taken partly from my first volume, and partly from Hague's Historical Discourse, published in 1829, at the expiration of two hundred years from the founding of the church. But the church records are the only source of information to us all.

FOURTH CHURCH was organized in 1823.

Rev. Z. Tobey, now of Pawtuxet, became their first pastor, and continued in office ten years.

Rev. Peter Simonson was the next in office, about three years.

Rev. Thos. B. Ripley, now of Tennessee, was the succeeding pastor, about four years.

Rev. Francis Smith, the present pastor, commenced his labors with this people in 1841.

FIFTH CHURCH was organized in 1840. This young community has passed through many scenes of trial and difficulty, but they are now well settled, with a new and commodious house of worship.

Rev. L. F. Barney, their present pastor, was settled among them in 1846.

MEETING STREET. This church is composed entirely of colored members. They have occupied their present premises many years as a common place of resort for people of color of different denominations who preferred to associate by themselves. The late *Moses Brown, Esq.*, of the Society of Friends, with other benevolent friends of the city, assisted them to erect a commodious house of worship, where ministers of different communities officiated, as a station for city missionary operations. They became organized as a baptist society in 1840.

Rev. Jeremiah Ashur, a colored preacher, is their present pastor.

SOUTH CHURCH was organized in 1846. This young community is the result of the enterprising efforts of the city missionaries in the employ of the B. State Convention. They have a good Hall for worship, fitted up for them by one benevolent individual.¹⁰ This church is near the Stonington Depot.

As the result of the same missionary spirit, a new chapel has been built on Smith's Hill, in the north part of the city, but no church, as yet, has been organized.

Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, a son of the late Dr. Chaplin, and *Rev. H. B. Gower*, city missionaries, occupy the last mentioned stations.

Still another chapel, formerly occupied by a Society of Six Principle Baptists, under the care of the Rev. John Tillinghast, has lately been purchased by contributions of liberal friends on Christian Hill, in the western part of the city, where a new interest will probably be soon commenced.

This is the way to do the thing in our growing cities and town; and if our people had been half awake to enterprises of this kind half a century ago, what augmentations might have been made to our community.

Dr. Wayland, President of Brown University, *Dr. Caswell*, a Professor in the same institution, *Dr. Woods*, late President of the Alabama University, *Rev. William Phillips*, former pastor of the South or 3d Church, *Rev. William Douglass*, minister of the Seaman's Bethel Society, and *Rev. Mr. Tew*, agent for the State Temperance Society, all clergymen of the baptist order, officiate occasionally as supplies for the baptist pastors in the city and suburbs. The same may be said of a number of the students of the University.

Recapitulation of the City Churches.

Churches.	Dates.	Ministers.	Members.
1st Church,	1639	J. N. Granger,	487
2d " Pine Street,	1805	Z. Bradford,	407
3d " "	1821	T. C. Jameson,	425
4th " "	1823	F. Smith,	178
5th " "	1840	L. F. Barney,	92
Meeting Street,	1841	Jer. Ashur,	66
South Church.	1846		22
Total :—Churches, 7,		Members,	1677.

¹⁰ Henry Marchant, Esq., of Providence.

Besides these, there are three churches of the *Free-Will*, and one of the *Christian Society* in this city, which will be named in connection with the history of those communities.

The **ROGER WILLIAMS CHURCH**, on Christian Hill, under the care of *Rev. Mr. McKenzie*, and

Rev. Mr. Cheeney's church, at Olneyville, are respectable communities of this order of baptists.

SUBURBAN CHURCHES. These make a small display compared with Boston. Those at Pawtucket, four miles to the north—Fruit Hill, three miles to the northwest, and Pawtuxet, four miles to the south, are the principal ones of the associated class. There are a few of other orders equally near.

BRANCHES OF THE OLD PROVIDENCE CHURCH.¹ It would be difficult at this day to make a complete list of all the baptist communities which have sprung from this ancient and prolific mother. From it, probably, originated in early times all which arose in the northern part of the State.

Mr. Callender informs us that this church shot out into divers branches, as the members increased, and the distance of their habitations made it inconvenient to attend the public worship in the town; several meetings were thereupon fixed at different places, for their ease and accommodation; and about this time (1730) the large township of Providence became divided into four towns; their *chapels of ease* began to be considered as distinct churches, though all are yet (1738) in a union of councils and interest.²

The towns taken from Providence, were Smithfield, Gloucester, and Scituate; in each of which large and flourishing churches afterwards arose.

In 1743, a church was formed at Greenwich, partly of members from this body.

The church in Cranston, still nearer home, was formed mostly of members from Providence, in 1764. This church was first founded on Calvinistic principles, which, I conclude, did not long prevail among them.

In 1771, a church arose at Johnston, only three miles distant, in consequence of Mr. Windsor's separation, which has already been mentioned.

In 1805-6, the 2d Church, Providence, and those at Pawtucket and Pawtuxet, were formed, of members from the parent stock, and large draughts have been made from it in the formation of a number of the city churches, which have arisen since that period.

In a northern direction from Providence, in the present century, churches have been formed in Pawtucket, Central Falls, Valley Falls, Lonsdale, Lime Rock, Cumberland Hill, and Woonsocket, most of them within a few years past. None of these churches are more than ten or fifteen miles from the city. They have settled pastors, good houses of worship, and are in a flourishing condition.

PAWTUCKET. This place is only four miles from Providence. The first, or what is now called the *old church*, arose under the ministry of the author, in 1805.³

Rev. S. S. Bradford is the present pastor.

SECOND, OR HIGH STREET, was organized in 1838.

Rev. Daniel Rounds, is now in office here.

¹ I have lately seen an intimation in a tract put forth by an opposer of the baptists, that all the denomination in America sprang from this old Roger Williams church, which commenced its operations with *lay-baptism*; and, of course, no soul of the denomination has been regularly baptized, or has any claim to apostolical succession!!

² Century Sermon, pp. 61, 62.

³ The author was pastor of this church twenty-five years; all the churches mentioned above are in what was his bishopric for many years, and where he performed much itinerant service in connection with his pastorate at home.

Two other churches of the baptist order are located in this place ; one Free-Will, the other not associated.

When we go south from Providence, into what was anciently called the Warwick Patent, and farther on, to the Narraganset country, we find a very encouraging state of things among our brethren of the orthodox order, down to the seaboard, and westerly to the Connecticut line. New churches have been organized, old ones have been remodeled and revived, ministerial support has been encouraged, and good houses of worship have been erected, and active and efficient operations have been promoted, within a few years, by the agency and influence of the Missionary State Convention.

All this southern section of the State lies to the west of Narraganset Bay.

On the eastern side of the Bay, we find but two churches in our connection in this State, till we come to the upper end of the island, from which the State takes its name.

WARREN. This town is ten miles in a south-eastern direction from Providence, and three miles south from the seat of the old Swansea church.

Here, Rhode Island College—now Brown University—began its operations, in 1704, at which time the church was formed ; and Mr., afterwards Dr. Manning, was for a few years the principal superintendent of both concerns.

The church has now existed 83 years, and has had nine pastors ; their names, the date of their settlement, and the continuance of their pastoral service stands as follows :—

Dr. Manning,	- - -	1764.	-	6 years.
Rev. Charles Thompson,	- - -	1771.	-	7 “
Rev. John Pitman,	- - -	1786.	-	4 “
Rev. Luther Baker,	- - -	1793.	-	21 “
Rev. Silas Hall,	- - -	1814.	-	2 “
Rev. Daniel Chessman,	- - -	1818.	-	2 “
Rev. Flavel Shurtliff,	- - -	1820.	About 2	“
Rev. John C. Welsh,	- - -	1823.	-	17 “

Rev. Josiah P. Tustin, the present pastor, was settled in 1842.

This church, as has been elsewhere stated, is an offspring of the old church at Swansea, and is of course of Cambro-British descent.⁴

⁴ For this account of the origin and the succession of the pastors of the church in Warren, I am indebted to the Dedication Discourse of Rev. Mr. Tustin, published in 1845, at the opening of a new house of worship of a superior order, some description of which I should be pleased to give, would my limits and plan allow it.

Appended to this discourse, in addition to a copious Appendix, is a *Supplement*, containing a history of the town from the earliest times, with particular notices of Massasoit and his family, by G. M. Fessenden, Esq.

Massasoit, sometimes called Osamequin, was one of the Indian chiefs to whom Roger Williams was indebted for friendship and assistance in his exile, and he is supposed by Mr. F. to have been the first one visited by the expatriated wanderer, when he fled from the Puritan persecutors. Although, to the last, he maintained his attachment to the religion of his ancestors, yet, for forty years, he was the unwavering friend of the English. His son Pometacom, or Metacom, *alias* Philip, his successor, became the greatest scourge that ever rose against them from the ranks of the red men.

Mr. Fessenden has shown, by arguments of unusual strength and clearness, that the residence of this powerful chief, whose dominion extended over nearly all the southeastern part of Massachusetts, from Cape Cod to Narraganset Bay, was on the identical spot where Warren now stands, and that *Sowams*, or *Sowamsset*, was the name of the place where his humble but royal mansion was located.

Sowams, by the Plymouth men, was said to be the *garden* of their patent, when Mr. Williams and Clarke went to inquire about it as a place of settlement for the company who finally located on Rhode Island ; and Sowams and Barrington have generally been represented as the same place. But I never could understand how such a sterile region as old Barrington could be entitled to such an inviting description. But on reading General Fessenden's account of the matter, and more especially, on hearing his verbal representations, the case appears plain. *Sowams* embraced an extensive region of country, extending many miles around—in which Warren was included—in which are savannahs and salt meadows in abundance, where the new comers might obtain food for their cattle in winter, then, one of the most desirable things in a new country. We have seen that Roger Williams, in his first purchases of the Indians, took special care to secure the natural meadows on the rivers and streams within the boundaries of his new acquisition.

The town of Warren is distinguished as the scene of the first operations of Brown University, which it was confidently expected, for a number of years, would be permanently settled in this delightful location. Here, also, was formed the Association to which it gave its name, which has traveled with steady and progressive steps from its commencement. Some farther account of this old institution will soon be given.

To the historical antiquarian, this town, and all the surrounding country, revives some pleasing reminiscences as to its early character, in connection with the aborigines, as may be seen in the note on the preceding page.

BRISTOL. This town is four miles south of Warren, and is the next in size and in point of commercial importance, to Providence and Newport. Until 1741, it was claimed by Massachusetts; and being a shire town, its jail was the frequent receptacle of Baptists, Quakers, and others, who were so heretical as not to pay their parish taxes. The church here, which is a branch of that of Warren, was formed in 1811.

Rev. James M. Winchell, afterwards a distinguished pastor in Boston, officiated here for a short time, in the early part of his ministry. The church being small and feeble, their pastors have come and gone in quick succession.

Rev. James M. Sikes, the present incumbent, has been with them a few years.

Continuing downward in a southerly direction, opposite the island of Rhode Island, we come to Tiverton, once a distinguished place for baptists. In this town a church was gathered in 1655, and was the ninth society of the denomination formed in this country.⁵ The members at first lived in Tiverton, Little Compton, and Dartmouth. At the latter town this body was organized.

Rev. Hugh Mosier, was the first minister; after him was Aaron Davis, Philip Taber, David Rounds, Benjamin Shelden, Peleg Burroughs, and Benjamin Peckham. The two last ministers were from Newport. This brings us to the beginning of the present century. This ancient body was for a long time favored with able and successful pastors, and was in a flourishing condition, and I am inclined to think that it has fallen into the *Free-Will* connection, or has sunk into an inactive condition.

SECOND CHURCH, IN TIVERTON. was formed from the First, in 1788. This is the mother of the church at Fall River, and of course its name was relinquished.

A THIRD CHURCH, now denominated the Second, was organized at Howland's Bridge, in 1809. It belongs to the Warren Association, but it is in a feeble condition, and often without a pastor.

⁵ I have said, in my first volume, p. 503, that it was the seventh; but the two old churches of North and South Kingston were then overlooked. I have placed it in its proper order in this volume, p. 363.

As this whole region of country was claimed by Massachusetts until 1741, our brethren, in company with the Quakers, were more than a century ago cursed with those Puritan scourges, called *ministerial taxes*. The dominant party were in the minority in all this region, but the State religion must be supported at the expense of the people, however much they disliked it. In my first volume, p. 505, copied from Backus, Vol. II., pp. 70-75, I find the following singular narration:—In 1723, the Assembly of Massachusetts passed an Act to raise five hundred and seventy-five dollars in the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton for the support of *their* minister; and, to blind the eyes of the people, who were mostly quakers and baptists, this sum was put in with the province tax, and was afterwards to be drawn out of the treasury;—a strangeness of frequent occurrence in those times. But the assessors—of whom Mr. Taxer, the baptist minister, was one—refused to levy the tax, for which they were imprisoned in Bristol Jail about eighteen months, and were then released by an order from the Court of St. James, in 1724. George I. was then on the British throne. Thomas Richardson and Richard Partridge, of the Society of Friends, presented the petition to this eminent prince, being supported in their embassy by the society to which they belonged.

SECTION III.

Preliminary remarks—Early history of the Island of Rhode Island—Manner of purchasing the lands—Churches on the Island, with their succession of pastors.

IN closing my account of the baptists in this little territory, I shall give a brief description of their rise and progress on the island from which the State took its name.

This fertile spot, as we shall see, for a long time maintained a separate government; this was the centre of operations in the southern end of the colony, and Providence at the north, which led to the compound title of *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*.⁶

The first church that arose here was planted but five years after the Roger Williams community, at Providence. The second was formed before any institution of the kind had been organized in Massachusetts, or in any of the American Colonies; and the 7th day baptist church, in this town, was gathered while as yet there were but six other societies of the baptist order on the western continent; all of them were within about thirty miles of each other, except the old church at Boston. The Sabbatarian Society here was much more efficient in early times, than it has been for a long time past.

During the first century after the settlement of this State, the baptists were probably much stronger in Rhode Island proper than in the Providence Plantations; and when a new baptist college was projected for the colony, Governor Lyndon, Col. Gardner, Col. Bennett, and other enterprising men at Newport, took the lead in the business.

The ministers here were men of much distinction, and this superiority of the southern section of the State continued until the American war, when the exposed situation of the then flourishing town of Newport produced lasting calamities to the place, from the dilapidations and derangements from which it seemed difficult to recover.

Although our churches here generally maintained their numeral strength, yet they have been too deficient in enterprise and efficiency. Serious disturbances at different times, and especially of late years, have embittered their enjoyments and retarded their progress.

From these preliminaries, I shall proceed to give the civil history of the island, and the rise and progress of the baptist churches in it.

 EARLY HISTORY OF THE ISLAND.

The settlement of Aquidneck, or Rhode Island, was begun in the following manner: soon after the banishment of R. Williams, the colony of Massachusetts was most violently agitated by religious discords; and a synod, held at Newton, now Cambridge, after due examination, found, to their grief, that their country was infested with no less than eighty-two heretical opinions, which were all arraigned before this ecclesiastical tribunal, and solemnly condemned. Rev. Mr. Whellwright and Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, both pedobaptists, were banished the jurisdiction, for what was called Antinomianism, and others were exposed to a similar fate. Mr. John Clark, an eminent physician, made a proposal to his friends to remove out of a jurisdiction so full of bigotry and intolerance.

⁶ Rhode Island proper is fifteen miles long, and, on an average, three and a half broad. It lies in the Narraganset Bay, and extends to the sea. Newport is near its southern extremity, thirty miles south of Providence, and for about a century, or until the disasters of the war of the Revolution, was the most commercial and important town in the State. "Travelers," says Dr. Morse, "have called this island the Eden of America." I am inclined to think that the soil in some parts of this favored spot, in its native state, would well compare with the most fertile regions of the Far West, which are not purely alluvial.

Mr. Clark was now in the 29th year of his age. He was requested, with some others, to look out for a place where they might enjoy unmolested the sweets of religious freedom. By reason of the suffocating heat of the preceding summer, they first went north to a place which is now within the bounds of New Hampshire; but on account of the coldness of the following winter, they resolved in the spring to remove toward the south. So, having sought the Lord for direction, they agreed that, while their vessel was passing about Cape Cod, they would cross over the land, having Long Island and Delaware Bay in their eye for the place of their residence. At Providence they were kindly received by Mr. Williams, and being consulted about their designs, he readily presented two places before them—Sowams, now called Barrington, and Aquidneck, now Rhode Island. And inasmuch as they were determined to go out of every other jurisdiction, Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark, attended with two other persons, went to Plymouth to inquire how the case stood—the Plymouth people informed them that Sowams was the *garden of their patent*. But they were advised to settle at Aquidneck, and promised to be looked on as free, and to be treated and assisted as loving neighbors.

On their return, the 7th of March, 1638, the men, to the number of eighteen, incorporated themselves a body politic, and chose William Coddington their judge, or chief magistrate. The names of these men were, William Coddington, John Clark, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, *William Aspinwall*, *Thomas Savage*, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulstone, *Edward Hutchinson*, *Edward Hutchinson, Jun.*, Samuel Wilbore, John Sanford, John Porter, and Henry Bull. Those whose names are in italics afterward went back to Massachusetts; most of the others arose to eminence in the colony which they established.

“These venerable men commenced the settlement of this island under the influence of sentiments the most pure and elevated that ever inspired the heart or dignified the character of man. They were bound together as a community of freemen—not by chartered rights and conventional stipulations—but by moral and religious principles—by mutual voluntary pledges, given by a solemn appeal to the Great Searcher of hearts for their faithful performance.

“The following is the original charter of the American Isle of Rhodes:—

“We, whose names are underwritten, do solemnly swear, in the presence of the great Jehovah, to incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as he shall help us, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto the Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, and to all those most perfect laws of his, given us, in his most holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby.”

“Such were the principles adopted, and such the sentiments set forth as the great charter of rights by those who had the honor of planting the first community of civilized men on Rhode Island.

“The first settlement on the island was commenced at its northern extremity, where a town was regularly laid out, and at first named Pocasset—subsequently, Portsmouth. But so rapid was the increase of the colony during the following summer, that it was deemed advisable, for their mutual prosperity, to commence a settlement on some other part of the island.

“Accordingly, the following spring, Mr. Clark, with several others, removed to the south part of the Island, and commenced a settlement, to which they gave the name of Newport. The island itself, subsequently, by order of the general court, was called the Isle of Rhodes, or, Rhode Island, in memory of that celebrated isle of the Mediterranean sea. The first dwelling house built in the town, was erected by Nicholas Easton—all prior dwellings were tents and wigwams. Both towns were united under the same simple patriarchal form of government, of which Mr. William Coddington was chosen magistrate or judge. A few months subsequently, they chose Mr. John Coggeshall, Nicholas Easton, and William Brenton his assistants. Mr. Coggeshall descended from an ancient and respectable family in England. He came to this country with Mr. Coddington in 1630, and was admitted a freeman of the town of Boston, in

1632. He was a member of the first Board of Selectmen of Boston, and represented that town in general court, in 1634-5-6, and the spring session of 1637, but was disfranchised for conscience towards God that same year. His disfranchisement, with others, created great discontent among his friends, which led to their removal, and finally, to the settlement of this island. Mr. Coggeshall enjoyed the confidence of the colony of Rhode Island, and at the time of his death, which occurred in 1647, he was president of the colony. He lies in the Coggeshall burial place, a little south of Newport. The following is the inscription on his tombstone:—

"Here lyeth the body of
JOHN COGGESHALL, SEN., ESQ.,
Who died, the first president of the colony, the 27th of Nov., 1647, aged about 56 years."

"Mr. Coddington came to this country with Governor Hutchinson, having been appointed in 1629, by the British Government, one of the assistants of the Massachusetts' colony. He engaged in mercantile business in Boston, and built the first brick house in that town. But notwithstanding all the facilities he there enjoyed of promoting his own temporal prosperity, yet he chose to relinquish all these for the sake of religious freedom. Accordingly, in 1638, with the beloved Clark and sixteen others, he left the colony of Massachusetts, and commenced the settlement of this island; and was, by his companions in tribulation, unanimously elected chief magistrate, or judge of the colony; which office he held until the island was incorporated with Providence and Warwick. In 1651 he was appointed by the supreme authority of England, Governor of the island, pursuant to a power reserved in the patent, by which the island became again separated from the Providence Plantations.

"But the people, jealous of their rights and fearful that their freedom might be endangered, dispatched Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark to England to get it revoked. On receiving due notice from England, Mr. Coddington gave up his commission and retired to private life, when the island again became united with the plantations. Mr. Coddington was again elected governor of the colony in 1674-75 and 78, in which year he died, aged 78 years. He was a man of extensive learning, and assisted in framing the body of laws which has been the basis of our constitution and government ever since. Governor Coddington was interred in the family burial-place, which, at his death, he gave the Society of Friends (in Farewell street), just south of the North baptist meeting-house. The freemen of Newport, in town meeting, August 30, 1836, appointed a committee to repair the monument at the head of the grave of this distinguished friend and advocate of civil and religious freedom."

Manner of obtaining the land of the Indians.

"It was not price or money," says Mr. Williams, "that could have purchased Rhode Island, but it was obtained by love; that love and favor which that honored gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself had with the great sachem Myantonomo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansets in the *Pequot war*. This I mention, that, as the truly noble Sir Henry Vane hath been so great an instrument in the hand of God for procuring this island from the barbarians, as also for the procuring and confirming the charter, it may be with all thankful acknowledgment recorded and remembered by us and ours, who reap the sweet fruits of so great benefits and such unheard of liberties among us. 'The Indians were very *shy and jealous of selling the lands to any*, and chose rather to make a *grant of them* to such as they affected; but at the same time, expected such gratuities and rewards as made an *Indian gift* oftentimes a very dear bargain.' And the colony in 1666, says Mr. Callender, 'averred that though the favor Mr. Williams had with Myantonomo was the great means of procuring the grants of the land, yet the purchase *had been dearer* than of any lands in New England; the reason of which might be, partly, the English inhabited between two powerful nations, the Womponoags to the north and east, who had formerly possessed some part of their grants, before they had surrendered it to the Narragansets; and though they freely owned the submission, yet it was thought best by Mr. Williams to make

⁷ *Ross' Hist. Discourse*, pp. 6-9.

them easy by gratuities to the sachem, his counselors, and followers. On the other side the Narragansets were very numerous, and the natives inhabiting any spot the English sat down upon or improved, were all to be bought off to their content, and oftentimes were to be paid over and over again.⁸

The colony of Rhode Island was small, and labored under many embarrassments. In an address to the supreme authority in England, in 1659, they gave the following account of their circumstances: "This poor colony consists mostly of a birth and breeding of the Most High, we being an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation in the bishop's days, and since, from the New England over-zealous colonies. Our whole frame being much like the present frame of our dearest mother England; bearing with the several judgments and consciences of each other, in all the towns of the colony, which our neighbor colonies do not; and which is the only cause of their great offence against us."⁹

Such is the civil history of this island. Its ecclesiastical affairs, so far as the baptists are concerned, will now be given.

FIRST CHURCH.

For the origin of this church, we must go back to 1644, when, according to tradition, it was formed. The constituents were Dr. John Clark and wife, Mark Luker, Nathaniel West and wife, William Vaughan, Thomas Clark, Joseph Clark, John Peckham, John Thorndon, William and Samuel Weeden.

Rev. John Clark, M.D., the founder of this church, became its first minister. His character is given in the work referred to below.¹⁰ He was born Oct. 8, 1609. He died in Newport, 1676, aged 67.

Rev. Obadiah Holmes, was the second pastor of this church. He was a native of Preston, Lancashire, England; arrived in America about 1639, and continued a communicant with the pedobaptists, first at Salem, and then at Rehoboth, about eleven years, when he became a baptist, and subsequently united with this church. The year after Mr. Clark went to England with Roger Williams, he was invested with the pastoral office here, till his death, in 1652, aged 76 years. He was buried in his own field, where a tomb is erected to his memory.¹ Successor to Mr. Holmes, was

Rev. Richard Dingley, who continued with them only four years, when he removed to Charleston, S. C.

For about eight years previous to his settlement, the church was without a pastor.

Rev. William Peckham, was the next in office here, having been ordained in 1711. After him,

Rev. Daniel White, from England, became assistant to Mr. Peckham, about 1718, but this was an unhappy connection; division ensued, and in the end a separate church was established, which, however, went into oblivion after a few years.

Rev. John Comer, became a colleague with the aged elder Peckham, in 1725. Under the labors of this young and promising minister, the church was soon increased, and all things seemed to promise well for the future. But a difference of opinion between the minister and a portion of his flock, led to unhappy altercations, which resulted in his dismissal, in about four years from his settlement. The point at issue was the laying on of hands on baptized believers, as indispensable to church-membership and communion at the Lord's table. This doctrine was advanced and maintained with great decision by the

⁸ Century Sermon, pp. 31, 32.

¹⁰ Callender's Century Sermon, Dr. Elton's edition, pp. 210-212.

¹ This is the man who received such a cruel scourging at the instance of the Puritan ministers of Massachusetts, as has already been related.

Mr. Holmes had eight children, and his posterity are spread in different parts of New England, Long Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c.; and it is supposed, says Mr. Edwards, could all that sprang from him in the male and female lines, be numbered, they would amount (in 1790) to near five thousand. His son Obadiah was long a judge in New Jersey, and a preacher in the baptist church at Cohasset. Another of his sons, by the name of John, was a magistrate in Philadelphia at the time of the Quaker separation, which will be mentioned under the head of Pennsylvania. One of his grandsons was alive in Newport, in 1770, in the ninety-sixth year of his age -- Morgan Edwards.

young divine, From this place he removed to Rehoboth, where he finished his earthly course in 1734, in the 30th year of his age.

Under Mr. Comer's ministry, singing was introduced into public worship, which had not before been practiced.

Mr. Comer bid fair to be one of the most eminent ministers of his day, having had a liberal education; a thing very rare among baptist ministers at that time. His talents were respectable, and his preaching was unusually popular and commanding.²

Rev. John Callender, nephew of Rev. Elisha Callender, one of the pastors of the first church in Boston, was the sixth pastor of this people.

1723 Mr. Callender was a native of Boston; was a graduate of Cambridge, and was one of the very few who enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Hollis' donation to that institution.

He became the pastor of this church in 1731, in which office he continued until his death, in 1748, a period of 17 years. Old elder Peckham was still alive at the time of his settlement.

Mr. Callender was removed by death in the meridian of life, at the age of forty-two; but his name has been immortalized by his Century Sermon, which was delivered in 1738, seven years after his settlement in Newport.³

Rev. Edward Upham was the seventh pastor of this ancient church. He was born in Malden, near Boston, in 1709; was educated at Cambridge, and probably received the benefit of Mr. Hollis' donation. He ministered about nine years at West Springfield, Mass., previous to his settlement in this town, which was in 1748. Here he remained about twenty years, when he returned to his old flock, at Springfield, where he continued his pastoral duties until disabled by infirmities of age. He died in 1795, at the age of 87.

7 Mr. Upham was one of the earliest and most zealous friends of R. I. College, of which he was an original trustee and fellow.

Rev. Erasmus Kelly was the next in office in this church. He was a native of Burks co., Pa., where he was born in 1740. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia, and began to preach in 1769. Two years after, he was called to Newport, and was ordained the pastor of this church, which prospered much under his ministry, until the troubles of the war drove him from his church and home. He removed to Warren, as a place of security, and took up his residence in the parsonage house, with Rev. Mr. Thompson. But the enemy soon extended their depredations to this retired location, and burnt the house, with all his valuable effects.

Mr. Kelly returned to the pastoral charge on the close of the war; but in less than a year he was removed by death, in 1784.

Rev. Benjamin Foster, D. D., was the ninth pastor of this body. After about three years residence with this people, he removed to New York, under which head a more full account will be given of him.

We have now followed the succession of pastors in this ancient community, for about a century and a half, and what is singular, among our denomination in early times, of these nine pastors, all but Mr. Holmes, were men of liberal education.

Rev. Michael Eddy succeeded to the pastoral office, in 1789, in which he continued till his death, in 1835, a period of forty-six years.

Rev. Arthur A. Ross, the eleventh in office here, was installed in 1835, and continued in the pastorate until 1840.⁴

² A full account of him will be given in my biographical work.

³ This sermon contains a concise history of the whole State of Rhode Island for the first hundred years, with the notes and comments by Professor Elton; it makes a volume of almost three hundred pages, and is the only history of the State which was ever published. This historical discourse, and Comer's Diary, in two thin volumes folio in MS., have been of special benefit to all historical inquirers after them.

A full biography of this distinguished man, I promise, as in all such cases, in my work devoted to this subject.

⁴ At the close of the second century from the settlement of Rhode Island, an historical discourse

Rev. Joseph Smith, the twelfth and present pastor of this church, which is now in the two hundred and third year of its existence, was inducted into office in 1841.

SECOND CHURCH.

This church originated in 1656, when twenty-one persons broke off from the first church, and formed themselves into a separate body. Their names were

William Vaughan,	Jeremiah Weeden,	James Barker,	James Brown,
Thomas Baker,	Joseph Card,	Stephen Hooker,	John Hammet,
James Clark,	John Greenman,	Timothy Peckham,	William Rhodes,
Jeremiah Clark,	Henry Clark,	Joseph Weeden,	Daniel Sabear,
Daniel Wightman,	Peleg Peckham,	John Rhodes,	William Greenman.
John Odlin,			

There were, doubtless, females in this secession, but no names are given.

These seceders objected against the old body,

1. *Her use of psalmody.*
2. *Undue restraints upon the liberty of prophesying, as they termed it.*
3. *Particular redemption.*
4. *Her holding the laying-on-of-hands as a matter of indifference.*

The last article is supposed to be the principal cause of the separation. Mr. Clark was now in England, on business of the colony; had he been with his church, the division might have been prevented. But this is one of the many cases where similar divisions have been overruled for good.

Rev. William Vaughan was the first pastor, who continued with them till his death, in 1677. Successor to him, was

Rev. John Baker, who, after ministering here a few years, removed to North Kingston, where a church arose under his ministry.

Rev. John Harden was the next in office, who died 1700.

Rev. James Clark, a nephew of Dr. John, the founder of the first church, was the fourth in succession; he was ordained in 1701, by the assistance of Rev. Messrs. Dexter, Tillinghast, and Brown, of Providence, and continued in good esteem until he died, Dec. 1, 1736, aged 87.

Rev. Daniel Wightman became the successor of Mr. Clark, having been his colleague for many years.

Mr. Wightman was born in Narraganset, in 1668, and was ordained in 1701. He continued in office until his death, in 1750, aged 82. He was a man of an excellent character; was related to Valentine Wightman, and is supposed to be a descendant of Edward Wightman, who was burnt for heresy, at Litchfield, England, in 1612, being the last man who suffered death for conscience' sake, by direct course of law, in the mother country.

Rev. Nicholas Eyers, was the next in office.* He also, as was common in those days, had been co-pastor with his predecessor a number of years. Mr. Eyers was born at a place called Chipmanslade, Wilts Co., England, 1691. His ministry was long and useful, his talents and attainments were of a high order, and "he left behind him," says Morgan Edwards, "heaps of MSS., some po-

was prepared by Mr. Ross in commemoration of that event. This discourse was delivered April 4th, 1838. It recapitulates the principal events of the early settlements, contained in Callender's Century Sermon, and embraces the civil and religious history of Rhode Island for two hundred years.

Mr. Ross has given an account, somewhat in detail, of the calamitous and distressing events of the war of the Revolution; its dilapidations; the scenes of personal injury and violence to which many of the inhabitants were exposed while the island was in possession of the British troops. This discourse, with the notes and appendix, makes a volume of one hundred and sixty pages, and has afforded me essential aid in my compilations in this part of the State.

* The commencement of his ministry in the city of New York, the well-written inscription on the tomb which was erected to his memory, as well as those of some other baptist pastors in this ancient town, with all the antiquarian fragments which can be collected respecting them, will be given in my biographical work.

lemical, some doctrinal, some political, for which he was in every way qualified."

Rev. Gardner Thurston, was the immediate successor of Mr. Eyers. He was a native of the town, where he was born, 1721. His ministry, of upwards of forty years' continuance, was marked with great respectability and success. His house of worship was twice enlarged, and became very capacious, for those times. It is said, that during a part of his ministry, his congregation was among the largest in New England. Although his education was not liberal, yet from the aid derived from his learned pastor, the Rev. Mr. Eyers, by whom he was greatly beloved, he became qualified to officiate in his sacred functions, to the acceptance of all classes of his numerous hearers. He finished his course in 1802, in the 81st year of his age.

Rev. Messrs. *Thomas Dunn*, *William Peckham*, and *Wm. Collier*, at different times officiated as assistants to Mr. Thurston, in the latter part of his ministry.

Rev. Joshua Bradley, now of Virginia, was inducted into the pastoral office, at the earnest request of Mr. Thurston, about one year before his death. This was the first settlement of Mr. Bradley, and was made soon after leaving the college, at Providence. Great success attended his ministry, for about six years, when he removed to Connecticut, and from there to many other places in the northern and middle States.

Rev. John B. Gibson was the next pastor, for about eight years. After him, *Rev. Samuel Wydown*, two years.

Rev. Romeo Elton, D.D., since a professor in Brown University, was ordained to the pastoral office here in 1817, where he continued five years.

Rev. William Gammell succeeded Mr. Elton, in 1823, and continued about four years, when by a fatal paralysis he was suddenly cut down, in the midst of distinguished usefulness, and unusual prospects for the future. Successor to him, was

Rev. John C. Choules, now of Roxbury, Mass. Mr. Choules was installed in office in September, 1827, and continued about six years. Next to him, was

Rev. John Dowling, D.D., now one of the baptist pastors in New York, about three years.

Rev. Timothy G. Freeman was the next in office here, about one year.

Rev. Leland Howard, now of Troy, N. Y., was settled with this people in 1838, where he continued about three years.

Rev. Thomas Leaver was inducted in office in 1844, where he continued a few years, and then he became an episcopalian.

For some time past, this once numerous and flourishing community have been without a pastor, and in a state of peculiar trial.

CENTRAL CHURCH, was organized in 1846, mostly of members from the second. It bids fair to gather an efficient society in, as its name imports, the centre of the town. Although this new interest, as well as the old body from which it sprung, have both invited suitable men to assume the pastoral care of them, yet, as their acceptance has not been announced, they must be reported as without pastors.

Besides these three churches of the regular order, there is the **SABBATARIAN CHURCH**, of high antiquity.

FOURTH CHURCH, was constituted in 1788. By this name this old society was formerly distinguished. It was a long time under the ministry of Rev. **Caleb Green**, and was a highly orthodox, unassociated body.

It is said now to be in a flourishing condition, in connection with the *Free-Will* community.

A branch of the Fourth Church has formed a new organization, which worships in the Sabbatarian house, which can be conveniently done, as they meet on different days.

BLACK ISLAND, or NEW SHOREHAM. In this insular situation, which is about thirty miles from Newport, in the Atlantic ocean, a church was founded in 1750. It was small for many years, but its numbers, not long since, were greatly augmented. Unhappily, difficulties and divisions have rent them asunder, so that in the Minutes of the Warren Association for 1845, I observe the singular entry: — *Dropped, 220; present members, 230.*—

From these brief details of the Baptist denomination in Rhode Island, it is plain to be seen, that the *voluntary principle*, in the support of the gospel, has been entirely successful in this free government.

It is also a gratifying circumstance, that the ground first occupied by Roger Williams, John Clark, and their associates, has from the beginning, retained a regular succession of well-regulated churches, with ministers highly respectable and useful—that the churches planned by these pioneers in the cause of freedom, civil and religious, after sending out numerous branches in all directions, are now distinguished for numbers, strength and efficiency, and for their undeviating attachment to the original principles on which they were founded, both as to faith and forms.

These two free governments, viz., Rhode Island and Massachusetts, are small in geographical dimensions, compared with many others, yet they supply an unusual amount of materials for the history of our society, at a period anterior to the existence of many of the States in our Union, where at present the numbers of our denomination are equal, if not superior, to all the N. E. States put together.

But so recent is the origin of Baptist institutions among them, and so uniform have been the operations, that they do not furnish incidents for the construction of narratives in detail, which would be interesting to the general reader. I shall not be able to be so particular, except in a few regions, in any of the other States, but must travel on in a more rapid and summary manner.

Baptist Ministers and Laymen, who were natives of Rhode Island. Among these, we may mention, Valentine Wightman, Joshua Moore, Peter Worcester, Clark Rogers, Caleb Nicholas, Wightman Jacobs, Dr. Rogers, late of Philadelphia, Joseph Griffin, late of Newbury, Thomas H. Chipman, late of New-Session.

Among distinguished laymen, we may mention—Governors Jencks, the two Warcks, Richard and Samuel, and Lyndon; Judges Jencks, Taber, &c. This list might be greatly extended.

WARREN ASSOCIATION.

This ancient body was organized at the place which gave it its name, in 1767, of four churches; and the first table of its Minutes, stood as follows:—

Church.	Year.	Minister.	Members.
Bellingham.	1750	Nash Allen.	25
Second Middleborough.	1757	Ebenezer Hinds.	31
Warren.	1764	James Manning.	65
Haverhill.	1765	Bez. Smith.	130

Total:—churches, 4; ministers, 4; members, 251

* There was a number of the Warcks who were men of eminence in their day. The whole family, at an early period, were Seventh Day Baptists. Their biographies are being prepared by a minister of that order.

A number of the Governors of Rhode Island, in early times, were Quakers, or Friends, among whom was Governor RHOODES, whose name has often been mentioned. He is the man of many names who wrote such a remarkable tract among the papers to the Declaration of Independence. Until the war of the Revolution, his office did not necessarily involve any participation in military duties, or any of the responsibilities of war.

When that came to be the case, these members of a great Peace Society declined any civil appointments of the kind. Some of their successors, however, became soldiers and warriors, among whom was the famous General Nathaniel Greene.

The representatives of six other churches were present, but were not authorized by their constituents to join the confederacy, so fearful were our brethren of that day of anything which bore the semblance of the organizations by which they had been oppressed.

The first church in Boston united with the Association in 1768. Sutton, Leicester, Ware, N. H., Sturbridge, Enfield, and a long list of others, soon fell in, and the body became somewhat numerous before old Providence joined it, which was in 1782.

The statistics of this Association, in 1772, five years from its formation, at which time the second church in Boston became a member, stood as follows :⁷—

Names.	Ministers.	Members.	Names.	Ministers.	Members.
1st Boston,	Samuel Stillman,	130	Ware,		16
2d “	John Davis,	40	Ashfield,	Eben. Smitn,	45
Bellingham,	Noah Alden,	39	Montegue,		24
Haverhill,	Hez. Smith,	141	Sutton,	Jerem. Bestow,	45
Warren,	Charles Thompson,	75	Royalstone,	Whitman Jacobs,	27
1st Middleboro’,	Isaac Backus,	67	Richmond,	Mattur. Bellau,	45
2d “	Eben. Hinds,	34	Wrentham, & }		10
3d “	Asa Hunt,	60	Cumberland, }		
Leicester,	Nath. Greene,	40	Attleborough,		16
Wilbraham,	Seth Clarke,	35	South Brimfield,		12
Enfield,	Joseph Mecham,	32	Sturbridge,		27

Total—churches, 21 ; ministers, 15 ; members, 960.

Thus we see that the churches generally were in Massachusetts.

The additions this year by baptism were 102.

The three first sessions of the Association were held at Warren, the fourth at Bellingham. From this period they began to travel round in a wide circuit to accommodate the churches in their growing community.

Ten years after, viz., in 1782, the churches amounted to 43 ; the ministers were 28 ; and the members, 3368.

This year the Warren church is not named on the minutes ; this was probably owing to the dispersions of the war ; and but two churches from Rhode Island, viz., PROVIDENCE, *James Manning*, and GLOUCESTER, *Joseph Winsor*, were represented. Woodstock, Conn., *Biel Le Doyt*, Woodstock, Vt., *Elisha Ransom*, and Salem, N. H., *Samuel Fletcher*, then belonged to this community. All the other churches were in Massachusetts. Thus we see that all the New England States, at that time, had representations in this body.

A full history of this Association from the beginning, with a list of all the churches which have at different times belonged to it—the extent of its operations, especially in the times of vexation and oppression to which many of the churches were exposed in Massachusetts—the various institutions for benevolent objects which have originated within its bounds—and the associations which have sprung directly from it, wholly or in part, would make an interesting work.

The Boston Association was entirely from the Warren, and was formed by a mutual division of the old community. The Sturbridge had been set off before, as the Worcester was soon after.

The Taunton, Old Colony, and Barnstable, were all the immediate offspring of this fruitful mother.

For almost three quarters of a century, although this old institution bore a Rhode Island name, yet it was composed mostly of Massachusetts churches ;

⁷ This session was held in Middleborough. Rev. John Gano, then pastor of the First church, New York, was present, and by special request, delivered the Association Sermon, from Matt. vi. 10. Mr. Gano was also present at the annual session, two years after, at Medfield, and acted as moderator.

It is said by Mr. Backus, that three ministers from Philadelphia came on with a letter to encourage these brethren in their new undertaking ;—Dr. Jones, and Morgan Edwards, were probably two of them.

but for ten years past, or since the formation of the Taunton Association, it has been confined to its own State, with the exception of West Wrentham, where, for a long time, presided the venerable *William Williams*, so famous in his day as a classical tutor, on his own premises, and for the number of students which he fitted for college, mostly for that of his *alma mater*, at Providence.

PROVIDENCE ASSOCIATION,

Was formed from the Warren, in 1843; two of the churches in the city, viz., the 4th and 5th, belong to this new community; all the others are in Providence County, excepting West Wrentham, which was lately named. Most of them are of recent origin, and in most cases they have been nurtured and matured by the fostering care of the State Convention. The same may be said of many other churches in different parts of the State.

A list of the *Moderators* and *Clerks* who have officiated in the Warren Association from its commencement, arranged as nearly as can be done in a chronological order. Respect is had to the first time their names in their respective capacities appear on the minutes.

James Manning,	Hezkh. Smith,	J. C. Welch,
Isaac Backus,	John Stanford,	P. Church,
Noah Alden,	Elijah Codding,	Wm. Philips,
Eben. Hinds,	Thomas Baldwin,	B. C. Grafton,
John Gano,	D. Benedict,	J. Dowling,
Eben. Smith,	Wm. Gammell,	Joseph Smith,
Job Seamans,	Benj. Putnam,	T. C. Jameson.
Samuel Stillman,	F. Wayland,	Total, 25.*
Stephen Gano,	A. Caswell,	

The clerks have been,

John Davis,	Thomas Gair,	J. O. Choules,
Asa Hunt,	Joseph Grafton,	Wm. Philips,
William Williams,	Thomas Baldwin,	J. Dowling,
Hezkh. Smith,	D. Benedict,	H. Clark,
Charles Thompson,	Bela Jacobs,	E. K. Fuller,
Isaac Backus,	J. M. Winchell,	Joseph Smith,
Benj. Foster,	Jas. Barnaby,	J. P. Tustin.
E. Codding,	Wm. Gammell,	Total, 25.
Thomas Ustick,	J. N. Seaman,	

It is somewhat singular, that amidst all the fluctuations in these two departments, and the very unequal duration of the services of the different functionaries, that at the end of 80 years they should come out alike in number.

In many cases, both the moderators and the clerks officiated but one or two years each; the interchanges were also frequent from one department to the other.

The longest services were performed by Drs. Baldwin and Gano; the first was seventeen years clerk; the latter, nineteen years moderator.

The assistant clerks have also been numerous, but for more than twenty years past, this office has been performed by Mr. H. H. Brown, a member of the old church in Providence. He is a printer, and for that length of time, has uniformly published the minutes.

* About the time that Dr. Gano resigned the chair, the Association adopted the plan of rotation in office. This is good republican doctrine, but does not always work well in the management of these bodies, as there is a great difference in the skill and expedition of men in the business of presiding, and also of clerkship.

CHAPTER IX.

CONNECTICUT.

SECTION I.

The different settlements of baptists in this State—V. Wightman—Groton—Stonington—New London, and other churches—Stonington—Groton—New London, and Ashford Associations.

THE earliest operations of our denomination in this State were commenced by a small colony from Rhode Island, in the very beginning of the 18th century. They began in the county of New London, near the borders of this old baptist State, and in the south-east corner of the one now under consideration. This portion of Connecticut has been a distinguished resort for the advocates of primitive order for more than a century past. Here their churches have multiplied and sent out their branches in different directions—here revivals frequent and powerful have been enjoyed for a long time past. This has been a nursery for ministers and members who have emigrated abroad and carried with them their peculiar opinions in a wide circuit around.

This State has seven associations; three on the east, and four on the west side of the Connecticut river, which runs through it about in its centre, from north to south. The Stonington, New London, New Haven, and Fairfield County Associations, all come down to the seaboard; the others are in the midland and upper regions.

Those in the eastern section will be first given.

In 1705, Mr. Valentine Wightman removed from North Kingston, in Rhode Island, to Groton, seven miles from New London, where he the same year planted a church, of which he became pastor. This remained the only baptist church in this province for about twenty years. But in 1726, another was gathered in the township of New London, on the ground which is now occupied by the Seventh-day baptists, and a minister by the name of Stephen Gorton, became their pastor. He was a man of some eminence as a preacher, and ministered to this people for many years; but he at length fell into some scandalous conduct, for which he was deposed from the pastoral office, and the church in a short time became extinct.

In 1729, some people in Saybrook, at the mouth of Connecticut river, embraced baptist sentiments; but no church was gathered there for fifteen years after.

In 1731, some of the pedobaptists in Wallingford, thirteen miles north of New Haven, by reading Delaune's Plea, &c., became convinced of the error of their former creed, were baptized, and united with the church at New London, but usually met for worship in their own town, where a church was soon afterward established.

These were some of the first efforts which our brethren made amongst the rigid pedobaptists in this fast-bound State.

Their progress at first was extremely slow, and much embarrassed; they had to work their way against the deep-rooted prejudices of a people who had been always taught that these were the descendants of the mad men of Munster; that they propagated errors of a pestilential, and most dangerous kind; that

they were aiming to subvert all the established forms of religion in the land, and in the ruin of the peripatetic churches to plant their heretical and disorganizing principles. That for the purpose of bear them present, or for the purpose of increase or multiply at their meetings, in any of their own towns or parishes, was a crime of peculiar enormity, which would expose them to the animosity and severe judgment of Heaven.

Such were the sentiments of most of the Connecticut people, at the period to which we are speaking. But this mass of prejudices was only a shallow ice-berg in the progress of the rapid cause, compared with those religious laws and views the Connecticut rulers had learned in their semi-sacred establishments.

In the New Light, the foundation of the establishment was very sensibly shaken. Many ministers opposed the progress of that extraordinary work of grace, as being only the fruit of error and delirium. Divisions ensued: separate meetings were set up in many towns and parishes. Heretic principles kindled a fervent prejudice, and many of the zealous new lights, who began with the peripatetic, brought in in the rapid plan.

About the time, and a little after this distinguished epoch in the religious history of New England, is the birth of the extraordinary movement, small churches were formed in Springfield, Colchester, Ashford, Lyme, Killingly, Farmington, Stratford and Essexford, some of which acquired a permanent standing, while others were soon scattered and became extinct.

So slow was the increase of the masses in this government, that in 1766, thirty years after Mr. Wigglesworth started the standard in Groton, they had only eight or nine churches which had acquired any degree of permanency, and most of these were small and feeble bodies.

In 1768 their number had increased to about thirty, in which were about twenty ministers. From this date, the denomination began to increase much faster than it had formerly done, so that in 1796 the number of churches amounted to thirty, the ministers were about fifty and the communicants a little over three thousand in number. These churches were scattered in almost every township in the State.

From 1796 to 1812, when the former history was published, the gain in the whole State was something more than a third from the last statement.

For the last thirty years, the increase has been more rapid, so that there is now in the State a little over a hundred churches, and upward of sixteen thousand members.

STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

This last communion was celebrated in 1792. Joanna Morse was the moderator and Eliza Miller the clerk of the first meeting. The number of churches in this State at that time had not exceeded 100, and were concentrated in the towns of Groton, Ashford, Colchester, and Lyme. The ministers present were T. Wigglesworth, E. Brown, S. Burleigh, — B. and E. Lester.

The churches which at that time were most distinguished in the ancient records of this State, were the Wigglesworth, the Brown, Morse, Lester, Randall, Putnam, &c.

A few instances of some of the latest churches and their pastors will now be given.

STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.

This is the best styled, & the most respectable church in this State, and was planted by Frederick Wigglesworth in 1751, two years before the formation of

The records of this church are preserved in the archives of the State, and are deposited in the office of the Secretary of the State. The churches were all of the ground and all belonging to the same denomination in the year

the Philadelphia Association. Mr. Wightman was a native of North Kingston, R. I., where he was born in 1681; and after being the pastor of this people upwards of forty years, died among them at the age of 66. He is supposed to have been a descendant of Edward Wightman, the last man who was burnt for heresy in England. More of the details will be given in the biography of this father of Connecticut baptists.

In 1727, while Mr. Wightman was on a preaching excursion at Lyme, Rev. Mr. Bulkley, of Colchester, challenged him to a public dispute on baptism and the then common way of the support of ministers, by what was called the *standing order*.

A brief synopsis of this dispute is thus stated by Mr. Backus :

On the support of ministers, Mr. Wightman maintained that it ought not to be by goods taken away by force from men of other persuasions :—

1. *Because there is no precept nor precedent for so doing in the New Testament.*

2. *Because it violates the gospel rule of doing to others, &c.*

3. *Because the Lord requires only volunteers, and not forced men into his service.*

But his antagonist and challenger refused to affirm to the positions as thus laid down, and insisted on shifting the question, and to have the issue as to the *lawfulness of their way* under the existing laws of the State.

This running-fight in the onset, ended in the production of a publication on each side, which appears to have been in the possession of our old historian.

The sum and substance of Mr. Bulkley's argument against the baptists was, that "they are but of yesterday, and consequently the truth cannot be with them, as they were not known in the world till about two hundred years past."

To which Mr. Wightman replied, "I never read of a presbyterian of an earlier date: how, then, can the truth be with them?"²

Mr. Wightman died in 1747, having administered to his flock forty-two years.

Rev. Daniel Fish was next in office here, for seven years; successor to him was

Rev. Timothy Wightman, a son of the first pastor, who became the spiritual guide of this people in 1756; he died in office, 1796;—having sustained the pastoral relation forty years.

Rev. John Gano Wightman, a grandson of Valentine, assumed the pastorship in 1800, and died at his post, 1841.

Rev. Wm. C. Walker is the present pastor of this old community.

Thus it appears that the three Wightmans—father, son, and grandson—filled this pastoral station one hundred and twenty-three years,—about forty years each. How unlike the transient shepherds of modern times!

This pastoral longevity was common in those days, but is rare at present.³

Sixteen of the descendants of elder Valentine Wightman have become baptist ministers, viz., Valentine W. Rathbun, Timothy Wightman, Jesse Wightman, John Wightman, John G. Wightman, Aroswell Lamb, Palmer G. Wightman, Nehemiah Lamb, John Lamb, Isaac A. Turner, Caleb Lamb, Reuben Lamb, Thomas B. Lamb. In addition to these there are three by the name of Rathbun, whose first names are not given.

Since the re-organization of this church, in 1754, it has sent into the ministry Timothy Wightman, John Wightman, Rufus Allen, Jesse Wightman, John G. Wightman, Nehemiah Lamb, John Lamb, Jonathan Miner, Erastus Denison, Ainos Babcock, Cyrus Miner, Palmer G. Wightman, Simon B. Bailey, Stephen H. Peckham, Lathrop W. Wheeler, Isaac A. Turner, Noyes W. Miner, George —. Pendleton.

² Bulkley, pp. 132, 176; Wightman, pp. 25, 28, 41, as quoted by Backus, Vol. II., pp. 89, 90.

³ Many of my accounts which were prepared a year or two since, on a revision, I am obliged to alter;—the pastors then in office, in many cases, are removed.

SECOND CHURCH, GROTON, was organized in 1765, which adopted the plan of mixed, or open communion, which they held about twenty years.

Rev. Silas Burrows was their first pastor; the names of his successors I do not find. R. Burrows, probably a son of the first elder, appears to have been one.

This church was also favored with stability in the pastorship, as there were but three in office for the space of about eighty years.

Rev. H. R. Knapp is the present incumbent.

THIRD CHURCH, GROTON, bears date from 1831.

Rev. Erastus Denison was the pastor in 1845.

FIRST CHURCH, NORTH STONINGTON, was founded in 1743.

Rev. Wait Palmer was the first pastor, and continued in office about twenty years. This is the minister by whom Shubael Stearns was baptized, who afterwards became a famous pioneer in Virginia and North Carolina.

Rev. Eleazer Brown was his successor, for twenty-five years.

Rev. Peleg Randall, for the next thirty years, had the spiritual oversight of this people.

Rev. Jonathan Miner was inducted into the pastorship in 1814, which he sustained about twenty years.

After him, this people had for teachers, Charles Randall and William Flint. According to the Minutes of the Association for 1845, the pastoral office was vacant.

SECOND CHURCH, STONINGTON, was formed in 1765. It arose amidst difficulties and divisions between the pedobaptists and the mixed communion baptists among themselves. It was evidently the offspring of the *New Light Stir*, which had prevailed in this region.

Rev. Simeon Brown was the first pastor, and from this church have been sent into the ministry, Ashur Miner, Asa Spalding, Jedediah Randall, Forenda Bestor, A. R. Wells, Levi Meech, John Green, Erastus Denison, Levi Walker, and a number of licentiates. Ten special revivals have been enjoyed among this people.

Rev. Thomas Barber is their present pastor.

STONINGTON BOROUGH, was organized in 1775. This church has had for its pastors, John Rathbun, — Benson, V. W. Rathbun, W. Gardner, Thomas Spooner, E. Cheesbro, G. B. Perry, I. S. Swan, A. B. Bronson, J. S. Anderson.

Rev. A. G. Palmer, formerly pastor at Westerly, R. I., is now in office here.

THIRD, NORTH STONINGTON, was formed in 1831.

Rev. James R. Stone, the present incumbent, lately removed from a pastoral station at Wickford, R. I.

The churches in the two old towns of Groton and Stonington, those fruitful nurseries of our community, have sent out numerous branches in all the surrounding regions.

GROTON UNION CONFERENCE.

This body was organized in 1788, and for many years spread over much of this old baptist ground in the two States of Connecticut and Rhode Island. It differed from the old community in allowing, to some extent, the practice of open communion. But still, it was so far in fellowship with their strict brethren, that a friendly intercourse was generally maintained. I find, by their Minutes of 1799, that Drs. Gano and Baldwin attended their session at Lyme, as messengers from the Warren Association;—at this time their number was upwards of two thousand.

But, from various causes, their peculiar views on the subject of communion were gradually relinquished, and, in 1817, the two old companies of Stoning-

ton and Groton coalesced;—the Stonington Association kept on its course with the term *Union* appended to its name. Simultaneously with this amalgamatory process, a new institution was projected out of the great confederacy, which assumed the title of the

NEW LONDON ASSOCIATION.

This body bears date from 1817. It arose out of the Stonington and Groton after they had united. The river Thames was the dividing line, and all the churches to the west of it fell into the new establishment.

This institution, although of modern date, is located on ground where our society has been somewhat numerous for about a century past. This was the birth-place of Backus, and many others who have been distinguished promoters of the baptist cause in this and many other parts of the country. This is now the largest Association in the State, but unfortunately for my narratives, so scanty is my information, that my details must be much more circumscribed than I could desire.

The town,—now city of New London,—as was customary in early times, extended over a wide circuit around;—Waterford, Montville, and perhaps some other towns, were once included in its bounds.

The oldest church of which any account has been preserved, was established in that part of New London now called Waterford, in 1725 or '6. *Stephen Groton* was the first pastor. This old community became extinct, and the church which now appears on their Minutes by the name of

WATERFORD, is dated 1748. *Zadok* and *Francis Darrow* were its early ministers. Both names appear on the Minutes for many years. *Francis* next, stands alone.

Rev. Francis Darrow, the present pastor, is a grandson of *Zadok*, who lived nearly a century.

MONTVILLE, the other branch of the old town, has had one or more churches live and die in it a long time before the present one arose.

Rev. Joshua Morse, the first moderator of the Stonington Association, gathered a church here in 1750, over which he presided some years, when he removed to Sandisfield, Mass.

Another church was organized here in 1786, of which *Reuben Palmer* some time was pastor.

The present church bears date from 1821. *Rev. J. B. Ballard* was pastor in 1844.

FIRST CHURCH, NEW LONDON, was established in 1804.

Rev. Samuel West was its first pastor. After him was *N. Dodge*, *Eben. Loomis*, *C. Tilden*, *H. R. Knapp*, *A. Ackley*, *N. Wildman*, and probably others.

Rev. J. S. Swan is the present pastor. This is the largest church in the Association.⁴

SECOND CHURCH, NEW LONDON, was formed in 1840.

Rev. John Blain, now of Charlestown, Mass., was an early, if not the first pastor.

Rev. Loomis G. Leonard is now in office here.

Saybrook, Colchester, and Lyme, have been long distinguished resorts for our community. The church in Saybrook bears date from 1755. Its succession of pastors I am not able to give.

Rev. Rufus K. Mills was the incumbent in 1844.

COLCHESTER CHURCH was formed in 1780.

Rev. E. Loomis is the present pastor.

⁴ In the Minutes of 1844—the latest I have received—this church was put down 679; Second, do. 324; Central Norwich, 438.

In Lyme, no less than four churches appear on the Minutes. Their ministers, two years since, were *Chester Tilden, Thomas Dowling, P. Brocket, and J. Hepburn.*

FIRST NORWICH was organized in 1800.

Rev. John Sterrey was the first pastor, and continued in office till his death, in 1823.

Rev. Messrs. Wm. Palmer, S. S. Mallery, J. Graves, and — *Rising,* the present incumbent, have been his successors.

CENTRAL CHURCH. This is a new interest, got up in 1840; as its name imports, it is in the midst of the city. Unusual success attended this new undertaking, and soon it became next in size to the First church, in New London. It has sent out a colony of nearly one hundred to form a new church at *Greenville*, about one mile distant, where, as well as at home, new and commodious houses of worship have been erected.

Rev. M. G. Clarke assumed the pastorship from the beginning, which he resigned in 1846.⁵

LEBANON. The origin of this church, which was formed in 1805, was somewhat peculiar; the whole story is related in my first volume, pp. 524-526. The substance of it is, that the pedobaptists of the town became divided about the location of the parish church; the two parties each built for themselves; and, as the neighboring clergy refused to dedicate one of them because it was not got up according to law, it, in the end, fell into the hands of the baptists, who have occupied it upwards of forty years.

At the constitution of the church, *Drs. Baldwin, of Boston, and Gano, of Providence,* were present.

Rev. Nehemiah Dodge became the first pastor, where he continued eight years.

Rev. Daniel Putnam was next in office for three years. Successor to him was *Rev. Esek Brown,* upwards of fifteen years.

Rev. Levi Meech followed him for a few years.

Rev. N. Wildman, the present incumbent, has been in office some eight or ten years.

The two Associations, whose affairs have been thus summarily related, are the largest in this government, and contain together nearly half the baptist members in the whole State.

Most of them are in New London Co., which shows that the churches must be planted near together.

A well arranged history of them would make a pamphlet useful to themselves, and interesting to the denomination.

ASHFORD ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1825, mostly of churches that had formerly belonged to the old Sturbridge, which is near it in Massachusetts. It is situated in the counties of Windham and Tolland, in the north-east corner of the State, having Rhode Island on the east, and Massachusetts on the north.

This is old ground for baptists; here a small Association lived and died long before any institution of the kind was attempted in any other part of the State. The region of country is north of the bounds of the old Stonington community and contiguous to them.

But little short of a century ago, the sentiments of the baptists began to spread in this corner of the State, to which they were carried first by the brethren from

⁵ I much regret that I cannot be more minute in my descriptions of this as well as the other churches in this Association. Mr. Clarke is the only one who has made me any communication. What few items I have given have been gleaned from Allen's Register, and from old Minutes. They ought to compile and publish their history, as old Stonington has done.

R. I., who were soon seconded in their efforts by the zealous *New Lights*, who, in the early movements of those ever active harbingers of the baptists, planted their standard in this region. The emigrants from R. I. were of the Six Principle order, and upon this plan an Association was formed about the middle of the last century, which increased to eight or ten churches, mostly in Rhode Island. It continued in existence but a few years.

THOMPSON CHURCH bears date from 1750; it has had for its pastors *John Martin, Parson Crosby, Bela Hicks, L. G. Leonard*, and others.

This is now the largest church in this body.⁶

The next oldest churches in this section of the State arose in Ashford, Woodstock, Pomfret, Killingly, Hampton, Stafford, Mansfield, and Willington; the youngest of which is upward of sixty years of age.

WILLINGTON CHURCH was formed in its first organization in the north part of the town in 1780, and continued a small and unassociated body, under the pastoral care of *Rev. David Lillibridge*, until it was merged in the one whose history will now be briefly given, which is situated in the centre of the town, and is in all respects an interesting community.

With this church, in its re-organized form, is intimately connected the name of *Rev. Shabel Loomis* who, for upward of twenty years, had been pastor of the congregational church in that town, where his ministry had been attended with great success. He had also been a champion of the pedobaptist cause, and entered largely into its defense, both from the pulpit and the press. But by the usual process of research and candid inquiry, his old foundation was undermined, and in 1828, he, with a number of his church, were baptized by the *Rev. Jonathan Goodwin*, of Mansfield, a neighboring town. By this same minister, a number of Mr. Loomis' members had been baptized a few years before by the consent of their pastor, and by a courtesy and condescension not unfrequent in the New England States.

The baptism of Mr. Loomis took place in June, and in the following December, the church under consideration was formed, and this ex-pedobaptist pastor officiated as their minister until May, 1829, when

Rev. Samuel S. Mallery, then of Woburn, Mass., was inducted to the pastoral office, in which he continued five years, during which time, a new house of worship was erected and 270 members were added. Successor to him, was *Rev. Horace A. Wilcox*, one year.

Rev. Dr. Chaplin, formerly president of Waterville College, Me., was next in office about three years.

Rev. Charles Randall, one year.

Rev. Elisha Cushman, their late pastor, was ordained, Sept. 30, 1840. He is a son of a minister of the same name, of whom mention will be made in connection with the churches of Hartford and New Haven.⁷

WILLMANTIC CHURCH, situated in a flourishing village in Windham Co., is also a member of this body.

SECTION II.

Western portion of the State—Danbury Association changed to Hartford—Suffield and Hartford Churches—New Haven Association—Fairfield Co. Association.

HARTFORD ASSOCIATION.

THIS body was formed in 1790, at Danbury, a flourishing inland town, in the County of Fairfield, near the line of the State of New York, and but

⁶ In the Minutes of 1845, this church reports 266; Willington, 254; Woodstock, 189; Hampton, 169.

⁷ Letters to the author, from *Rev. Messrs. Cushman & Mallery*.

about sixty miles from the city. It took the name of the town, which it retained upwards of twenty years. It embraced, at first, all the churches in the western section of the State, and a number in New York. Some of its oldest churches had belonged to the Philadelphia and New York Associations.

At the session of 1818, held in Suffield, a resolution was passed to change the name to that it now bears. Daniel Wildman was then moderator, and George Phippen, clerk.

Although the city of Hartford now takes the lead in the affairs of the baptism in this region, yet the denomination began its operations here long after churches had arisen in other towns, which are now represented in this Association.

SUFFIELD. This has been a distinguished place for baptists for about three-quarters of a century past.

This ancient town lies on the Connecticut river, eighteen miles above Hartford. Here, as in most other parts of N. E., the all-prevailing *New Lights*, or *Westfield Methodists*, laid the foundation for the church of our order, which by the usual transformation, in due time arose.

At the time of this great revolution among the pedobaptists in this country, two *Separate* churches were formed here, whose pastors were *Holly* and *Hastings*.

Holly wrote first against the establishment whose policy and jurisdiction he had injured, then against the baptists, but in the end went back, and became a parish minister.

John Hastings persisted in his separation, and towards the close of his life, espoused the baptists' cause.

THE FIRST CHURCH, SUFFIELD, bears date from 1789; it was formed partly from the remains of the two old *Separate* parties, and of new converts on the ground.

Rev. John Hastings, a son of the old pioneer, was ordained to the pastorate in 1778. He was one of the most eminent ministers of his day among the churches in this region, and under his labors, a large and extensive church was gathered, which spread its branches throughout a wide extent of towns. It is said, that during the whole of his ministry, he baptized eleven hundred persons. He died in 1811, aged 68 years.

Rev. Asahel Morse was his successor: the names of succeeding pastors I am not able to give.

Rev. A. M. Tilton is the present incumbent.

The churches of Westfield, Russell, Winstonsbury, Hartford, Windsor, Esfield, Granville, Southwick, and the Second in the town, had been formed by colonies from this old community, thirty years since. Most of them were in the adjoining parts of Massachusetts.

SECOND, SUFFIELD, is dated 1804. This body has a more favorable location than the other, and although it had to struggle with various embarrassments for a number of years, it is now a fraction the largest in the Association.*

Rev. Dwight Dole is the present pastor, and has been in office a number of years.

This is the seat of a literary institution of some distinction, under baptist in fluence.

FIRST CHURCH, HARTFORD, was constituted in 1790, of sixteen members. For the first six years they had supplies, but no settled pastor.

Rev. S. S. Nelson assumed the pastorate of this people in 1796, in which he continued about five years.

Rev. David Bolles was next in office, for about six years.

Rev. Henry Grex, from the old church in Providence, R. I., was settled here in 1800, and remained in office about four years.

* In their Minutes for 1845, it is put down 542; First, Hartford, 522; South, do., 367.

Rev. Elisha Cushman was ordained to the pastorship in 1813, which he resigned in 1825.

Rev. C. P. Grovenor was his immediate successor for one year.

Rev. B. Sears D.D., now president of the Newton Theological Institution, was in this pastorship about two years, from 1827.

Rev. G. F. Davis, D.D., was installed in office in 1829, where he remained until his death, in 1836.

Rev. Henry Jackson was the immediate successor of Dr. Davis, for about three years.

Rev. J. L. Eaton was the next pastor, for about five years, from 1840.

Rev. R. Turnbull, late pastor of Harvard Street, Boston, the present incumbent, was inducted into this spiritual charge in 1846.

SOUTH CHURCH, was formed from the First, under the ministry of Rev. Henry Stanwood, in 1834, who became its pastor for a short time. Rev. Mr. Turnbull, now of the First Church, was in office here in 1838.

Rev. R. R. Raymond is the present pastor.⁹

The next oldest churches in this Association, are those of Bloomfield, Enfield, Colebrook, Bristol, and Weathersfield, the residence of the venerable William Bentley, who, in his active days, was a distinguished evangelist among the churches, and a laborious pioneer in the baptist cause.

NEW HAVEN ASSOCIATION,

Was formed by a division of the Hartford, in 1825. It is situated on the shore of the Long Island Sound, and extends northerly to the Hartford, westerly to the Fairfield Co., and easterly to the New London Associations. Within the bounds of this Association, as it formerly stood, are some of the oldest churches in this section of the State; and in Southington, Stratfield, Meriden, and Wallingford, the baptists commenced their operations about the time of the *New Light Stir*.

FIRST NEW HAVEN CHURCH, is now the largest, and probably the most important one, in this body, on account of its location, size, and efficiency.

Although this church was not organized until 1816, yet for many years before, there were solitary cases of individuals, residing in this city, who had fully embraced the peculiar views of the baptists, and one of these, of great distinction, was a Mrs. Eaton, wife of the first Governor. She was the daughter of an English bishop, and had always moved in the first circles of society, and was a lady of remarkable independence of thought and deportment. She survived her husband, and returned to her native land, a baptist in sentiment; but whether she ever united with a church of the order, the narrative from which these facts were selected, does not show.¹⁰

⁹ I expected a more particular account of this church from Mr. Raymond, but have not received it. My account of the First church has been compiled from the Church Manual, published in 1838.

¹⁰ Mr. Teasdale having had access to their early records, has given a full account of the labors of the congregational church then under the pastoral care of Rev. Mr. Davenport, to reclaim the honorable member from the error of her ways, but without success. The main issue between Mrs. Eaton and her pastor was, whether baptism had come in the room of circumcision, and might be lawfully administered to infants. On these points the minister, with great assiduity, applied all the force of his logic, and exhausted all the stores of his theological knowledge,—but all without effect. Mrs. E., in the language of the times, persisted in "the conceit that she herself was not baptized, and still imagined that pedobaptism was unlawful."

The lady Moody, another honorable woman of those times, whose name occurs in the early history of the baptists in Mass., was accused of using an influence with Mrs. Eaton to shake her faith in the pedobaptist creed, and also, that she had lent her a book by a baptist author, whose initials, A. R., only are given. This book, which was in danger of spreading infection among the flock, received much attention from the anxious pastor. At this critical juncture the attention of the minister, and all who sympathized with him, was turned in an entirely different channel by the opportune discovery of great defects in the moral character, or mental sanity, of their troublesome opponent; and, as in the case of Thomas Gould, the founder of the first church in Boston, "they left off dealing with her for judgment;"—and singular and curious enough were the charges which this persecuted woman was called upon to answer at the bar of an ecclesiastical tribunal.—*Teasdale's Hist. Discourse*, pp. 9-19.

The conversion, trials, and repudiation of Mrs. Eaton, occurred in 1644; nine years after the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts.

The next we hear of any baptists in this city, was in 1767, when Abigail Dorchester was baptized by a traveling elder, who lived here nearly fifty years after her baptism. This lady was distinguished for piety, rather than for rank or opulence.

Upwards of forty years later, as if females were to be pioneers of the baptist cause in this city, a Mrs. Wooster, a lady of fortune and high respectability, became a convert to, and a liberal supporter of, the baptist cause; she was baptized by Dr. Baldwin, of Boston.

Soon after this event, Rev. Joshua Bradley, whose name is associated with many of the enterprises of the denomination, in different States, especially in the department of education, with an adroitness peculiar to himself, commenced evening lectures, in the Masonic Hall, near the college. In this effort he was assisted, as to pecuniary aid, by the benevolent lady last named. And thus, after the lapse of more than a century and a half from Mrs. Eaton's time, the foundation was laid for gathering a baptist church, in a place where, at first, it was a most unwelcome intruder.¹

Mr. Bradley at this time was engaged in successful operations in the adjoining town of North-haven, which resulted in the formation of the baptist church in that place, in 1811. His labors in this city were but partial and occasional, and it was not until the 30th of October, 1816, that a sufficient number of members had been collected to form a small community, with which this now large and flourishing church commenced its operations.

Rev. Henry Lines, one of their original members, became their pastor at the time of their organization, in which office he continued about five years, and was succeeded by

Rev. Benjamin M. Hill, the present secretary of the B. H. M. Society, who served this people about nine years, having resigned his charge, April, 1830. Under his ministry, and by his laborious efforts at home and abroad, their house of worship was erected.

Rev. John Pratt, from the first church in Providence, R. I., was ordained to the pastoral office in May succeeding Mr. Hill's resignation, where he continued until the January following. After him, was

Rev. Elisha Cushman, then late of Philadelphia, for three years. Next to him, was

Rev. R. H. Neale, now of Boston, for about the same length of time.

For two or three succeeding years, the church was without a regular pastor, but was supplied most of the time by Rev. Israel Robords, under whose ministry an extensive revival was enjoyed, which resulted in large accessions to the church.

Rev. Thos. C. Teasdale assumed the pastorate here, in April, 1840, but he has lately resigned his charge in favor of the Grant street church, Pittsburgh, Penn.

SECOND CHURCH, NEW HAVEN, was formed by a colony from the first, in 1842.

Rev. E. T. Winter was the first pastor; he continued in office but a short time.

Rev. C. P. Sheldon was in the pastoral station in 1845.

MIDDLETOWN. For about half a century the baptists have maintained their principles in this town, which now contains three churches of their order.

¹ The vexatious suits, evil reports, and old-fashioned legal annoyance to which Mr. Bradley was exposed in consequence of "his false and wicked practices," &c., drawing away the people from their pastors and teachers, to use the language of his indictment, in a number of towns in this vicinity, are all detailed by Mr. Teasdale; and such a story for this land of freedom, in the nineteenth century, could hardly be believed, were it not for the most unquestionable vouchers.

THE FIRST was gathered in 1795; the succession of its pastors I am not able to give.

Rev. W. G. Howard is the present incumbent. This church is the second in size in this Association.²

THE SECOND was formed in 1803.

Rev. M. Bentley is the present pastor.

THE THIRD bears date from 1804. I have the same difficulty as to who have been the pastors of this people in former years.

Rev. L. H. Wakeman at present fills the office.

MERIDEN, SOUTHWINGTON, and WATERBURY are churches of more than forty years' standing. *H. Miller, W. P. Pattison, and A. Darrow* were the pastors in 1845.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838, of nine churches, whose associate connection had been as follows, viz.: Stratfield, Newton and Wiston belonged to New Haven; First and Second Danbury, Wilton, Reading, and North Stamford, to Union, N. Y.; First Stamford, to the N. Y. Association. For the purposes of convenience, and of concentrating their evangelizing efforts at home, this county Association was organized.

The county, whose name this community assumed, is situated in the southwest corner of the State, and stretches to the line of New York. In a few of the locations within the bounds of this new organization, our denomination has existed for almost a century.

STRATFIELD CHURCH is the oldest in this part of the State; it arose out of one of the old Separate communities, in 1751, under the ministry of Joshua Morse, then of New London, who made frequent visits to the place, and baptized most of the first members.

Rev. John Sherwood, one of their own members, was ordained to the pastoral office about six years after the church arose, in which he continued about ten years. After him, they had in succession for their teachers, *B. Coles, S. Higby, S. Royce,*³ *A. Morse, D. Wildman, M. Bolles, A. Bronson*, now of Fall river, *E. Cushman*, formerly of Hartford, *J. H. Linsley*, famous for his scientific researches, *E. E. Chase*, and *James Scott*, now in office.

This church has never been large, but has always maintained a respectable standing. The city of

BRIDGEPORT is within the bounds of old Stratfield, and the church there is an immediate offspring of this ancient community. It was organized in 1837. When last heard from, it was without a pastor.

WESTON CHURCH, which bears date from 1831, is another branch of this church.

Rev. William Denison is its present pastor.⁴

FIRST CHURCH, DANBURY, was gathered in 1785. This, and some of the adjoining towns, has been a favorite region for our denomination for many years.

SECOND CHURCH, Do., was formed in 1790. This has taken the lead as to numbers, and is now the largest in the Association. In 1838, this church had had seven pastors, viz.: *Bennet Pepper, Oliver Tuttle, George Benedict, Thomas Lascombe, Robert Turnbull*, now of Hartford, *Orson Spencer*, and

² In the Minutes of 1845, First New Haven reported 556; First Middletown, 300.

³ By elder Stephen Royce, the fourth pastor of this people, the author was baptized nearly half a century since, and by this church he was sent into the ministry; and the old Danbury Association, to which the church then belonged, was the first assembly of the kind that ever he attended.

⁴ To Mr. Denison and Mr. Woolsey I owe most of my information of the modern affairs of this body. This county was my birth-place and early residence; but, as I left it more than forty years since, my own information does not aid me as to the churches which have arisen since.

LITCHFIELD ASSOCIATION.

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J. G. Colborn. Since then they have had *Addison Parker*, *Wm. E. Webb*, and *R. K. Ballamy*, the present incumbent.

This church had sent into the ministry, in 1838,

Geo. Benedict, one of the city pastors of New York.

Asa Bronson, of Fall river, *Joha Jennings*, of Worcester, and *Silas Ambler*.

STAMFORD CHURCH was organized in 1773. Most of the first members were baptized by the Rev. John Gano, then pastor of the First church, in the city of New York, and were added to his church, where they continued their membership until their numbers were sufficiently large to become a distinct body.

Rev. Ebenezer Ferris, one of their number, was ordained their pastor soon after they began operations as a church, in which office he continued to an advanced age. After him, they had for their pastors or supplies, *Rev. Messrs. G. S. Webb*, *Joha Ellis*, *Wm. Biddle*, and *A. Parker*, who has lately retired from the pastorate. Who is his successor I have not learnt.

This church, like most old bodies, extended its branches in many directions; from it originated the Salem, 1784, Bedford, 1787, Yorktown, 1788, and Sing Sing, now Mount Pleasant, 1790, all in the State of New York.

This is the last town but one in Connecticut. The corner town, adjoining the line of the State of New York, is Greenwich, in which baptists appear to have had a small community before the church in Stamford arose. It was named Horseneck,⁵ and appears on the minutes of the Philadelphia Association, as early as 1769. It was then small, and, probably, soon became extinct.

KING STREET CHURCH, in this town, was formed in the same week with Stamford; it has now become extinct, or changed its name. And for a number of years, these three churches, viz. : Stamford, King Street, and Horseneck, appear on the old Philadelphia minutes. The Horseneck church is dated by Asplund, in 1747.

NORWALK CHURCH was organized in 1837, of fifteen members,

Messrs. Wm. Bowen, and *Wm. H. Card* officiated in turn in the pastoral office until March, 1840, when

Rev. James J. Woolsey became their pastor, in which office he still continues. His ministry has been successful, and the church now takes a stand among the largest in the Association.⁶

LITCHFIELD ASSOCIATION

Was formed, in 1846, mostly from the Hartford. The New Milford church went from the Fairfield County Association.

I have learnt nothing of the history of this new body, but the simple fact of its organization and its name.

Persecutions and Legal Embarrassments to which the Baptists have been exposed in this State.

The laws against dissenters from the dominant party, in this old pedobaptist government, will be noticed at the close of the history of the States in which our society have been exposed to sufferings and restraints by legal authority; but a few passing remarks, on some of the transactions of the legal functionaries, who in this colony of the puritans endeavored to hinder their erring citizens from religious operations which were *contrary to law*, may be proper in this place.

⁵ This place became famous in the war of the Revolution, by a hazardous ride of Gen. Putnam down a steep declivity of one hundred steps, when pursued by the British troops.

⁶ This is the place of the author's nativity; and, in the old episcopal church of which his mother was a pious member, he stood connected until he arrived to manhood.

In New London Co., within the bounds of the old Stonington Association, the population, at an early day, became so generally inclined to baptist sentiments, and were so much influenced by the spirit of freedom, which had spread from the neighboring colony of Rhode Island, that very seldom did the ruling powers molest them in their operations. In a few cases they were fined and imprisoned, but public sympathy was so much in their favor, that the ministers of the law could not carry forward their measures to any severe results.

In Windham and Tolland Counties, where the Ashford Association is now situated, some cases of sufferings are reported.

Rev. Mr. Marshall, a traveling baptist preacher, was put in the stocks on a warm summer's day, for his heresy, and aggression on parish lines. This same man was afterwards imprisoned in Windham jail, where it is said this strange record of his indictment still remains, viz.: *for preaching the gospel CONTRARY TO LAW!!!*

The Stafford case. In early times a law was made, in a colony famous for its enactments on all subjects, and especially in defense of their religious hierarchy, which subjected all to parish taxes who could not show certificates of their being in connection with some dissenting party.

This law continued in force, without much variation, over sixty years. The Quakers and Baptists were the only denominations exempted, till about 1756, when the same privileges granted to them, were extended to dissenters of all classes, provided they *ordinarily* attended meetings in their respective societies, and paid their due proportion, &c., otherwise they should be taxed.

The words *ordinarily, &c.*, were intended to restrain those who might go off to dissenting sects from motives of economy only, but on the strength of the clause, collectors found pretexts to frequently distrain taxes from church members. A number of Baptists in Stafford, had united with the church in Wellington, under the care of Elder Lillibridge, from Rhode Island. The distance being great, and the way rough, they did not meet with the church as often as they could have wished, or the law required. The Presbyterians in Stafford, to pay the expense of a new meeting-house, taxed them all—distrained their goods, and disposed of them at public sale. The brethren then set about seeking redress: commenced an action against the distrainers for their goods, damages, &c. The affair went through two courts: in the second, the counsel for our brethren plead, that they were Baptists, *sentimentally, practically, and legally*. To this statement, the counsel on the other side acceded, but still continued his plea against them, because they did not *ordinarily* attend their own meeting. While the lawyers were disputing, the Judge, who was an Episcopalian, and not well affected towards the predominant party, called the attention of the court by inquiring, how long a man, who was a Baptist *sentimentally, practically, and legally*, must stay at home, to become a *Presbyterian*. His Honor's logic produced the same effect upon the whole court, as it must upon the reader, and the Baptists easily obtained the case.

Some accounts from Trumbull's Hist. of Conn., will be given in the article above proposed.

Distinguished Ministers who originated in this State.

Among the most prominent men of this class, we may name Backus, the historian, Dr.'s Baldwin, of Boston, and Bolles, late F. Secretary of the B. F. M. Society. Among men less known, but of distinguished usefulness, we name John Waldo, Aaron Drake, Justus Hull, Elias Lee, Jerem. Higbee, Stephen Parsons, Henry Green, P. P. Roots, Abraham Marshall, and others.

I believe I have given credit for all communications made me expressly for the aid of my History, except *The History of the Stonington Association*, appended to the Minutes of that body for 1816. This article was prepared by Rev. Erastus Denison, with special reference to my wants. From it many important facts have been obtained.

SECTION III.

VERMONT.

*The first company of Baptists in the State—First ministers and churches—
Shaftsbury Association—Woodstock do.—Vermont do.—Windham Co.
do.*

THE first settlements in what has since become this mountain State, were begun about a century after the landing of the pilgrim fathers at Plymouth, in its south-east corner, where the town of Brattleborough now stands.

Most of the first settlers were of the congregational order, which has always pre-eminently predominated in this region.

A few years after the zealous *Separates* arose in N. E. a company of them removed and settled in Bennington, a town in the south-west corner of the State, under the direction of Messrs. *Samuel Robinson* and *Jedediah Dewey*. But in this, as in all other cases, a portion of these *New Light* reformers began to imbibe baptist sentiments, which interrupted their harmony with those of their brethren who held on to the pedobaptist system, and were disposed to adopt the old legal measures in the support of religion, which had from the beginning been prevalent among the descendants of the puritans. And for their greater comfort and convenience, those who were inclined to the baptist way, went over the line of the town, into *Shaftsbury*, on the north, and *Pownal* on the south, and in these towns the two first churches were planted in the State. And this vicinity for a long course of years, was the centre of the population and operations of the denomination in Vermont.

In *Guilford*, *Dummerston*, and some of the neighboring places in the opposite corner of the State, on the borders of N. H. and Mass., a few churches arose soon after those I have just referred to, and laid the foundation for the old *Leyden Association*, whose name has since been changed to that of *Windham Co.*

About the year 1790, and during a few succeeding years, a number of baptist ministers from different parts of the neighboring States, removed, and settled amongst the lofty forests of this then uncultivated territory. These ministers were preceded in their settlement here, by a few families of their brethren; they were attended in their removals by a considerable number more, and multitudes soon followed them, who dispersed in almost every direction, on both sides of the Green Mountains, in the lower and middle regions of the State, and thus laid the foundation for the large number of churches which shortly afterwards arose.

Elisha Ransom, *Elisha Rich*, *Joseph Cornell*, *Thomas Skeels*, *Hezekiah Eastman*, *William Bentley*, *John Hibbard*, *John Peak*, *Caleb Blood*, *Aaron Leland*, *Isaac Beal*, *John Drew*, *Isaac Webb*, *Henry Green*, *Isaiah Stone*, *Joseph Call*, *Whitman Jacobs*, *Ephraim Sawyer*, *Elnathan Phelps*, *Roswell Smith*, *Timothy Grow*, *James Parker*, *Henry and Calvin Chamberlain*, *Jedediah Hibbard*, *Sylvanus Haynes*, *Samuel Kingsbury*, and *Simeon Combs*, were among the first baptist ministers who settled in this State, and by whose labors and evangelical exertions the early churches were planted.

Most of these men were in a similar condition with our ministers generally, in those times, on the score of education, and so it may be said as to their energy, fortitude, enterprise, and perseverance. Their piety was ardent, their faith was firm, and their labors, for the most part without fee or reward, were abundant and successful, in a region of country unusually exposed to hardships and privations.

But few of these ministers moved into the State with the immediate expectation of taking the pastoral care of the churches, for at the time of their removal, very few churches had been gathered; but most of them came by the

invitations of the few scattered inhabitants who had just commenced the settlement of their plantations, and were desirous of having the gospel preached among them. And some of them were merely adventurers into a new country, for the purpose of obtaining lands on which they might plant their families, and provide for their support.

But that wise Providence which led them into the wilderness, not only made a way for their temporal comfort and advantage, but soon opened a door for peculiar usefulness in their ministerial labors; showers of grace were soon sent down on many infant settlements; the calls for their labors became numerous and importunate, and the Lord inspired his servants with diligence and delight in his service, and crowned their labors with unusual success.

Between the years 1780 and 1790, there were thirty-two churches planted in Vermont, which, with the few before established, made the whole number of churches, at the last date, thirty-five, in which were 28 ordained ministers, besides a number of licensed preachers; and the whole number of communicants was about 1600; these were mostly to be found in the four southern counties, viz.: Bennington, Rutland, Windham, and Windsor.

In this State are now the nine following Associations, which I shall name according to the order of their origin, viz.: Shaftsbury, Vermont, Windham Co. (formerly Leyden), Woodstock, Addison Co., Barre, Onion River, Fairfield Co. (at first called Richmond), and Danville. Of each of these bodies some brief sketches will now be given.

SHAFTSBURY ASSOCIATION,

Was constituted in 1780, in the town from which its name was derived, and in which were situated two of the constituent churches; the other three were Cheshire, Stillwater, and White Creek, in Mass. and N. Y.

Peter Worden, William Wait, Lemuel Powers, and Joseph Cornel, were the acting ministers, and Powers was ordained at the first meeting.

This community soon spread abroad in different directions down into Mass., and far into the adjoining parts of N. Y. and Canada, so that in a few years it became very extensive in its boundaries, great in number, and held a rank among the most important Associations in the country.

Among their ministers also, for a long time, were many men of much talent, and of distinguished eminence and usefulness in their day.

In 1812, this Association contained thirty-two churches, twenty-one ministers, and upwards of thirty-six hundred members.

At that time but four of the churches were in this State; sixteen were in New York, and the others were in Massachusetts and Canada.

SHAFTSBURY CHURCHES. So much did baptist sentiments prevail in this town, that four churches arose in it, of this order, as early as 1788; one of them was founded on what was called the *Six Principle plan*, which makes the laying on of hands an essential term of communion.

The **FIRST CHURCH** was formed in 1768, and, as has been already suggested, it arose out of a company of pedobaptist *Separates*, who were the first settlers of the country. Rev. Bliss Willoughby was one of their first ministers. He was born in Norwich, Conn.; went to England as an agent for the *Separates*, in 1756; and became a baptist after his return. While in London, he preached for Dr. Gifford, then an eminent baptist minister in that city. This man, and his son Ebenezer, were leaders among this people in early times,—neither of whom, however, had the pastoral care of the church; and it is highly probable that, in their incipient movements, this New Light community, as was generally the case with them everywhere else, were, for a while, on the mixed communion plan, which gradually gave place to the regular baptist system.

Rev. J. Matison, the pastor of the first and oldest church in the State, has been in office here for more than thirty years; and, as he is a native of the

place, his case forms an exception to the old maxim, of the want of honor to a prophet in his own country.

Rev. Caleb Blood, who was then settled in Newton, near Boston, in compliance with an earnest request from many members in that town, removed there in 1788, and formed a **FOURTH CHURCH**, which, for many years, was large and prosperous, containing, at one time, nearly four hundred members.

Some extensive revivals were enjoyed here during Mr. Blood's ministry, in one of which 150 members were added in about one year.

After ministering to this people nineteen years, Mr. Blood removed to Boston, and became the pastor of the Third church in that city, then newly formed.

Jonas Galusha, Esq., at one time Governor of Vermont, was attached to this congregation, whose son, *Rev. Elon Galusha*, for many years filled important offices in the baptist connection.

The **THIRD CHURCH** in this town is now under the pastoral care of *Rev. I. W. Sawyer*, who, in a letter to the author, says the mother of Associations here become reduced to a small, feeble body.

"Her territory once embraced what is now Washington, Union, Saratoga-Hudson River, Stephentown, Berkshire, and a part of Rensselaer Association besides a number of churches in Canada."

WOODSTOCK ASSOCIATION

Was organized with a few churches, in February, 1783, in the town from which it took its name, in the county of Windsor, and not far below Hanover in N. H., in which State, for a long time, a part of the churches in this body were situated.

Rev. Thomas Baldwin, D.D., who afterwards become so distinguished in the baptist cause, was, in early life, pastor of the church in Canaan, on the New Hampshire side, and was one of the constituent members of this infant community, to whose credit it is related, that his very first production in defense of baptist sentiments was written in compliance with a request from this Association.

"This work was intended rather as an apology for the particular communion of the baptists, than an attack upon the sentiments and practice of others."

But it lead its author into a field of controversy; and replies and rejoinders from able opponents called forth a series of productions which placed Dr. Baldwin among the ablest defenders of the baptist cause among American divines.

Woodstock, Hartford, Bridgewater, Westminster, Dummerston, Royalton, Windsor, Putney, Chester, Rockingham and Reading, were among the oldest churches in this body in Vermont.

The early ministers of this Association were *Jabez Cottle*, *Timothy Grow*, *Aaron Leland*, *Joel Manning*, *Elijah Shumway*, *Joseph Eliot*, *Samuel King-burg*, *Samuel Lampson*, *Thomas Packer*, *John Peak*, *Wm. Bentley*, &c.

In 1830, the churches on the New Hampshire side of the river united in forming the Newport Association in that State.

WINDSOR CHURCH was founded in 1785. Although not the oldest or largest in this body, yet, on account of its location, it is regarded as one of its most important institutions. The pastors in succession have been as follows:—

John Peak, 1788, about five years.

Roswell Smith, 1793, seven years.

Wm. Ewing, 1803. Time of service unknown.

After him, *Jabez Cottle* and others officiated as supplies a number of years.

<i>Joshua Bradley</i> ,	1814	two years,
<i>Leland Howard</i> ,	1816	six "
<i>Rom'o Elton</i> ,	1823	one year,
<i>N. W. Williams</i> ,	1824	" "
<i>Christ. S. Hale</i> ,	1826	two years,

Leland Howard re-settled in 1829, and continued in office about four years. *Rev. Elijah Hutchinson*, the present pastor, was settled in 1834.

This church has enjoyed extensive revivals, and has had large additions, which have gone abroad in all directions.*

CAVENDISH. This church was constituted in 1803, and was the immediate offspring of the one in Chester, which was founded by, and was for a long time under the pastoral care of *Aaron Leland*, a very distinguished man in his day, in Vermont. Besides being a baptist elder, he was Lieut. Governor, Judge, &c.

At the date above given, this great church sent out four colonies to *Andover*, *Grafton*, *Wethersfield*, and *Cavendish*, all in one day, and still retained an efficient community at home.

Joshua Brooks was the first pastor, settled in 1804.	Joseph Freeman, ordained as pastor 1826, remained ten years.
Peletiah Chapin became the pastor 1809.	Moses Field, 1837, one year.
Dr. Going was ordained as pastor in 1811.	Enoch T. Winter, 1839, two years.
Elisha Starkweather, 1817.	Obed Sperry, 1841.
Renel Lothrop	D. F. Richardson, 1844, two years.
Ariel Kendrick, 1823.	A. Kendrick, 1846.
	Aaron Angier officiates at the present.

Hon. Asaph Fletcher, M. D., a man of much distinction in our denomination, spent the last part of his life in this town.

The following brief memoir of Dr. Fletcher, prepared by his son, Hon. Richard Fletcher, of Boston, at my instance, would have been more extended but for want of space.

"ASAPH FLETCHER was born at Westford, Middlesex Co., Mass., on the 28th of June, 1746. (O. S.) He became the subject of serious religious impressions at the early age of ten years. He has left among his manuscripts a very interesting account of his religious experience, and conversion at the age of sixteen. I regret that the space allowed me will not permit me to make any extracts from this paper. His parents belonged to the congregational church, and he was sprinkled in his infancy according to the doctrine and usage of that church. There were no baptists in the town in which he lived, and he had no personal acquaintance with any persons of that denomination, but by carefully examining the New Testament, and by that only, in spite of the prejudices of his education and association, he became a baptist in principle. His friends strongly opposed his joining a baptist church, and their opposition was a great trial and affliction to him; but from a conscientious conviction of duty, he was baptized by immersion, and united with the baptist church in Leicester, Mass., 15th of May, 1768, being then almost twenty-two years of age. From that day to the day of his death, he continued an active and devoted member of some baptist church, being a period of more than seventy years. At about the age of 22, he established himself as a physician in his native town of Westford, and pursued this profession with signal usefulness and success till the infirmities of great age made it necessary for him to retire from active life.

"If I were not obliged to be very brief, I should take pleasure in dwelling upon his professional character and success. Beside many other public offices, which he held while he remained in Massachusetts, he was a member of the Convention which formed the Constitution of that commonwealth, in 1780. In that Convention he struggled hard to ingraft into the Constitution the principle held by baptists, that no man should be compelled by law to pay taxes for the support of preaching, but that all such contributions should be voluntary, and according to the dictates of conscience. He afterwards successfully advocated, through the press, and maintained this principle of religious liberty, in the State of Vermont. Though he failed to effect the object for which he contended in the Convention, yet he lived to see the principle, which he maintained, carried out in the Constitution and laws of Massachusetts. On the 3d day of October, 1776, he was married to Sally Green, daughter of Jonathan Green, of Chelsea, Mass. In the month of February, 1787, he removed to Cavendish, in the State of Vermont, where he continued to reside till his death. At the time of his removal to Vermont, that State was not a member of the Union, and he was a member of the Convention which applied to Congress for admission. He was shortly after a member of a Convention to revise the Constitution of that State. He was frequently a member of the Legislature, for some years one of the Judges of the County Court, for several years a member of the council, and was one of the electors of President and Vice President when Mr. Monroe was first elected. He was for a time President of the Medical Society of his County, and delivered lectures before that body. He held many other offices, not important to mention, but which manifested the respect in which he was held, and the confidence reposed in him. He died peacefully, surrounded by a numerous company of affectionate and devoted children and grandchildren, on the 5th of January, 1839, aged 92 years. His wife, with whom he had lived most happily for sixty

* This church, in 1845, reported 251; Mt. Holly, D. Parker, 379; Ludlow, B. Burrows, 205; Townshend, H. Fletcher, 195; North Springfield, N. Cudworth, 185; Grafton, M. Merriam, 175; Windham, C. H. Green, 168; Saxton's River, L. Hayden, 123; Londonderry, Samuel Pierce, 117. All the others, less than 100.

years, and who still lives in the grateful and affectionate remembrance of her children and grand children, had deceased a few years before his own death.

"My limits will allow me but a few brief remarks on his general character. He was at all times, in public and in private life, an humble and devoted christian; he loved the church, he loved his christian brethren. He had an uncommonly accurate and thorough knowledge of the scriptures, and took great delight in conversing with christian ministers on the great truths and principles of revealed religion. His advantages for an education in early life were very small, and he was almost wholly a self-taught man. Still he made himself quite a respectable English scholar, and acquired, without the aid of any teacher, a considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. He acquired the knowledge of Greek for the especial purpose of being able to understand, with greater accuracy, the New Testament, and more particularly upon the subject of baptism. He was thoughtful and serious, and possessed habits of patient and persevering investigation. He had a sound and well-balanced mind, and uncommon calmness and equanimity of temper. He cherished an unwavering faith in an overruling Providence, which sustained him in the midst of trials, and in the darkest hour. But I must not omit to record his unaffected modesty and simplicity. He was retiring and unobtrusive, without a particle of vanity or love of display. His great and constant purpose was to fill up life with duty. He lived long and lived well.

"And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace; thou shalt be buried in a good old age."

VERMONT ASSOCIATION.

This was the third confederacy of the kind established in this State. It was organized in Elder Joseph Cornell's barn, in the town of Manchester, May, 1785. The country was then so new, and the houses so small, that a mansion similar to that in which the Saviour was first seen by mortals, was the most convenient place in which they could assemble. This body, at the time of its constitution, comprised only five small churches, viz.: Clarendon, Granville, Manchester, Danby, and Middletown, in which were but four elders and 231 members.

WALLINGFORD CHURCH was formed in 1780, and is the oldest in this body.

Rev. *Henry Green* was their first pastor, in which office he continued many years. After him, in somewhat quick succession, were L. Andrews, Gibbon Williams, L. Huntley, H. Sherwin, and Daniel Hascall. Joseph Randall was a deacon in this church 56 years, and nearly all that time officiated as its clerk.

MIDDLETON is the next in age, having been gathered in 1782.

Rev. *Sylvanus Haynes*, one of the first and most efficient ministers in the State, was its pastor for twenty-seven years.

The churches in DANBY, POULTNEY, CLARENDON, IRA, PITTSFORD, and HUBBARDSTON, were all constituted previous to 1785.

BRANDON was formed in 1785. Their first pastor was Rev. Isaac Webb, and after him they changed ministers often for many years, and frequently were without a spiritual guide. Among the ministers who served them were Messrs. Chamberlain Young, Abial Fisher, now in Milford, Mass., two Sawyers, father and son, Peck, Ware, Hutchinson, Winegar, Kimball, Walker, and G. B. Ide, at present pastor of the 1st church, Philadelphia.

Rev. *C. A. Thomas*, their present pastor, has been with them since 1835.

This place is the centre of Baptist operations in this region, and, in some sense, of the whole State.

In this place is situated one of the three literary institutions which are under the patronage and control of the Vermont Baptists.

John Conant, Esq., long known as an efficient member of our denomination, resides in this place, where and elsewhere his ample means have been dealt out freely in the Baptist cause.*

POULTNEY is now the largest church in this body. It dates its origin from 1782, but it was then on the *open communion* plan, and was in partnership with the Congregationalists in building a good house of worship under a minister of that order by the name of Heberd, and so continued about twenty years, during all which time they had but little prosperity or increase.

* Professor Conant, of Hamilton, is his son. Mrs. Church, of Rochester, N. Y., and Briarly, of Salem, Mass., are his daughters.

Their next movement was to organize by themselves, under the ministry of *Rev. C. Kendrick*, who served them upwards of twenty years with much success; but, much of this time, the minister and people were exposed to tedious and vexatious altercations, growing out of their former compound motion in church affairs. And after a long account of this unhappy affair, my correspondent informs me that he has given but a mere hint of the troubles, &c., which followed them in consequence of their former unwise connection.¹⁰

Rev. Messrs. Church and Hotchkiss, now occupying important stations in the States of New York and Massachusetts, were, at different times, pastors of this people.

WINDHAM COUNTY ASSOCIATION.

This body is in the south-east corner of the State; it is a part of the Leyden Association, which was formed in 1793, and was situated in the two States of Vermont and Massachusetts, as has been shown in the history of the latter State.

In 1830 the churches in Vermont being mostly in this county, assumed the name and prerogatives of a distinct Association. It comprises some of the oldest churches in the State, except those in the south-western corner in the old Shaftsbury community.

GUILFORD. In this town four baptist churches arose in early times. The first was formed in 1780, and the second and third soon after. At present but one is reported on the minutes, which is under the care of *E. H. Smith*.

Richard Williams, J. Packer, Peleg Hicks, B. Bucklin, Simeon Snow, Lewis Alleyn, Jonathan Wilkins, A. Lamb, James Gambel, Daniel Grant, A. B. Egleston, A. Burbank, James Parsons, Obed. Sperry, Milo Fary, and Whitman Jacobs, officiated in the various churches in this town at different times.

Mr. Jacobs was long and favorably known as a minister of much usefulness and moral worth.

DUMMERSTON, founded in 1783, is the next in age.

Rev. Isaiah Stone was their pastor the few first years.

JAMAICA was formed in 1790. *Solomon Goodale, Esq.*, well known for his liberal donations to different benevolent objects, was a member of this body. This noble-hearted man, in the course of a few years, contributed about five thousand dollars, all from his own earnings, on a farm by no means large or productive. And, what is more remarkable, a considerable part of this sum was given to the pedobaptists in aid of their missionary efforts.

Rev. N. Cudworth is their present pastor.

PUTNEY, BROOKLINE, WARDSBOROUGH, MARLBOROUGH, and NEWFANE all arose during the last century; and ministers in abundance, at short periods, have been their pastors or supplies. Frequent and extensive revivals of religion were enjoyed in this region in early times; but the constant removals of the inhabitants to other parts, has operated against the increase and stability of the churches in this broken section of country.

WILMINGTON was constituted in 1806; *Messrs. C. Blood, O. Warren, Jos. Elliot, and Eli Ball*, now in Virginia, often preached in this place before and after the church was formed.

Rev. Mansfield Bruce, their late pastor, was settled in 1819, and was with them more than twenty years; he is well spoken of as a laborious and useful man. His autography and some sketches of his biography have been sent me by *Rev. O. Smith*, a resident minister of the place.

Rev. M. D. Miller is their present pastor.

¹⁰ Letter to the author from *Rev. J. M. Rockwood*, of Rutland. *Mr. Churchill's MSS.*

SECTION IV.

The Associations whose history has thus far been given, are in the southern portion of the State; those whose affairs are yet to be related, are in its northern regions.

ADDISON COUNTY ASSOCIATION,

Was formed in 1833, from churches dismissed from the Vermont Association. This body was never large, although they have had a number of efficient ministers to labor among them at different times.

ORWELL CHURCH was constituted in 1787, and *E. Phelps* was their first minister; after him, they had in succession *Messrs. N. Colver*, now of Boston, *Webster, Peck*, the two *Sawyers, Goodnough, Angier, Huntley*, and *John Ide*.

The churches of Shoreham, Bristol, Monkton, and Whiting, were all organized before the close of the last century, and most of the others soon after its commencement.

ADDISON CHURCH, the largest in this community, was gathered in 1814.

Rev. J. Keach is their present minister.

MIDDLEBURG CHURCH, although in a populous town, was never large, and still contains but about fifty members.

Rev. N. Kendrick, D. D., now at the head of the Hamilton Institution, in the State of New York, was six years pastor of this body.

Rev. James Ten Broek, now of Michigan, commenced his ministerial course in the church of Pantou, belonging to this body.

BARRE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1807. It is situated immediately north of the Woodstock, and the churches are principally in the counties of Orange, Caladonia, and Jefferson. Although this body has been in operation nearly forty years, and a number of the churches were formed during the latter part of the last century, yet its increase has been very slow, and it is now the smallest body of the kind in the State.

But few of the churches have had settled pastors for any length of time. Nearly the whole region seems to have been missionary ground; the churches have been supplied much of the time by ministers acting in this capacity, and, according to *Mr. Churchill's* account, *Elder John Heberd* was the apostle of those regions in early times—and by his representations, the want of prosperity and increase of the baptists in this rugged region may be ascribed to the following causes:

1. The perpetual conflicts on the *open communion* question arising from the prevalence of the *F. W. Baptists* and the *Christian Society*, with whom this is a favorite dogma.

2. They have depended too much on the aid of missionaries, and have not put their own individual efforts enough to task for the respectable support of pastors among them.

ONION RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the Fairfield, in 1834. The churches composing it are situated in the counties of Chittenden, Lamoile, and Washington. When first formed, it consisted of thirteen churches, which were favored with nine pastors; it then contained about nine hundred members. Among these pastors are found the names of *J. Ide, J. C. Bryant, D. Boynton, J. Huntley, T. Spalding, N. H. Downs, C. Ingraham* and others.

The first session of the Association was held at Waterbury, in 1835.

Of the date and pastorship of some of the churches my correspondent has communicated the following facts :

BURLINGTON, 1834. All the names of the pastors I am able to give, are *G. Norris, H. D. Hodge, H. Safford, and H. J. Parker*, the present incumbent.

COLCHESTER, 1816. *Phineas Colver, J. C. Bryant, C. Greene, J. Huntley, C. Fisher, and M. G. Hodge.*

CAMBRIDGE, 1793. *Joseph Call, Samuel Holmes, — Rowlen, Jonathan B****, E. Brown, A. Sabin, Ezra Fisher, John Ide, N. H. Downs, and J. C. Bryant.*

HINESBURGH, 1810. *J. Sawyer, S. Churchill, E. Butler, P. Chase, — Fisher, S. S. Parr, Wm. Arthur, John Dodge, John Ide, A. Brown, W. G. Johnson, and A. H. Stowell.*

JERICO, 1817. — *Rowlin, — Hastings, P. Colver, W. Kimball, M. Cheeney, J. M. Graves, T. Spalding, J. Huntley, H. D. Hodge, M. N. Stearns.*

JOHNSON, 1808. *D. Boynton, J. Spalding, — Hastings, J. P. Hugford, A. Stone, R. S. Palmer, E. S. Clark, and R. A. Hodge.*

WATERBURY, 1801. *E. Butler, John Ide, A. Angier, and J. P. Hall.*

The last named pastors in all cases are now in office, or were last year.

The changes in the pastoral office have been very frequent, but, in most cases, it is the same ministers on the ground, who have gone from one church to another. Even Gov. Butler himself participated in this itinerant system,—as we find this baptist elder in two pastoral stations within a few years.

This is about a fair specimen of the permanency of the pastorship of our churches in this region of country. And the same may be said of many other States and Territories. The ministers do not always go the rounds with their families, as the methodists do, but travel out to their new engagements to perform what is called pastoral service.¹

The custom of having the care of a number of churches at the same time, does not seem so common here as at the South and West.

FAIRFIELD ASSOCIATION

Was organized at *Richmond*, in the county of Chittenden, August, 1796, taking the name of the place where it first met. It then consisted of the following churches, situated in the counties of Franklin and Chittenden, viz., *Richmond, Fairfield, Cambridge, Jericho, Essex, Fairfax, Georgia, Winesburgh, and St. Armand*, in Lower Canada ;—which churches had been gathered by the labors of the *Rev. Jedediah Hibbard, Ezra Wilmarth, Joseph Call, and Rosvel Mears*, who were then laboring in that region. The church at Waterbury, which enjoyed the labors of the *Rev. Ezra Butler*, afterwards Governor of the State, was added soon after.

“The Association, although feeble, and the churches but partially supplied with preachers, continued its annual meetings, and, gaining some accessions, traveled on in great harmony until 1812, when it consisted of fourteen churches, three of which, viz., *St. Armand, Stanbridge, and Dunham*, were in the province of Lower Canada, with one of which the annual meeting that year was to have been holden ; but in consequence of the war then existing between the United States

¹ The details above given were supplied by Rev. M. G. Hodge, of Colchester.

Rev. John Ide, then (1844) of Passumpsic, has given me many details of this and the neighboring Associations. He also informs me in the same letter, at my instance, that he was born August 1, 1775, in Rehoboth, Mass., but seven miles from Pawtucket ; and that his son, Geo. B. Ide, of Philadelphia, was born Feb. 17, 1804, and was the first male child born in the town of Coventry,—now Orleans,—in Orleans County, in that State.

and Great Britain, and the very great excitement prevailing, it was deemed by the brethren in Vermont inexpedient for the delegation of the churches to the Association to go into Canada, and, by advice and consent, they met at Fairfield; and, as they did not assemble where the Richmond Association was to have met, it was deemed improper to retain its name; it was, therefore, unanimously resolved to take the name of *Fairfield*, by which it has since been designated.

"In 1834, those churches belonging to the Association situated south of the river Lamoile, were, by mutual agreement, for their accommodation, dismissed, and formed the Onion River Association.

"In the early existence of the Association, the churches belonging to it were greatly benefited by the labors of the following servants of the Lord, viz., the venerable *Ephraim Sawyer*, who had been a soldier of the Revolution, and, at the close of the war, became an indefatigable and successful soldier of the cross; spending most of his time itinerating amongst the churches in the north part of the State. With his portmanteau on his arm, this man of God traveled from one settlement to another, breaking the bread of life to the destitute of our then new and thinly settled country. By the people of that day, his memory will be cherished, nor will they forget the satisfaction which a visit from him afforded. He has now rested from his labors, and it is hoped and believed that there will be found, at last, many souls converted through his instrumentality, and given him as seals of his ministry, and stars in his crown of rejoicing. Also, the *Rev. Jedediah Hibbard*, who, at an early day, removed from Lebanon, in New Hampshire, to St. Armand, in Lower Canada, but in the vicinity of Vermont; and there successfully planted the standard of the cross, and rendered much assistance to the then destitute and feeble churches in that region. He, too, has long since gone to give an account of his stewardship, and to receive the reward of his labors; and it is verily believed, that at the last day many souls will rise up and call him blessed of the Lord. And, also, of the *Rev. Roswel Mears*, who was one of the first baptist preachers settled in this quarter. He was settled in Georgia, but did not confine his labors entirely to that church, but visited and preached often to the destitute churches in the vicinity."

This venerable elder is still alive, although suffering under the weight of years, and is spoken of with much affection by my valuable correspondent.

"He has truly lived to see the spiritual wilderness bud and blossom as the rose;—may he long live to enjoy the interesting scene, and to benefit the church by his advice and his prayers.

"To this list might be added several other venerable names; particularly might be mentioned the much esteemed *Orcutt, Marsh, Call, Wilmarth*, and *Sabin*, to each of whom, if it would not be swelling this article to an improper length, we would gladly pay a tribute of respect; for each of them, it may be truly said, their praise is in all the churches.

"This Association, although not entirely free from the excitement of the day, is still going forward in great harmony, and taking a lively interest in the bible and missionary cause, and the sabbath school, and the several benevolent and christian enterprises of the age."²

DANVILLE ASSOCIATION.

This body is situated in the upper regions of the State, adjoining Lower Ca-

² The foregoing concise history of this Association was furnished by Hon. J. D. Farnsworth, of the town of Fairfax, who has long been one of its very worthy and useful members, and who, for many years, held important civil offices in the State.

Gov. Butler, referred to in the above narrative as an early member and minister of this community, differed from many others who have been elevated to high stations of civil honor, continued through life a devout and humble Elder in the baptist cause.

I also find the names of Samuel Rogers and Elisha Andrews, who were successful laborers in this northern region in the early movements of this body.

nada, in which Province a number of the churches have been situated from soon after its formation till within a few years past. These churches are now united with the Ottawa Association, in the British territory.

The Danville Association was organized in 1809. It consisted then, of the five following churches, viz., Littleton, Lancaster, N. H., Craftsbury, Concord, and Coventry, in all which were but seventy-five members. It covers a large extent of territory, in a rugged portion of this mountainous State; its progress has been slow and steady, and it has embraced a larger number of members in former years than at present. This is probably owing, in part, to the dismission of a number of the churches which were over the Canada line.³

The moderators, from the beginning, have been, *B. Perkins, S. Churchill, D. Mason, J. Ide, S. Davison, M. Cheeney, L. Fisher, J. Merriam, N. Nichols, and J. Baldwin.* Mr. Ide officiated eight years.

Very good historical sketches of all the churches which have been gathered in this missionary field of labor, have been preserved; they are very useful as matters of local reference, but do not afford materials for general history. The pastoral and itinerant services of the ministers have been abundant and successful, but of too transient a character to admit of connected details.

The Derby Theological and Literary Institute is within the bounds of this Association, and is under its patronage and direction.⁴

General Remarks. It is said by Mr. Churchill, that about forty of the early baptist churches in this State, have been disbanded and become extinct. This is an unusual number for a territory so small, for so short a time, and at first sight would indicate great remissness and neglect—culpable parsimony, or extremely bad management, on the part of ministers or churches. But it is said that in many cases, churches were planted in unfavorable locations as to population, roads, &c.: again, subdivisions were often carried too far, and many small churches were prematurely set off from parent bodies, which, after lingering a while without pastors or prosperity, would come back and be re-absorbed: two or more feeble churches would coalesce, and thereby make bodies of sufficient power to support a minister, and go alone.

The principle of ministerial support is said to be generally recognized by the baptists in this State; this, however, must in many cases have been inadequate, as many able ministers have succeeded to important stations in other places, to which their straitened circumstances at home lead them to remove.

For fifteen or twenty years from the first operations of the baptists in Vermont, their increase was rapid; especially in the counties of Bennington, Rutland, Addison, Windham and Windsor. But near the close of the last century, the opening of what was called the military lands, in the State of New York, attracted the people generally, and multitudes of all denominations repaired to these fertile regions; and to that and still remoter States, this rugged and hilly country made large contributions of settlers for many succeeding years. "Hence," says my correspondent, "the moderate increase of the baptists since the commencement of the present century, and the decline of many churches which were once large and flourishing, and the extension of others, whose location was unfavorable for their increase and prosperity."

³ The Minutes of 1842-45 have been sent me, with a few remarks by Messrs. N. Denison, of Derby, and R. Godding, of Burke, from which, I learn that *Millerism*, and what they call *Murrayism*, has weakened the energies and reduced the members of this body.

In the Minutes of 1842 are valuable sketches of the churches and ministers of this northern community, which were compiled by Rev. A. Angier, the clerk for that year. From these, it appears that a considerable portion of the ministers who were raised up here, have gone to other States, some into Canada, and A. Bailey, C. B. Kellum, J. Merriam, and I. D. Newell, to the West.

G. B. Ide, now of Philadelphia, was sent into the ministry by the Orleans church,—formerly Coventry,—in this Association.

⁴ This fact I infer from the Minutes of 1842, already referred to, where I see ample details of the officers and efforts of this Seminary, in connection with its annual transactions.

In 1812, when my first history was published, there were in this State, eighty churches—upwards of fifty ministers, and between four and five thousand members.

In upwards of thirty years, there has been an increase of about fifty permanent churches, and upwards of sixty ministers.

The foregoing apologies, if so they may be called, for the slow increase of the denomination in a State remarkable for industry and activity, are the best which have been supplied by their historian.

The increase of other sects and parties, at the expense of our people, are not so plausible or satisfactory, since well regulated churches, with efficient and well supported ministers, do not in ordinary cases, from this cause, suffer dilapidation and decay.

The advantage, generally, is on the other side, as it ought to be with those who have an entire conviction of the soundness of their principles, and the goodness of this cause.

The Green Mountain brethren have a full supply of institutions for all the objects of benevolence at home and abroad; and from the details of their history, there is a general disposition among the churches to give them countenance and support. And if their donations are not so abundant as some in commercial and more wealthy regions, yet they are generally and cheerfully made.

Literary Institutions. Of these, four have arisen up in the course of a few years, viz., at Brandon, Ludlow, Townsend, and Derby, and in each place commodious buildings have been erected, and a part of them, at least, have a good portion of scientific apparatus. Although they cannot all serve as theological schools, yet, as they are appendages of the denomination, if they are well managed, as High Schools, they may become what we much need in all parts of the country, as I shall show more fully in another place, and may confer immense benefits, not only on the people by whom they are managed, but on the community at large.

The general diffusion of knowledge will elevate the intellectual standard; it will lead on to higher attainments in the ministry, and the better management of the churches.

Well educated congregations require their spiritual teaching to correspond: the firm grasp with which ignorance embraces the means of education is relaxed, as the mind expands, and order, comfort, and intelligence is thus diffused.

Rev. Irah Chase, D.D., long known in connection with the Newtown Baptist Institution, was sent into the ministry by the church at Westford, one of the oldest members of this community.

The ministers who have originated in this State, and have gone to other parts, have been numerous, but, in most cases, they have been for evangelical enterprise more than literary eminence, and for the same hardy and laborious efforts which have distinguished the pioneers of this rugged territory. Some have gone to Canada and the New England States, but their tendency has generally been westward: first to New York, then to Michigan and the Great Valley, and still farther on towards the terminus of eastern adventurers.

Of living characters we may name, as Mr. Churchill informs me, *D. Hascall*, late of Hamilton, and now there; *Drs. N. and A. C. Kendrick*; *Professors Leach and Whitman*; *Professor Smith*, of New Hampton; *Drs. J. Chase and A. Woods*; with a number of missionaries.

The Missionary State Convention of this State was organized in 1825. This body has done much to maintain the feeble churches, and bring them forward into more active operations.⁵

⁵ For much of the information relative to the rise and progress of the baptists in Vermont, I am indebted to the efforts of Deacon Amos Churchill, of Hubbardton. A number of years since, he

SECTION V.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Hanserd Knollys and the first company—Newtown and the first churches and ministers—J. N. Brown's account—E. E. Cummings' extended history—The Associations, viz.: Salisbury—Dublin—Milford—Portsmouth—Meredith—Newport—and Mountain—Closing remarks.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Knollys and a few of our community, as we shall soon see, were among the early settlers of the Granite State, yet they were soon dispersed, and no churches of the order, of any permanent character, were gathered here for more than a century after.

In old Newtown, adjoining Haverhill, then the residence of Dr. H. Smith, was formed the first church in New Hampshire, which has existed to the present time. It bears date from 1755.

In 1784, according to Backus, Vol. II., there were twenty-four in this State; most of them have survived to the present time. About thirteen of them were destitute of pastors. The ministers then in the field were M. Ballou, Eben. Bailey, Dr. Shepard, Eliph. Smith, Elea. Beckwith, Ed. Pillsbury, Samuel Fletcher, — Haines, Nich. Folsom, Jerem. Ward, Samuel Ambrose, and Dr. Baldwin, late of Boston.

Dr. Shepard's church, at Bentwood, was the largest; it contained 156 members,—which was an extensive community for that day. M. Ballou's, at Richmond, of 122 members, was the next in size. All the others were small.

Six years later, according to Asplund's Register, the churches had increased to thirty-two; the ministers, ord. and lic., were forty, and the members upwards of one thousand seven hundred.

This State now contains seven Associations, one hundred and two churches, and between nine and ten thousand members.

Most of my brief narratives of the affairs of our brethren in this State are selected from the writings of their own historian, with some preliminary items from Rev. Mr. Brown, late a professor in the New Hampton Institution.

"The first settlement within the limits of this State was made at the mouth of Piscataqua river, in 1623. No account, however, is given of any persons among the first settlers who embraced the sentiments of our denomination.

"The first minister of whom we have any account, who embraced and defended the baptist sentiments, was the Rev. Hanserd Knollys, who preached for some time to the people of Dover, about the year 1639; but his sentiments furnished his enemies with abundant occasion to oppose and persecute him, until, at length, he returned to Boston, from whence he returned to England, his native country."*

Rev. Hanserd Knollys, the first pastor of the first church in Dover, N. H., is a name eminent among the English baptists of the 17th century. He was born at Caukwell, a village in Lincolnshire, England, in 1598; was educated for the ministry at Cambridge; and ordained by the bishop of Peterborough, June 29, 1629. Having embraced the principles of the persecuted puritans, &c., he was arrested in Boston, in his native country, 1636, by virtue of a warrant

encountered much labor and expense to make collections of historical matter, with a view of having a work published on this subject. His ample collections are very much in detail, and will supply valuable documents for the future historians of the State. The whole mass was kindly put into my hands by my venerable friend, now far advanced in years. My plan admitted of but scanty selections.

Brethren E. Hutchinson, of Winsor; O. Smith and J. F. Chiles, Wilmington; D. Hascall and J. M. Rockwood, of Rutland; J. Conant and C. A. Thomas, of Brandon; J. W. Sawyer, Shaftsbury; and H. Fletcher, of Townhend, in addition to Ide, Farnsworth, Hodge, and others already named, have made contributions for my work. Some of the matter thus sent me will be reserved for my biographical volume.

* Cummings' Hist. Sermon, p. 4.

from the odious High Commission Court; but the man in whose custody he was, being conscience-stricken, connived at his escape, and he went up to London to find a passage to America, where he was obliged to wait so long, that when he embarked, he had but just six brass farthings left, and no silver or gold. He was accompanied by his wife; but his only child died on the passage, which was a very tedious one of twelve weeks.

“According to Backus, his arrival in Boston was in the spring of 1638; and to use his own language, ‘on my arrival at Boston, being very poor, I was necessitated to work daily with my hoe for the space of almost three weeks.’ The magistrates were told by the ministers that I was an antinomian, and desired they would not suffer me to abide in their patent.’

“Two gentlemen, from Dover, being then in Boston, invited him to accompany them on their return, and preach to them. He accordingly went with them, but Burdet, who had usurped the government of Dover at that time, forbid it. On Burdet’s removal, in the coming fall, ‘the people,’ says Winthrop, ‘called Mr. Knollys, and, in a short time, he gathered some of the best minded into a church body, and became their pastor.’⁷

“Mr. Knollys arrived in London in 1641; there he gathered a flourishing baptist church, of which he continued the pastor till his death, at the advanced age of 93. His congregation was seldom less than 1000 auditors.⁸

“Nothing more is heard of our denomination until 1720, when a pious, and very devoted lady, moved from Rehoboth, Mass., to Stratham. She was most firmly established in her faith on the doctrines and duties of the gospel, and labored most devoutly to spread divine light around her. She did not, however, witness much fruit during her life, but it appeared in a ripening harvest after her death. There might, indeed, have been many at this period who were baptists in sentiment, but, when we survey the oppressive measures that were adopted to prevent the introduction of our sentiments into the State, it is not at all surprising that they were so slow in making their appearance.

“The lady here referred to was Rachel Scammon, whose maiden name was Thurber, and who, soon after her marriage, removed with her husband from her native town, where baptists had long been numerous, to this new and destitute region.”

The story of this distinguished female is thus related by Backus:—

“Mrs. Scammon was a woman of piety, and firmly and understandingly established in the baptist principles. But she was now removed at a distance from her brethren, and settled in a place where the baptists were not known, and where their sentiments were not named, except by way of censure and reproach. In this lonely situation she remained most of her days; and, although she frequently conversed with her neighbors respecting the propriety of her peculiar opinions, yet so strong were their prejudices against them, that for the space of forty years she gained but one proselyte. That was a woman, who, being convinced of her duty, repaired to Boston,—the distance of more than fifty miles, and was baptized by elder Bound, the pastor of the Second church in that town.

“Mrs. Scammon, towards the close of her life, fell in with *Norcott on Baptistism*. The arguments in that little book appeared so clear and convincing, that she was firmly persuaded they would have an enlightening effect on the minds of her neighbors and friends, if they could be prevailed upon to read them. She accordingly carried the piece to Boston, with a view of getting it re-printed. But, when she came to propose the matter to the printer, he informed her that he had more than a hundred copies of the work then on hand. These she immediately purchased, carried them home, and distributed them around her neighborhood, to all who would accept of them. She, however, did not live

⁷ The church at Dover to which Mr. Knollys officiated, was probably on the mixed communion plan, as was very common in those days in incipient movements of this kind.

⁸ J. N. Brown’s letter to the author.

to see much of the fruits of her benevolence and zeal ; but she used often to say to her neighbors, that she was fully persuaded that a baptist church would arise in Stratham, although she might not live to see it. And it so happened that a baptist church actually arose there soon after her death, and others were gathered in different parts of the country, not long after ; and the light which was reflected from Norcott's little book, which this pious lady had dispersed abroad, was the means, either directly or indirectly, of producing them.

"Thus Mrs. Scammon's bread, cast upon the water, seems to have been found after many days : the books which she freely dispersed being picked up and made useful to many."

The most remarkable instance of this kind was in the case of Samuel—generally distinguished by the title of Doctor Shepard, who was long and extensively known as an eminent preacher amongst the baptists in this part of New Hampshire. He was, at this time, a young man, engaged in the practice of physic ; and, being at the house of one of his patients, he took up one of the little books above mentioned, and on reading it through, he found his mind much impressed with the force of the sentiments which it advocated.

At this time he was a member of a pedobaptist church, but soon after he became a member and minister in the baptist connection, and commenced a course of action which, as we shall soon see, was crowned with abundant success.

We are now prepared to follow the narrative of their own historian, in giving the details of the early movements of the denomination in this State which resulted in the formation of a large and influential body of churches, in which are now upwards of nine thousand members.

"The first baptist church in New Hampshire was formed in Newtown, 1755. And as the Rev. Walter Powers was settled over it the same year, it is presumed that he was instrumental in gathering the church. The church was small at its beginning, and not enjoying immediate prosperity, it did not long maintain its standing.

"A small church was gathered in Madbury, in 1768-9 ; by whose instrumentality, however, we have no means of ascertaining. No account of ministerial labor can be found until 1773, when the Rev. William Hooper moved from Berwick, and settled with them. He labored with them until his death, since which time the church has become extinct. For many years after the formation of the church at Newtown, there is no doubt but the seeds of truth were being sown in different parts of the State ; but they that went forth bearing precious seed, wept while no apparent success seemed to attend their labors. Only the two little vines in Newtown and Madbury were planted in the wilderness, until 1770.

"The cause progressed slowly ;—not, however, because its friends were not active and devoted christians, or because a portion of the people were not prepared to receive the truth as it was advanced by our ministers, but the slowness of its progress was owing principally to the opposition of the denomination which was then the most numerous in New Hampshire. The Congregational denomination took early measures to form churches in every town where the number of inhabitants would possibly justify ; and in all such instances, direct measures were taken to prevent the introduction of any sentiments contrary to those that they had embraced. Indeed, one would be led to judge, from a view of their conduct, that they regarded it as a part of practical religion to check the progress of 'Sectarians ;' and most certainly, it was made the duty of the Legislature of that age to guard the rights of Christ's kingdom, and, it would seem, in not a few instances, to control the consciences of men. Laws were enacted, dreadful in their sanction and penalty, to prevent the progress of new denominations. Parish lines were considered most sacred land-marks, and if any minister dared to step over them, he was denounced as a most unholy intruder into God's heritage.

"It should be understood, that however mild the laws of this State may be at present, in regard to religious matters, at the time of which we are now speak-

ing, the jurisdiction of Massachusetts extended over New Hampshire, and made provision for the due administration of justice. From eighteen years after its first settlement to the year 1679, the laws of Massachusetts operated through all the province. So that, whatever laws were imposed in one State would be in the other if circumstances demanded it. And the merest glance at the laws in Massachusetts, at this time, will show that they were most severe on this subject. The laws at this period required inflicting of corporal punishment upon any one person who should be guilty of holding a religious meeting, or speaking against pedobaptism. It is, moreover, very apparent, these laws were prosecuted with great energy on the part of the civil authority. Public sentiment went also against the prevalence of all intruding sects; and of the number of such intruders, who, in the apprehension of the guardians of the public morals, threatened to sap the foundation of the institutions of religion, the baptists were not the least spoken against.

“After the separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts, the laws by which such matters were regulated were more mild; but it was owing to other circumstances rather than the good feeling of the rulers of the people. There was the same feeling of hostility manifested, if there was not all that rigor of legislation. The old law of taxation was retained by this State, and carried to great lengths long after its separation from Massachusetts. All the polls and ratable estates were taxed to support the established ministry, and a union with other societies did not exempt a person from being taxed according to law, and his property was liable to be seized, even to the last farthing, to meet the demand.

“But measures of this sort were not deemed sufficient. In addition to the enactment and execution of law, every minister of the Congregational denomination made it a part of his duty to hold up our denomination in the most unlovely features possible.

“Surrounded by such circumstances, it is not at all surprising that we find the cause progressing very slowly. There was, indeed, a gradual gaining of strength from the time of the formation of the church in Newtown, until 1770, though it was almost imperceptible. Every onward step, however, was watched, and the alarm sounded with great faithfulness and zeal. In many cases much labor was bestowed to counteract the influence of our ministers when they entered a town to preach. In 1771, Rev. Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill, Mass., visited Concord, and preached a few times in that town. This ‘intrusion,’ in the opinion of the settled minister, ‘threatened the peace of the town;’ and under the pretext to save the ‘Christian Constitution,’ which was so fatally threatened, he labored in a public discourse to traduce and blacken the character of this truly devoted and amiable servant of Christ.

“In addition to all the measures that have been enumerated, much was said in the periodical prints to strengthen public sentiment against our doctrine and people.

“Such hostility, so systematically arrayed against the feeble force on the side of the baptists, may well be imagined to have exerted a most mighty influence in retarding our cause. But we had a stronger arm than men. Our Redeemer was Almighty. And no one can examine the early history of our church without being struck with the fact that all this array of opposition was only preparing the way for a most glorious triumph of truth.

“The Lord was preparing the way in these most perilous times to strike a most extended and permanent establishment in this newly settled country. He had the men, and the means, and when the set time had come, he marched forward in his Almighty strength.

“In 1770, commenced a new era in the history of our denomination in New Hampshire. About this time there was an almost simultaneous visit made by a number of ministers to different parts of the State. These ministers preached the gospel as they went, and baptized those who gave evidence of faith in Christ.

“ Among this consecrated band was the pious and eminent Hezekiah Smith, of Haverhill. The weight of character which Dr. Smith sustained, and his unequalled talents as a preacher, seemed to do much toward melting away that almost invincible prejudice which had obtained against the baptist denomination.

“ In the month of June, Mr. Smith baptized in the towns of Nottingham, Brentwood, and Stratham, thirty-eight persons. Among this number, was the Rev. Eliphalet Smith, the pastor of a congregational church in this place; and within the limits of Deerfield, a church was gathered, and *Rev. E. Smith* was ordained pastor. This church afterwards became a branch of the church in Brentwood, then under the pastoral care of Dr. Shepard.

“ Rev. Samuel Shepard, then a practising physician, of Stratham, was among the number who experienced religion in the work of grace, to which allusion has just been made. He soon after gave up the practice, and was ordained by Rev. Messrs. Stillman, of Boston, Smith, of Haverhill, and Manning, of Providence.

“ In May following, the church was gathered in Brentwood, consisting of fifteen members, and Dr. Shepard was settled as pastor, which relation he sustained until he was called by the great Head of the church to give up his stewardship.

“ This church increased with great rapidity, and had branches in Epping, Lee, Nottingham, Hawke, Hampstead, Northwood, Salisbury, Canterbury, Loudon, Chichester, Meredith, and many other places, and included within its compass about one thousand members.

“ While gospel truth was moving in the eastern part of the State, other sections of the State were sharing in equally rich blessings. In 1770, churches were formed in Richmond, Hinsdale, and Chesterfield. Through whose instrumentality these churches were gathered we can collect no satisfactory account. Over the church in Richmond, however, Rev. Marturin Ballou was ordained in 1770. Nothing more is known of Mr. Ballou than that he was a very pious and useful minister, and labored most assiduously to promote the cause of truth in that vicinity for a number of years. The church in Westmoreland was formed the year following, and, in 1773, the Rev. Ebenezer Bailey was ordained as pastor. The church became large and respectable, but for many years past, in consequence of a want of pastoral labor, and a variety of other circumstances, it has very much declined, so that now there is but here and there a member of the scattered flock.

“ About this time, a church was gathered in Hopkinton, probably through the instrumentality of Rev. Joshua Smith, as he labored much in the vicinity about the same time.

“ In 1795, Rev. Elisha Andrews removed from Fairfax, Vt., and commenced laboring with this church, and continued his labors about two years. During his ministry with this people, he was instrumental of much good in the vicinity in the conversion of souls.

“ The date of the formation of the church in Lebanon is about this time. This church was gathered through the labors of Rev. Jedediah Hibbard, who was soon after settled as their pastor, and labored with them until 1784, and in 1787, was settled over a church in Cornish, which was gathered about that time. The church in Lebanon is now extinct.

“ In November, 1773, a church was gathered in Gilmanton, and Rev. Walter Powers, son of Walter Powers, of Newtown, was settled as pastor, in 1786, which relation he sustained over twenty years.

“ The view we have now taken of the denomination, shows us that unexampled success was given to the labors of our ministers in every part of the State, and churches were embodied in many parts of it at almost the same time.

“ These churches continued to prosper under the ministry of their respective pastors, whom God had raised up to plant churches in the wilderness. After the formation of those churches, there seems to have been a time allotted by the great Head of the church, giving his people opportunity to gain a permanency which would qualify them to act as instruments in planting other

churches in their respective vicinities. For five years, therefore, we find no record of the formation of churches, during which time the churches planted in the most important parts of the State seem to have been preparing for the work that was before them.

"The town of Marlow was chartered in 1761, and in 1768, Rev. Ebenezer Mack, together with a large number of families belonging to the baptist church in Lyme, Conn., moved to that town. There was no church formed there, however, until 1778, when the members then residing in town were embodied, and one of their number, Rev. Caleb Blood, was ordained as their pastor, but was dismissed in 1779. Mr. Blood was succeeded by Rev. Eleazar Beckwith, who labored there until his death, in 1809.

"In 1779, Mr. Blood addressed a letter to the Warren Association, describing the destitute situation of that region, by which the Association were induced to send two missionaries into New Hampshire, to labor a few months in the western section of the State. Rev. Job Seaman, of Attleborough, Mass., and Rev. Biel Ledoyl, of Woodstock, Conn., were the ministers selected to perform this service.

"These devoted ministers preached on both sides of the Connecticut river, but principally in New Hampshire, and their evangelical labors were greatly blessed. The same year they were instrumental in gathering a church in Newport and Croydon, which was constituted in May, 1779, bearing the name of both the towns.

"While churches were being gathered in the west part of the State, the Lord was also at work in the east and central parts. In 1780, Dr. Shepard was instrumental in gathering churches in Canterbury, Loudon, and Chichester, and connected them, as branches, to the church at Brentwood. A church was also gathered in the town of Northwood, and the Rev. Edward Pillsbury was ordained pastor, which relation he sustained for eighteen years.

"During this season Dr. Shepard visited Meredith, and after baptizing forty-four persons in one day, he embodied a church, consisting of between sixty and seventy members. Two years after, Rev. Nicholas Folsom, a native of Brentwood, was ordained as pastor of the church, and continued, beloved and respected, until his death, in 1830. About the same time the church in Meredith formed a branch in the town of Sanbornton.

"About this time, Rev. Cotton Haines visited Rumney, and was instrumental in gathering a church. Mr. Haines, however, did not sustain a reputable character as a minister, and soon closed his labors with them, leaving the church in an unhappy condition, in which it remained for a number of years.

"This year is noticeable on account of the rise of a new denomination, called the *Freewill Baptists*. The father and founder of this denomination in America, was the Rev. Benjamin Randall, who gathered the first society in New Durham. Mr. Randall was dissatisfied with the doctrinal views of our churches, and with the idea of written declarations of faith, &c. He found many followers in the State, and some among the churches of our denomination which had been formed a short time before. This accounts for the fact, that in many towns where churches were formed in the early history of our denomination, none now exists. Many of them united with the Freewill Baptist connection.

"In 1782, Rev. Samuel Ambrose, a native of Exeter, labored for a number of months in Sutton, and was the instrument in raising up the first church in that town, to which he sustained the relation of pastor for many years.

"There is a record of a formation of a church in Weare as early as 1768, but no account is given of its enjoying ministerial labor until 1787, when the Rev. Amos Wood was ordained as its pastor. His labor with them was short: he was called away to the church triumphant in the midst of his usefulness. He died 1799, aged 39 years.

"About this time a church was formed in Salem, and Rev. Samuel Fletcher was ordained as its pastor, whose itinerant labors were greatly blessed in that part of the State."

"In 1781, a church was gathered in Canaan, through the instrumentality of Rev. Elisha Ransom, of Woodstock, Vt., over which the Rev. Thomas Baldwin was settled, in 1783. He was pastor of this church seven years, after which he removed to Boston. During Dr. Baldwin's labors with this people he was the instrument in planting a church in Grafton, over which the Rev. Oliver Williams was ordained pastor in 1786, and also in the formation of a branch church in Hebron and Groton.

"About 1782, a church was gathered in Temple, but its history is almost forgotten, and it has long since given up its organization.

"We have now passed over a period of about twenty-five years, and noticed the formation of about twenty-five churches, scattered through every section of the State. We have now arrived at a period in the history of our denomination in which the churches began a more systematic mode of operations. Many of them had already united with associations in adjoining States, but now they concluded the time had come for them to establish a seat of operations within their own territory."

Mr. Cummings has given historical sketches of most of the other churches in this State at that date (1835); only a few of them will my limits allow me to insert in connection with the associations to which they now belong. These bodies I shall arrange, as near as can be conveniently done, in geographical connection with each other, beginning with

NEW HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION,

Which has ceased to exist under that name, having been divided for the purpose of forming those of Salisbury and York. This body was organized in due form, in 1785, although for a number of years before, as was common in those times, a small conference assembled for mutual benefit and advice. This meeting was composed of but three churches, viz.: Bentwood, Berwick, and Sanford. The two last were in what was then the District of Maine.

At the first session of this Association, Mr. Backus, who was then traveling through the country, was present. Dr. Shepard and William Hooper, then of Madbury, were the principal ministers in the early operations of this young institution.

Although the name of this body indicates an identity with the Granite State, yet, from the first, and until it was changed, a considerable portion of the churches were in the State of Maine. Its bounds became extensive, and much prosperity attended its efforts for upwards of thirty years, when, by mutual consent, the churches in Maine assumed the name of the York Association, while those in this State formed a new organization, which was called the

SALISBURY ASSOCIATION.

This was formed in 1818, of eight churches, viz.: Salisbury, Weare, Bow, Sutton, Exeter, Gilford, Gilmanton, and Concord. The ministers at the time were Messrs. O. Robinson, John B. Gibson, H. Veasey, F. Ellis, Phineas Richardson, and William Taylor.

SALISBURY CHURCH was organized out of the scattered members of one of Dr. Shepard's branches, in 1810.

Rev. Otis Robinson became its pastor, and continued with them about sixteen years.

CONCORD. Although Baptist principles were introduced into this town, now the capital of the State, upwards of seventy years ago, yet the church was not formed until 1818. It was gathered under the ministry of

Rev. William Taylor, who continued in the pastorate seven years, and was succeeded by

Rev. N. W. Williams, who continued with them a few years, and was succeeded by

Rev. E. E. Cummings, who has for many years successfully occupied this important station. This church is now much the largest in this body.⁵

DUBLIN ASSOCIATION

Was organized, in 1809, of six churches, which were dismissed from the old Woodstock. It is situated in the south-western corner of the State, in the counties of Cheshire and Hillsborough. The grand Monadnock mountain is in the town of Dublin. Elders *William Elliott* and *Elijah Willard* were the principal ministers in this community in its early movements.

MILFORD ASSOCIATION.

This body is also on the southern borders of the State, in the counties of Hillsborough and Rockingham; it was constituted in 1828. This is the largest institution of the kind in the State, and the *Nashua Church*, whose pastor is *Rev. D. D. Pratt*, contains more members than any in this Association, or in New Hampshire.⁶

MANCHESTER. This is a new and flourishing manufacturing village, which has grown up on the Merrimack within a few years. I see it already contains two churches of our order, whose pastors are *A. T. Foss* and *T. O. Lincoln*, son of the late *Ensign Lincoln*, of Boston, who has been in the pastorship at Philadelphia and Mount Holly, N. J. *Rev. Mr. Brierly*, now in the 2d Church, in Salem, Mass., was *Mr. Lincoln's* predecessor in office.⁷

PORTSMOUTH ASSOCIATION

Was also organized in 1828; it takes its name from the only seaport town in the State. This young community contains some of the oldest churches in the State. Old Newtown, of more than ninety years standing, Bentwood, which arose under the ministry of *Dr. Shepard*, three-fourths of a century past, with a number of other old bodies, I see are members of this institution.

PORTSMOUTH CHURCH was gathered in 1826. It began with but eight members. *Rev. D. Dunbar*, now one of the city pastors in New York, officiated here a short time. After him,

Rev. Baron Stow, D.D., now of Boston, was ordained to the pastorship of this infant society, where he continued about five years. Next to him was

Rev. Luther Crawford, late Secretary to the B. H. M. Society. Who followed him in office, I am not able to state.

Rev. Silas Hsley is their present pastor. This church is a fraction in advance, as to numbers, of any other in this community.⁸

MEREDITH ASSOCIATION.

This is now the oldest in the State, having been formed in 1789. This body has existed fifty-eight years, and is next to Milford in size. A considerable number of the oldest churches in the State are embraced within its bounds. The town from which this body took its name is in the county of Strafford, seventy miles north-west of Portsmouth. The church here was gathered in 1780, when *Dr. Shepard* baptized 44 persons in one day.

⁵ In 1846, it reported 303; Hopkington, 196; Warner, 125; Bow, 104; Pittsfield, 100.

⁶ In 1846 it reported 452; First, Manchester, 270; Milford, 167; Hudson 133; Gofftown, 118; N. Boston, 112. All the others are less than 100.

⁷ I have taken unusual pains to obtain some details of the baptist interest in this place, but without success.

⁸ In 1846, it reported 190; Dover, 169; Great Falls, 163; Deerfield, 157; Bentwood, 153; Exeter, 124; Plaistow, 105. All the others are less than 100.

Elder Nicholas Folsom, from the Brentwood church, was the first pastor here, where he continued upwards of thirty years.

FIRST SANDBORNTON was also constituted in 1780.

Rev. John Crocket was a long time in the pastoral office with this people.

Rev. L. Huntley is the present incumbent.

This town seems to have been favorable to the growth of our society, as a Second church is found here, under the *Rev. L. Walker*. The old church is now the largest in this body.⁹

RUMNEY CHURCH was gathered the same year as the two last named.

Rev. Ezra Wilmarth was the successful pastor of this people for many years. In 1816, he added to his flock 140 members, which increased his whole number to upwards of three hundred.

Rev. Peletiah Chapin, a congregational minister, was baptized here by *Mr. Wilmarth*, in 1806.

The Baptist Literary and Theological Institution is in the bounds of this Association, at New Hampton.

NEWPORT ASSOCIATION

Arose out of a division of the old Woodstock, in 1828; it is situated on the eastern side of N. H., adjoining Vermont, in the counties of Hillsborough, Cheshire, Sullivan, and Grafton. Windsor, in the Mountain State, is opposite the seat of this body.

In this part of the State, churches began to be collected in the new settlements about three-fourths of a century since; some of them became large and efficient for that day, and spread out their branches in many parts of the surrounding country.

Among this class of churches we may mention those of Westmoreland, Lebanon, Canaan, Grafton, Marlow, Newport, New London, Cornish, Alstead, &c. The ministers were *Eben. Bailey*, *Nathan Leonard*, *Jedediah Hibbard*, *Dr. Baldwin*, *O. Williams*, supposed to be a descendant of Roger Williams, *E. Beckwith*, *C. Blood*, *B. Ledoyt*, *Job Seamans*, *A. Kendrick*, *Jere. Higbee*, and others.

But a part of these churches appear in the present Minutes of this body; they have probably changed their names, or fallen into other communities

MOUNTAIN ASSOCIATION.

This is a small institution, formed on missionary ground in 1842, in the northern regions of the State. *A. Bedel*, *L. Kingsbury*, and *G. W. Butler* are the only ministers whose names appear in the last accounts of it. It contains about 250 members.

Closing remarks. As a general thing, the early history of our denomination, in this State, has been much like that of its neighbor Vermont, on one side, and Maine, on the other. In neither of the three governments did they suffer a tittle of the legal depredations and embarrassments to which they were exposed in old Massachusetts,—the mother of them all, and the source of the vexatious and ruinous policy which distinguished the original seat of the puritans.

The first ministers in New Hampshire were, indeed, few in number; but they were working men, and great results followed their exertions.

Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, was an apostle and most efficient pioneer in all the

⁹ In 1816 its members were 217; Second, 156; N. Hampton, 158; Rumney, 141; Lyme, 112; Second, Meredith, 111. These are all that amount to 100.

southern regions of this State. Dr. Shepard, a host of himself, watered and nourished the seed which was sown by his predecessor, and other ministers of less note, became coadjutors in the evangelical enterprise, and great success followed their united labors.

Mr. Cummings' *General History of the early churches*, exhibits the decline and extinction of many; but this is to be accounted for, in part, the same as in Vermont, by unfavorable locations, and the tide of the population setting in other directions. And then, again, they had no State Conventions, as now, *to strengthen the things which remain, and are ready to die*.

The New Hampshire brethren seem to have got matters well arranged for future action, which, we may anticipate, will be vigorous, and, we trust, successful.

Most of my materials for the construction of the foregoing sketches, have been derived from Mr. Cummings' *Historical Discourse*;—and I wish we had similar works for every State.

SECTION VI.

MAINE.

The earliest movements of the denomination—Mr. Scriven and his company opposed and dispersed—Dr. Smith and others—A new company on the Kennebec River—James Potter—Isaac Case—Elisha Snow—and others—Many churches founded by these men and their fellow-laborers.

WE have now arrived to a territory of distinguished amplitude, for a northern State,—being somewhat larger than all the New England States together; much of it, yet, however, is an uncultivated wilderness.

This *down east* country has been regarded by many who inhabit milder regions, as the *Nora Zembla* of our Union; and the inhabitants themselves fled from it in thousands, in quest of more fertile lands and more salubrious skies. But there has been an important reaction in this business: the tide of emigration is setting towards this wide domain; its population is rapidly increasing; the institutions of literature and religion are cultivated with assiduity and success; and the denomination whose history I am pursuing has shared with others in the augmentation of its numbers, and the better regulation of its affairs in those elements, which are the sure presages of stability and success.

The re-entry of the baptists in the then *District* of Maine, after the dispersion of Mr. Scriven and his company, which will soon be related, was, at points, the most easy of access from Massachusetts. Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, was, in fact, the pioneer of the denomination into this eastern government, in more modern times.

According to Morgan Edward's list, there was but one baptist church in Maine, in 1768. It was at Berwick, a few miles from Portsmouth. That was gathered in 1764, and *Joshua Emery* was its first minister.

Asplund, in his first Register, in 1790, reports fifteen churches in the whole of Maine, viz., two in the County of York, at BERWICK and PARSONSFIELD; nine in Lincoln County, and four in Cumberland. The ordained ministers were, *William Hooper, Samuel Weeks, James Potter, Job Macomber, Daniel Hibberd, Isaac Case, McCorton, Elisha Snow, Nathan Merrill, and John Whitney*, besides a number of licentiates.

In 1812, according to my former history, there was then in this District three Associations, about 130 churches, and between six and seven thousand members. This great increase I ascribed, in part, to immigrations, but mostly to the extensive revivals of religion with which this favored region had been blessed for many years before. Now, there are in this eastern State three hundred churches, containing upwards of twenty thousand members.

The Associations are thirteen, which I shall arrange in three divisions, viz. : the *Western, Middle, and Eastern.*

In the first, I shall place *York, Saco River, Cumberland, Bowdoinham, and Oxford.*

In the second, *Lincoln, Kennebeck, Waldo, Piscataquis, Domariscotta, and Penobscot.*

In the third, *Hancock and Washington.*

The reader will discover that here, as in all other cases, I pay no respect to chronology, but consult geographical connection.

Mr. Millet, in his recent history of the Maine baptists, like Mr. Cummings, of New Hampshire, in his *Historical Discourse*, has given accounts more or less particular of every church. This is well for a local history, but my plan will admit of only summary descriptions of the general affairs of our society in this State.

Very opportunely I find in the work of their own historian most of these descriptions to my hand, which I shall take the liberty to transcribe.

“Baptist sentiments first appeared in Maine in 1681.¹⁰ At this time, there was peace and prosperity in the province. The war-whoop was not heard; disputation and wrangling about claims and titles were at an end; and Massachusetts and Maine moved under the same form of government. Massachusetts had spread over the Province, not only her laws, but her spirit of religious intolerance. This spirit had already erected its battlements against the wild fanaticism of all sects who did not bow to its authority.

“Kittery, the oldest town in the Province, incorporated 1647, was selected as the place first to raise a baptist standard. The first avowal of baptist sentiments tested the spirit of charity in other sects. As in Massachusetts, so in Maine, the Congregationalists were recognized by law as the *Standing Order*. They viewed the baptists in the light of religious fanatics, and regarded their doctrines and influence as deleterious to the welfare of both society and religion.

“It was soon known, that in Kittery, there were several persons professing to be baptists. From whence they came, is now unknown. In the course of events, an opportunity offered to them the privilege of church communion, agreeably to their own theological views. The nearest baptist church was at Boston, Mass., over which Rev. Isaac Hull then presided. At the advice of Mr. Hull, these baptists in Kittery united with his church.

“Wm. Screven, an early emigrant from England, was one of their number. Being a man of more than common talents, and devoutly pious, he officiated as leader in their worship. The brethren in Kittery and in Boston were satisfied that the Great Head of the Church had designed and called him to preach the gospel of Christ. He was accordingly licensed by the church in Boston, to ‘exercise his gifts in Kittery, or elsewhere, as the providence of God may cast him.’

“The baptists in Kittery being now blessed with a minister, and situated at so great a distance from Boston, deemed it expedient for their own spiritual advantage, and for the cause of Christ in the new settlements, to unite in a separate church. But their desire was at once disappointed by the violence of opposition.

“Moved by the same spiritual despotism which had disturbed the baptists in Massachusetts, Mr. Woodbridge, the minister, and Mr. Huck, the magistrate, awakened prejudice and hatred against these conscientious disciples in Kittery. Slandrous abuses and legalized tyranny were now to be endured by them. Church members suffered not alone; but those who assembled with them for worship were repeatedly summoned before the magistrate, and by him threatened with a fine of five shillings for every such offence in future.

¹⁰ As a well written local history of this State—formerly called the District of Maine—has been lately published by Rev. Joshua Millet, one of their ministers, I shall avail myself of the labors of this industrious brother, as far as it can be done consistently with my plan of abridgment and condensation.

"Humphrey Churchman, a man worthy of respect and esteem, for exercising his liberty of conscience, and encouraging the baptism of some of his friends, was conveyed before Mr. Huck and Woodbridge, to answer for abuses against the established order. But it does not appear that much was done but to revile and ridicule the baptists. This movement, however, did not prevent the baptism of several others soon after.

"Alarmed at the success which attended these incipient and feeble efforts of the baptists, the General Assembly of the Province took the business of oppression into their own hands. At the August session of the council, 1682, (Maj. B. Pendleton was then Deputy-President of the Province), Mr. Screven was tried and placed under bonds for good behavior. The following is a copy of records made by Edward Bishworth :

"Wm. Screven, appearing before this court, and being convicted of contempt of his majesty's authority, and refusing to submit himself to the sentence of the court, prohibiting his public preaching; and upon examination before the court, declaring his resolution still to persist therein; the court tended him the liberty to return home to his family in case he would forbear such turbulent practices, and amend for the future; but he refusing, the court sentenced him to give bonds for his good behavior, and to forbear such contentious behavior for the future; and the delinquent stand committed until the judgment of this court be filed.

"Varai Copia transcribed, and with the records compared this 17th of August, 1682.—
"E. B., Recorder."

"Mr. Screven, regarding the precepts and examples of Christianity the only just rule of conduct, did not comply with the requisitions of this court. A fine of ten pounds was therefore imposed upon him. He was, moreover, threatened with an infliction of the penalties of the law for each and for every future offence against the *established order*. This treatment constituted another part of the important business of the same session.

"This court having considered the offensive speeches of Wm. Screven, viz. : his rash and inconsiderate words tending to blasphemy, *do adjudge* the delinquent for his offence, to pay ten pounds into the treasury of the court or Province. And, further, the court doth forbid and discharge the said Screven, under any pretence, to keep any private exercise at his *own* house, or elsewhere, upon the Lord's day, either in Kittery, or any other place within the limits of this Province; and he is for the future enjoined to observe the public worship of God in our public assemblies upon the Lord's days, according to the laws established in this Province, upon such penalties as the law requires upon such neglect of the premises."

"Neither these terrific proceedings of a provincial court, nor the slander and abuse of the clergy could crush the spirit and zeal of Screven, or prevent the embodiment of a baptist church in Kittery. By the assistance of Rev. Isaac Hull, of Boston, the following persons were recognized, September, 1682, as a church of Christ in gospel order, they having been previously baptized. Wm. Screven, minister; Humphrey Churchwood, deacon; Robert Williams, John Morgandy, Richard Cutts, Timothy Davis, Leonard Brown, Wm. Adams, Humphrey Azell, George Litter, and several females. Storm and violence, obloquy, fines, and imprisonments were now experienced by this little band of disciples. As the result of a long cherished and well organized religious intolerance, venting itself in vehement and impassioned persecution, these humble christians became disheartened and overcome. In less than one year from its organization, the church was dissolved and the members scattered 'like sheep upon the mountains.'

"To avoid the embarrassments of clerical oppression and further litigations, to shun the evils of slander and calumny, Mr. Screven, accompanied with his family, and some of his suffering brethren, left the Province, removed to South Carolina, where he gathered a baptist church, which, subsequently, became a flourishing society.

"Mr. Screven was a native of England,—born in 1629. Soon after his residence in Kittery, he married Bridget Cutts, and was, with her, blessed with eleven children. His talents were above mediocrity. Though favored with but a partial literary competency, yet, a brilliant and energetic imagination, a fervent heart, enlivened by the genial influences of christianity, wonderfully

supplied that literary deficiency. He was beloved by his brethren; his ministrations were listened to with delight, and received with edification and profit. He was eminent for devoted piety and religious usefulness. Mr. Screven died near Charleston, S. C., at the age of eighty-four years, leaving a respectable posterity to bear testimony to his worth.

"From the dissolution of the church in Kittery, no baptists appeared publicly in Maine for an interval of about eighty-five years."¹

During the long interval between the dispersion of this first company of baptists, and those who next appear on the ground, very material changes had taken place in old Massachusetts, and all the New England colonies, with regard to religious freedom; and, although the State on which it hung, in colonial dependence, claimed the control of the people in ecclesiastical affairs, yet *they* took it into their heads to govern themselves, and so firmly stood to their rights, that legal embarrassments were by no means frequent or severe.

"That section of the State in which the baptists next began to operate and multiply, was along the western side of the Kennebec; and soon after, they commenced progress in the eastern part of what is now Lincoln County, and among the people in the new settlements along the western shores of Penobscot Bay. These movements were begun soon after baptist churches first commenced operations in York County. The circumstance which opened the way for the baptists in this new country, were somewhat singular, if not mysterious,—and as interesting as singular. As in almost every part of the State, so in this: the Congregationalists had planted themselves in all the leading settlements, and most flourishing and promising towns. But God had in reserve fields and opportunities for the baptists, and in his own time, and by his own wise method, did he open these fields to them, and confer these opportunities.

"Considerable settlements were made along the shores of the Kennebec and Androscoggin rivers, previous to 1770; but, in the more interior, they were commenced at later periods. About this time, openings in the forests began to appear,—where are now Bowdoinham and Bowdoin, and the inhabitants were continually removing from the settlements along the rivers, to those commenced in the interior. A few pious families were among the first to commence the settlement called Potterstown (now Bowdoin). These soon began to hold regular meetings for social religious worship. Having no minister, they spent the time in pious conversation, prayer, and singing praises to the Lord. These were seasons of refreshment,—spiritual and heavenly refreshment.

"In January, 1781, Mr. James Potter, whose history fills an important place in the annals of the early baptists in this part of the State, removed, with his family, from Topsham to Bowdoin, or Potterstown. Mr. P., entertaining favorable views respecting the religion of Christ,—although not pious at heart, was much gratified to find religious worship maintained in this new settlement, and became a constant attendant upon these seasons of devotion."

This man, who afterwards became a very distinguished pioneer in the operations of the baptists in this State, soon after the event above described, united with the congregationalists in Harpswell, where he continued but a short time before he fell into the baptist ranks, to which he had, from the early part of his religious profession, been inclined.

Rev. Nathaniel Lord, then of Wells, was the means of conducting him in the midst of his doubts and uncertainties, into the bosom of that society in which, for a long life, he was extensively useful, and most highly esteemed.

Rev. Isaac Case, whose history will be more fully related elsewhere, soon after arrived in this new and uncultivated region, and became a successful helper in the good work of grace, which had already commenced. The coming and

¹ History of the Baptists in Maine, by Rev. Joshua Millet, pp. 24-29. This work contains some valuable sketches of the civil history of this government in early times. Ample authorities are given by him for all his statements in all affairs, civil and ecclesiastical.

the early labors of this apostle of middle and eastern Maine, are thus described by Mr. Millet:—

“Never were the labors of a preacher, or his company, more timely. Converts were multiplying, as the fruits of special revivals, in many places; and, for want of a proper administrator, they sighed in vain for the ordinances of the gospel. When Mr. Case came to this section of Maine, the fields, therefore, were ‘already white to the harvest,’ and he began immediately to gather in the precious fruits.

“Mr. Case arrived at Brunswick, Oct. 21, 1783. Being an entire stranger, he tarried that night at a public house. The next morning, on inquiring for some pious persons whom he might call on, he was directed to the dwelling of a Mr. Woodard. Mr. W. and his wife, being pious, gave him a cheering welcome. At their request, Mr. Case preached at their house in the afternoon and evening of the same day; and the afternoon of the next day, he preached at the dwelling-house of Mr. Samuel Getchell. These opportunities gave Mr. Case a favorable introduction, and prepared the way for his subsequent reception in the neighboring settlements.

“There being some revival then in progress on the Sabasdegan Island, in Harpswell, he went to that place, where he saw the power and love of God displayed in the conversion of sinners. On the evening of the 23d of October, he preached his first sermon on the island; and, to use his own description of the meeting, ‘the Lord poured forth the effusions of the Holy Spirit. Sighs, groans, and tears were among the people.’ Several persons were awakened to see their lost condition by nature;—among whom, were two brothers, Isaac and Ephraim Hall, who were subsequently made joyful in hope, and became useful ministers in the baptist churches. These were the first seals of the ministry of Mr. Case in Maine. Oct. 25th, in compliance with the earnest solicitation of a pious female, whose heart was filled with love of God, and compassion for perishing sinners, Mr. Case left the island, and made the people in Potterstown a visit. At a place called the ‘New Meadows,’ he met Mr. Potter. Here these two holy men formed an interesting and religious acquaintance: interesting to Mr. Case to find a fellow-laborer in this wide-spread missionary field, and most cheering to Mr. Potter to receive so spiritual and devoted an associate in the good and abundant work before them. After spending the day and evening with Mr. Potter and the people at Potterstown, Mr. Case and Mr. Potter returned to the island. On the following Sabbath, they, not having made arrangements for a meeting,—attended at the congregational meeting-house, and Mr. Case preached in the afternoon. But, says Mr. Case, we ‘being received rather coolly,’ met in the evening whomsoever were disposed to attend at the dwelling-house of a Mr. Purington. The work on the island was general. ‘On visiting,’ says Mr. C., ‘in almost every family some were weeping in the bitterness of their souls, others rejoicing in hope.’

“Oct. 29th, Mr. Case visited Georgetown (now Bath), where the labors of Mr. Potter had been blessed to the conversion of souls; and for several weeks he went from place to place, and from house to house, preaching, exhorting, and praying, and ‘the hand of the Lord went with him.’ If opposition arose, he heeded it not.

“Nov. 4th, Mr. Case administered the ordinance of baptism to a female, on the island, which was the first instance of baptism by Mr. Case in Maine, and the first administered by any baptist east of the town of Gorham. About this time, a Rev. Mr. Randall, the celebrated Free Will minister, came to the island, and labored with success a short time. Mr. Case spent about three months in this section,—uniting his labors with Mr. Potter; during which he visited most of the settlements in this vicinity, preaching to the people, and baptized many converts.

“From an impression of duty, Mr. Case left these settlements in January, 1784, and directed his way eastward. He felt that the Lord had a special work for him to do in that direction. His convictions were confirmed when he ar-

rived at New Castle. 'Here,' says he, 'I received evidence that my convictions of duty to go eastward were of the Lord. The circumstance was this: at that place he met two messengers from Thomaston, who were on their way to Sabasdegan, to invite him to 'come over and help them.' He proceeded forthwith—as Peter went to the house of Cornelius—to Thomaston, where he found the people prepared to receive the word of the Lord. Mr. Case, on his arrival, found a few pious souls who had been spending that very day in fasting and prayer, in view of his coming. Thus the way of the Lord was prepared. On the 31st of January, he preached his first sermon in Thomaston, which was the opening of a new era in the religious state and character of the town, it being blessed to the awakening of three persons to a sense of their rebellious character against God, and lost condition in sin. A most glorious and extensive revival of religion was the immediate result of these movements.

"A wide and extensive field for gospel labor was now open before Mr. Case. He therefore made Thomaston his place of residence, where he remained about eight years, preaching in that, and in the adjoining towns and settlements, and on the islands in Penobscot Bay; while Mr. Potter remained in the vicinity of Kennebec, traveling and preaching in the new settlements which were annually multiplying in the interior of the State. Many were the obstacles which these servants of the Lord had to overcome. The country was new, roads were bad, or no roads at all. They had, therefore, to travel on foot or on horseback, to carry the word of life to the destitute; and, in many instances, opposition, slander, and ridicule, tried their patience and fortitude.

"The weapons which the enemies now wielded against the baptists in this part of the State, were, in some respects, unlike those which were applied against them in York County. To prevent their increase, every attempt was made, in almost every place, to prejudice the minds of the people against them. 'Ignorant fanatics,' 'bigoted baptists,' 'new lights,' 'close communionists,' &c., were no uncommon epithets. Irony, slander, and reproaches, were heaped upon them. No wonder they considered themselves as the sect 'everywhere spoken against.' But conscious that they were not persecuted for impious motives, or evil deeds, but for righteousness' sake, they rejoiced and persevered. When reviled, they reviled not again."

These narratives exhibit the early movements of the baptists in the western and middle portions of this State, in which are located the oldest, most of the largest and efficient churches, the Waterville College, and the now suspended Theological Institution of the denomination in this widely extended territory.

The eastern and northern parts of Maine were but thinly settled for a long time after the events above described, and still large portions of them are covered with majestic forests, in all their native grandeur and magnificence.

Most of the churches in this eastern section were gathered by the labors of missionaries, among whom none were more successful than elder Isaac Case.

SECTION VII.

ASSOCIATIONS IN MAINE.—FIRST DIVISION.

York—Saco River—Cumberland—Bowdoinham—Oxford—Lincoln—Kennebec—Waldo—Piscataquis—Damariscotta—Penobscot—Hancock—Washington—Closing Remarks.

ALTHOUGH my materials are very ample for very minute details of our community in this new State, yet, would my limits allow it, so uniform have been their operations, that the narrative would not afford special interest to the general reader.

Under the head of Associations, my remaining sketches will be given of this extensive territory, to which the usual notices of churches will be added.

YORK ASSOCIATION.

This body, as we have already seen in the New Hampshire history, at first bore the name of that State, and took the one by which it is now distinguished when the SALISBURY ASSOCIATION was organized, and embraced most of the New Hampshire churches.

This ancient body is principally situated in the county from which it is called, in the south-west corner of the State.

The early history of the baptists in this region has been, in part, anticipated in that of the adjoining parts of New Hampshire.

BERWICK. This old town, in which a few members of our society appeared about eighty years since, under the ministry of *William Hooper*, has now three churches in this Association. Their pastors are *Z. Delano*, *J. M. Wedgewood*, and *J. Richardson*.

SANFORD, in which a church was gathered in 1772, reports four out of the fifteen churches in this community. They are generally small, and without pastors. *Rev. John Boyd* is stationed with the old body—the mother of the rest.

WELLS, another of the oldest churches, has for its pastor *Rev. Rufus Chase*.

SACO RIVER ASSOCIATION,

Was formed from the York, in 1841. A few of the churches in this new community were gathered before the close of the last century; most of them I should judge to be of a recent date.

PARSONSFIELD, now under the ministry of the *Rev. B. Pease*, was gathered in 1796. The names of *Samuel Weeks*, *Wentworth Lord*, and *P. Tingley*, were long associated with this people.

BUXTON is another old church, which arose in 1798. *Abner Flanders* was some time in the pastoral care of this people. *Buxton Centre* and *North Buxton* are the names of churches in this town. In the latter place, *Rev. Adam Wilson*, publisher of *Zion's Advocate*, in Portland, was reported as pastor in 1845. Probably he officiates as a supply, rather than a stationary shepherd.

The churches here are generally small, and from the digest of their letters, we should judge a number of them are not in circumstances of harmony and prosperity; but the table of their doings for benevolent objects indicates a spirit of active liberality. The largest amounts come from the churches of Saco and KENNEBUNK PORT.

CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION.

This is the third institution of the kind which was formed wholly in this district; it was organized in 1810, of churches which came from the old Bowdoinham. At that time the Androscoggin river was the dividing line; the churches east of it remained in the old body, while those on its western side united in the one now under consideration. It took the name of the county where the churches generally were situated.

The oldest churches in this body, as it now stands, are those of East Brunswick, formerly Harpswell, New Gloucester, North Yarmouth, Portland, Auburn, Freeport, Danville, and Bath. Of but a few of them have the succession of pastors been preserved, in any documents that I have seen, in a convenient style for transcribing.

BRUNSWICK. In this town and vicinity, our society began its operations about sixty years ago. Three churches bearing this name appear on the Minutes of this body, viz.: E. Brunswick, at first Harpswell, 1785; *vacant*. First Brunswick, 1799; *Noah Norton*. Main Street, do., 1840; late pastor, *D. C. Haynes*.

NORTH YARMOUTH has been a central point for baptist operations for a long time past. The church was gathered in 1797. This had been the scene of the evangelical labors of Elders Case and Potter, in very early times.

Rev. Dr. Thos. Green was the first pastor, in which office he continued thirteen years. Successors to him have been

Sylvanus Boardman, father of the missionary, *Otis Briggs*, *S. Chapin*, *D. D.*, late president of the Columbia College, Washington, D. C., *A. King*, *J. Butler*, and *Z. Bradford*, the present pastor of the Pine Street Church, Providence, R. I.

Rev. Charles W. Reding is the present incumbent.

NEW GLOUCESTER bears date from 1794. Dr. H. Smith, N. Lord, Job Macomber, and Elders Potter and Case, are mentioned as early laborers in this field.

Rev. Joseph Ricker is the present pastor. He was the former publisher of the baptist paper at Portland.

FIRST CHURCH, PORTLAND, was formed in 1801. For a rare thing, I find the history of this community, by its present pastor, in the Association Minutes for 1845, from which the following selections are made :

"The first person baptized in Portland was Josiah Converse, who was baptized by Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, sometime in the year 1798 or '9. The second was Elizabeth Robinson, who was baptized by Elder Case, about the year 1801.

"Their first place of meeting, as we have stated, was at the house of Benjamin Titcomb, where the church, consisting of three males and seven females, was organized, July 21, 1801. The names of the constituting members were Thomas Beck, Betsey Beck, Edward Carlton, Ruth Wheeler, Sally Tukey, Thankful Buttman, Louis Owen, Eleanor Riggs, Moses Cross, and Mary Titcomb. Their next place of meeting was a wooden school-house, situated on Union street, obtained in Feb. 1799, where they had the occasional services of Elders Case, Titcomb, and others.

"They next removed to an upper room, in the third story of a building on Middle st., now occupied as a crockery store.

"Early in the year 1803, they purchased a lot of land upon Federal street, upon which they erected a small house, which was dedicated June 20, 1803. In this they continued to worship till the year 1811, when it was compelled to give place to the present spacious house, erected upon the same spot, and dedicated July 11th of the same year.

"The number of baptisms which have taken place since the church was organized, cannot be certainly ascertained, and varies but little, however, from 575. Of these, nine or ten were before the church was constituted, most of whom were her constituting members. From 1801 to 1804, twenty were baptized. From that time till 1810, the church increased to one hundred. The rest have been added under the ministry of other pastors. In July, 1836, fifty-four members were dismissed for the purpose of forming a second Baptist church, which was accordingly formed July 18, 1836. The largest number of members at any one time is 267.

"The church has always been steadfast in her attachment to the cause of piety and benevolence. The largest amount paid for benevolent objects, of which any record has been found, was paid in the year 1845.

"The persons who have served the church as her ministers, since her organization, are as follows :

Benjamin Titcomb,	- - -	1801.	Three years.
Josiah Converse,	- - -	1807.	Same.
Caleb Blood,	- - -	1810.	About four years.
Thos. B. Ripley,	- - -	1816.	Twelve years.
Eben. Thresher,	- - -	1828.	Two years.
Geo. Leonard,	- - -	1830.	One year.
J. S. Maginnis,	- - -	1832.	Five years.
J. T. Champlin,	- - -	1838.	Three years.
L. F. Beecher,	- - -	1842.	Who is still in office. ¹⁰

FREE STREET, PORTLAND. This church, as above stated, was formed from the old body, in 1836.

¹⁰ The number of persons who have become ministers from among the members of this church, is eleven, viz. :

John Uphold, Daniel Lewis, Benjamin Farnsworth, Noah Hooper, Silas Hsley, Dudley C. Haynes, B. F. Shaw, J. F. Burbank, George Knox, Joseph Ricker, Daniel Burbank.

The pastors of this young society have been
Rev. Thomas O. Lincoln, 1837, for four years. Mr. L. is now at Manchester, N. H.

Rev. Lewis Colby,¹ 1841, three years.

Rev. J. S. Eaton, 1844. He is the present incumbent.

This young church is now the largest in this Association.²

FREEPORT, 1807. *Rev. E. W. Cressey* was the late incumbent in this place.

BATH, 1810. *Rev. Silas Stearns* was many years the pastor of this flock.

Rev. H. G. Nott, the present incumbent, was settled in 1840. Mr. Nott was formerly a pedobaptist minister.

AUBURN CHURCH, formerly called Minot, was constituted in 1807. It was gathered under the evangelical labors of Jas. Potter, John Wagg, and

George Ricker, who settled with them in the pastoral office in 1810. He still survives the senior pastor, having for his assistant

Joseph Hutchinson, the acting pastor since 1843.

J. Butler, Wm. Smith, S. Owen, D. Hutchinson, N. Hooper, and M. Hanscom, have labored here at different times, with the venerable Elder Ricker.³

Rev. Enoch W. Freeman, late of Lowell, Mass., was sent into the ministry by this old community.

BOWDOINHAM ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1787, of only three churches, viz., Bowdoinham, Thomaston, and Harpswell, now East Brunswick. It arose on the Kennebec river, in what was then a central part of the district; it soon spread its branches in all directions, and laid the foundation for the Lincoln, Cumberland, and other institutions of the kind. This being the oldest Association, it for a long time embodied the strength of our community in the whole country; and although heavy draughts have often been made upon it, in favor of new organizations, yet it has so far maintained its numerical strength, that but two other bodies are superior in size. First Bowdoin, 1788; First Litchfield, 1792; Lewiston, 1792; Readfield, the same date; Fayette, do.; Green, 1793; Wayne, 1794; Wales, 1799, and Leeds, 1800, are the oldest churches now in this body.

Elder Isaac Case, the old missionary, now far advanced in years, resides in Readfield, surrounded with the churches which he, in company with Potter, and other evangelical pioneers, assisted to establish.

HALLOWELL CHURCH bears date from 1807.

John Robinson, Winthrop Morse, Daniel Chessman, Henry Fitz, A. Drinkwater, and Samuel Adlam, have in succession officiated in the pastoral office here. This is now the largest church in old Bowdoinham.⁴

OXFORD ASSOCIATION

Was formed of nineteen churches, from the Cumberland, in 1829. This community is in a northern direction from the mother body, principally in the county from which it took its name.

This is an old region for baptist population and influence.

HERRON CHURCH, 1791; formerly called Sheperdsfield, was one of the first churches which was gathered on this ground, and James Potter, and S. Flagg, are named among the earliest ministers by whom it was gathered.

Now of the publishing house of *L. Colby & Co.*, New York.

¹ In the minutes of 1846, it reported 300; First church, 244; Bath, 210; North Yarmouth, 194; Freeport, 185; New Gloucester, 111.

² These brief sketches of the affairs of this church are selected from a short historical account by Mr. H., found in the minutes for 1846.

³ In 1846, it reported 186; Fayette, 179; Topsham, 168; Winthrop, 123; Second Bowdoin, 106; Gardner, 99. The others were under 100.

John Tripp was first in office here, and still continues the senior pastor of this people.⁴

Eliab Coy is the present incumbent. This church is the largest in this Association.⁵

LIVERMORE. A church here was gathered in 1793, which in early times became famous for the number of its ministerial sons, among whom were Elisha Williams, Otis Robinson, Henry Bond, Zebedee Delano, Sylvanus Boardman, William Goding, Thomas Wyman, John Simmons, Eben. Bray, Perez Ellis, and Ransom Norton. A number of these men are known to have occupied important stations in after life.

Sylvanus Boardman was the first pastor. After him they had in succession, John Haynes, David Nutter, R. Milner, N. Chapman, and Charles Miller
John Billings is their present pastor.

SECOND DIVISION OF ASSOCIATIONS.

LINCOLN ASSOCIATION

Was formed directly from the old Bowdoinham, in 1804, and bears the name of the county in which it arose. It then embraced all the baptist interest in Maine, east of the Kennebec river. On the ground then covered by this infant community, have since been organized the Waldo, Penobscot, Piscataquis, Hancock, and Washington Associations. The setting off and colonizing these different institutions, will be noticed in the following narrations.

THOMASTON has long been distinguished for the number and efficiency of our denomination. This was long the residence of Elisha Snow, the early friend and coadjutor of Case and Potter, and other evangelical laborers in this part of Maine. Four churches in this town are reported in the Minutes, whose aggregate number at present is upwards of 800.

THE SECOND CHURCH, THOMASTON, is the largest in the Association.⁷ Here an institution of theological instruction was maintained for a few years, when it was suspended or abandoned.

The ministers of the Thomaston churches are J. Kelloch, L. B. Allen, A. Kelloch, and D. Small.

J. Washburn, chaplin of Maine State Prison, is a resident minister in the Second Church.

Elder Isaac Case was for a few years, at first, pastor of the First Church in this town.

WARREN. In this town a church was gathered in 1800. A. Fuller, E. Hall, J. Wakefield, D. Bartlett, H. Seaver, P. Bond, and S. Ilsley, officiated in succession in this pastoral station.

A. H. Granger is the present incumbent.

KENNEBEC ASSOCIATION

Is situated on both sides of the great river whose name it bears, principally in the Counties of Somerset and Franklin. It was organized with twenty churches from the Bowdoinham and some of the neighboring Associations, in 1830. This is now a central region of Maine. Augusta, the capital of the State, and Waterville, the seat of the baptist college, are within the bounds of this Association. The churches are generally small, but four of them rise above one hundred;⁸ many of them are of recent origin, while others have been long on the ground.

⁴ Mr. Tripp, now far advanced in years, has been one of my most active correspondents in Maine, and has contributed a large amount of biographical matter, his own autobiography among the rest, which is reserved for future use.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 201; Paris, C. B. Davis, 187; Livermore, 154; Bethel, Eph. Harlow, 128; Turner, 123.

⁷ In 1845, it reported 390; First do., 202; Second do., 126; First St. George, 245; Second do., 270; Warren, 262; Vinalhaven, 123; Second Camden, 100.

⁸ These are, First Waterville, 207; Augusta, 126; Cornville, 121; First Bloomfield, 114; in 1845.

Industry, Clinton, Mt. Vernon, New Sharon, First Bloomfield, Sidney, and Cornville are the oldest churches. The first was gathered in 1795, and the rest soon after.

A few others were formed early in the present century.

WATERVILLE CHURCH was organized in 1818. It arose under the ministry and influence of the officers and students of the college, and is intimately connected in all its interests and concerns with that institution.

Dr. Chaplin, the first president of the college, officiated as pastor of the church about ten years, assisted by some of the resident ministers. *Rev. Henry Fitz*, for one year, and *H. K. Greene*, for two years, occupied this pastoral station.

Rev. S. F. Smith, now of Newtown, Mass., was next in office here, for eight years, from 1834.

Rev. D. N. Sheldon, now President of the College, next sustained the pastorate about one year, when he was inducted to the presidential chair.

Rev. J. C. Stockbridge is the present pastor.

AUGUSTA. The church here was gathered in 1831.

Rev. L. Porter, now of Lowell, Mass., then a student of Waterville College, a few miles distant, and *J. M. Morrell*, are mentioned as having afforded material aid in the incipient movements which brought this church into being.

The pastors in succession, have been *C. Blanchard*, *T. Curtis*, *P. S. Adams*, *E. R. Warren*.

Rev. N. W. Williams is the present pastor.

WALDO ASSOCIATION

Was organized with seventeen churches, which were dismissed from the Lincoln, in 1828. Most of the churches are situated in the county from which it took its name.

The FIRST CHURCH, Vassalborough, was gathered in 1788, and is the oldest in this community.

T. J. Sweet is the present pastor.

FIRST, China, is the largest body in this Association.⁹

B. F. Shaw was the pastor in 1845.

PISCATAQUIS ASSOCIATION

Is but of recent formation, having been organized in 1839. This young Institution is situated in a new country, in the upper settlements of the State, mostly in the county whose name it bears.

Of the twenty-three churches in this body, only those at Parkman and St. Albans report more than one hundred members; but the reports of their doings for missionary purposes are beyond many older institutions.¹⁰

DAMARISCOTTA ASSOCIATION

Is the youngest Institution of the kind in Maine, having been organized in 1842. But being on old ground, and embracing a number of the strong churches of old Lincoln, from which they were dismissed, it takes a firm stand among its sister institutions, and already numbers about two thousand members. Six of these churches, viz., those of Waldoboro', Newcastle, two in Nobleboro' and two in Jefferson, contain together more than two-thirds of the whole community of seventeen churches.¹¹ Their ministers are *O. B. Walker*, *Wm. Day*, *E. Trask*, *S. A. Kingsbury*, *L. C. Stevens*, and *J. R. Hallowell*.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 290; First Belfast, 172; Vassalborough, 130; Windsor, 101; Knox, 100.

¹⁰ In the minutes of 1846, I find they report for Foreign Missions, \$556; \$200 of this sum were contributed by C. Copeland and wife. For Domestic do., \$50.

¹¹ In 1846, they reported—First Jefferson, 236; Second do., 112; First Nobleboro', 267; Second do., 273; Newcastle, 227; Waldoboro' 209.

WOOLWICH CHURCH. Some historical sketches of this community are appended to the minutes of the Association for 1846, from which it appears that it was organized in 1800, and has had for its pastors and supplies, *Samuel Stinson, R. C. Star, E. Pinkham, S. Tyler, Wm. Day, L. Barrows, J. Butler, and Abial Wood*, the present incumbent.

PENOBSCOT ASSOCIATION

Was formed directly from the Lincoln, in 1825. It takes its name from the largest river in the State, as well as from the county in which most of the churches are situated.

A few of the churches in this Association have existed between thirty and forty years, but most of them are of recent origin. As the city of Bangor is a central point of operations for the baptists in this region, I shall give a few sketches of the rise of our denomination within its bounds.

FIRST CHURCH, Bangor, was gathered in 1818. It consisted, at first, of but eleven members, and, for many years was in a very feeble condition, during which period its pastors or supplies were, *Isaac T. Smith, Ezra Going, Adam Wilson*, and, probably, some others, as the place was then considered missionary ground, so far as the operations of our denomination were concerned, since they, as usual, were late in the field.

Elder Isaac Case, the missionary, is said to have baptized a few of the first members of this church.

The first regular pastor settled among this people, with whom I shall begin the succession, was

Thomas B. Ripley,	-	-	1829.	About five years.
Thomas Curtis,	-	-	1834.	Three years.
Adam Wilson,	-	-	1838.	The same.
Jere. Chaplin,	-	-	1841.	Four years.
L. F. Caldwell,	-	-	1846.	Who is the present incumbent.

SECOND, Bangor, whose pastor is *C. G. Porter*, is a small body, formed in 1845. Bangor and Glenburn, and North Bangor, are infant and feeble communities.

Rev. Thomas Baldwin Robinson resides at the town of *Levant*, twelve miles north of Bangor, and officiates as a missionary pastor to the church there, and others in the region.²

THIRD DIVISION OF ASSOCIATIONS IN MAINE.

EASTERN MAINE ASSOCIATION.

"The whole period of its existence was sixteen years, from 1818 to 1834: it then yielded its name to two Associations, one to be called Hancock, the other Washington.

"This Association was first organized at Bluehill, on the 12th of November, 1818; Elder N. Robinson preached on the occasion, Isaiah lxi. 1. In this body, the baptists in the counties of Hancock and Washington, and all east of the Penobscot river, united. It originally was composed of twelve churches, previously dismissed from the Lincoln. Their first anniversary was in Steubenville, October, 1819; three churches were added at that time. This body occupied this entire field till 1834, when the churches had become numerous, and some of them large, and the distance from one extreme of territory occupied to the other was so great, that a division of the Association was deemed expedient; and, by unanimous agreement, the Eastern Maine Association was dis-

² Mr. Robinson has supplied me with an extended account of the churches, ministers, and all things pertaining to the Penobscot Association, but a small portion of which will my limits admit.

solved, and the next year the present Hancock and Washington Associations were organized.

“During the existence of the Eastern Maine Association, the baptists in this section of the State moved on prosperously. As we have seen, it commenced with twelve churches, and these churches were assisted by nine ordained ministers. A correspondence was, at its first meeting, opened with Lincoln and Bowdoinham Associations, in Maine, with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; also, with the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions; and it was recommended to the churches to raise twelve and a half cents on a member, for domestic missions.

“The domestic welfare of these churches received the attention of the Association, and five hundred copies of Dr. Fuller’s letter on discipline was distributed among them. This was 1820. From the prevailing spiritual declension in all this eastern country, it was recommended that the churches observe a season of *fasting, humiliation, and prayer*, for the revival of the work of the Lord; and that they raise one cent a month on a member for domestic missions. Their prayers were heard, and, in 1822, God revived his work in several of these churches. The next year the Association entered upon a train of means to establish a fund for the widows of deceased baptist ministers. The churches were requested to give their attention to the expediency of requiring their members, upon a removal, to take letters of dismissal, and to the cause of temperance.³

HANCOCK ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1835, as has just been stated, by a division of the one last named. This has long been an important field of operations, and this body, although of but recent origin, is a fraction in advance as to numerical strength of any of the Associations in this State. Sedgwick and Bluehill have been distinguished places for the spread of our sentiments for about forty years past. A few sketches of the churches there will now be given.

FIRST CHURCH, SEDGWICK, bears date from 1805. It originated in the simultaneous conversion of Rev. Daniel Merrill, the pastor, and a large portion of his church, to the principles of the baptists. They were at the time of their change of sentiment, pedobaptists, of the congregationalist order.

This great movement in this *down east* community, made no small stir at the time, through the whole region, and in a wide circuit around.

Mr. Merrill and eighty-five of his church were baptized in two days, by Dr. Baldwin, of Boston, and Mr. Williams, of Beverly, who, with a number of other ministers, had been invited to participate in scenes which diffused feelings of unusual satisfaction in the whole baptist community.⁴ Other members continued to fall into the ranks of the baptists, until one hundred and forty-five of the pedobaptists’ members had submitted to the baptists’ regimen.

This Sedgwick community were distinguished for their attachment to evangelical principles and religious revivals while on their old platform, which they have since nourished with much success. It is now about forty years since the transformation of this pedobaptist establishment to the baptist plan. The mother church has maintained its standing, and is now a large and flourishing body, and has sent out many colonies to constitute new churches in this and a number of the neighboring towns.

The pastors in succession in this church have been as follows :

Daniel Merrill,	-	-	-	-	1805.	Nine years.
Eben. Pinkham,	-	-	-	-	1814.	Six years.
Mr. Merrill re-settled,	-	-	-	-	1821.	Eight years.
Eben. Merick,	-	-	-	-	1829.	Five years.
E. W. Garrison,	-	-	-	-	1834.	About two years.

³ Maine Baptists, pp. 335-336.

⁴ The council by whom the church was organized, consisted of Rev. Messrs. John Pitman, of Providence; T. Baldwin, of Boston; E. Williams, of Beverly; I. Case, of Readfield, E. Snow, of Thomaston; and — Cummings, of Vinalhaven, with the usual accompaniment of lay brethren.

Rev. David Nutter, the present pastor, came into office in 1836.

SECOND CHURCH, SEDGWICK, was constituted from the first, in 1828.

Rev. C. L. Carey is their present pastor.

NORTH SEDGWICK was organized of members from the old body, Brookville, and Bluehill, in 1843.

Rev. C. C. Long is their present pastor. *Amos Allen*, one of the old ministers of this region, is a resident member.

Besides these three branches in the town, many of the original members of the two churches in Bluehill, as well as those of Deer-Isle, Brookville, and Penobscot, were from this old renovated body.

Her ministerial sons have been P. Pillsbury, Henry Hale, John Roundy, Amos Allen, Noah Norton, Daniel Dodge, Michael Carlton, and Thomas Merrill, late missionary to the Indians. He was a son of Daniel.

"The present limits of the church are small, as there are five baptist churches within about four miles of its place of worship.

"There are, perhaps, more people of our profession in Sedgwick, according to the number of its inhabitants, than in any other town in the United States. There is no church of any other order in the town."⁶

After supplying so many materials for the construction of such a number of the surrounding churches, old Sedgwick is the largest body but one in the Hancock Association.⁶

BLUEHILL. This town joins Sedgwick on the north; the First church here bears date from 1806; the Second do., from 1828.

Rev. John Roundy, one of the constituent members, was the first pastor for about ten years. After him were R. Milner, Eben. Pinkham, and J. Gillpatrick, now of Topsham. Mr. G. was with them about eighteen years. He removed but a short time since; the name of his successor I have not learnt.

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION.

This body arose, as we have seen, simultaneously with the last named, in 1835. It is the very easternmost institution of our society in this extremity of the State. Steuben, Machias, Lubec, Eastport, Calais, &c., all have representatives in this Association.

"This body embraces a large field of missionary ground, and the churches are doing what they can to cultivate it; nor do they labor in vain, as their annual increase proves. Twelve new churches were added between 1835 and 1843.

"The multiplication of churches in this Association, has been in some cases owing to the division of large ones in the same town. This division of churches is considered by many a fault peculiar to the Baptists generally in the State. And undoubtedly, in some instances, it is a source of evil. If it does not alienate the attachment of brethren, it often weakens their ability to support a pastor, and tends to multiply churches beyond the number of ministers to supply them with wholesome preaching. It sometimes occasions the removal of a worthy pastor, and sometimes induces feeble churches to encourage gifts to the ministry which are wholly unsuitable to the office."⁷

COLUMBIA, 1786, is the oldest church in this community. It is now small and without a pastor.

CHERRYFIELD, 1796, is the next in age; it was, till lately, under the pastoral care of Mr. Millet, the Baptist historian of Maine. He is now at Wayne, in the Bowdoinham Association.

EASTPORT is the largest, and probably the most important church in this remote region. It was organized in 1801, and was for a number of the first years

⁶ Letter of Rev. David Nutter, to the author. Mr. Nutter was many years in Nova Scotia, from which Province he came to this place. He is not yet old, but informs me that then (1843), he had baptized about fifteen hundred persons; and had, either alone, or in company with others, organized about fifteen churches. These facts were communicated by my request.

⁶ In 1845, it reported 231; First Bluehill, 252; Second Sedgwick, 179; Brookville, E. Merick, 124; Trenton, John King, 131; Mount Desert, 127.

⁷ Millet's Maine Baptists, p. 367.

of its existence, in a very feeble and precarious condition. Among the ministers first on the ground, the historians of this community name Elder Cass, the missionary, who often visited them in after years, D. Merrill, and others from Maine, and J. Murphy, J. Manning, E. Brooks, and others from New Brunswick, on the British side.

Various ministers officiated here as temporary supplies, for a number of years before they attempted to engage a settled pastor.

Rev. Henry A. Clark, 1811, appears to have been the first man who was formally established in the pastorship. His continuance was about three years. After him, P. Pillsbury and B. Buck sustained the pastoral relation for periods not accurately defined.

Rev. H. J. Ripley, now a professor at Newton, Mass., was inducted into office here in 1820, where he continued about two years. The succeeding pastors, in somewhat quick succession, were *H. Wheeler*, *J. Eveleth*, *J. Merriam*, and *F. W. Emmons*. This brings us up to 1830, when

Rev. Phineas Bond was selected for their spiritual guide. His continuance was four years.

Rev. J. B. Hague assumed this spiritual charge in 1835, where he continued about ten years.⁸

Rev. Kendall Brooks, the present pastor, came into office in 1835. Eastport is now the largest church in this Association.⁹

Closing Remarks. From this account of the affairs of our society in this eastern part of our Union, it is plain to be seen, that much success has attended their evangelical efforts, and that the ministers have been a very hard-working set of men. Although for a New England State, the three hundred churches in this territory are widely extended, yet they seem very uniform in their character and operations. The Associations are well located, and all appear to be united in promoting all the benevolent evangelical efforts of the present day;¹⁰ and the distracting schisms which have prevailed in other regions, I should judge, have had but little influence here, so far as our denomination is concerned.

Like its sister State, this has had many changes in its ministers, out and in, and no inconsiderable number of them have gone to other parts.

The churches are generally small, having in many cases been unwisely divided, for the sake of accommodating particular locations, but in all this region of country they are making good progress in the support of their ministers, and in guarding against the ruinous policy of attempting to get along at some rate or other, without a constant shepherd and spiritual guide.

It so happens, that by the labors of Dea. A. Churchill, of Vermont, and Rev. Messrs. Cummings and Millet, of New Hampshire and Maine, and a few others, I have before me historical sketches of nearly all the churches, whether now in being or not, which have been organized in these three States, from the beginning;¹¹ and I have observed that the cases are very rare where shepherdless flocks have had much stability or success. Again, the mobility and

⁸ These accounts are taken, in part, from Millet's History, but mostly from a communication by Mr. Bond, one of the pastors. Neither of the writers have been sufficiently definite in their dates to meet my wants. But, perhaps, I have told the story with as much particularity as the people or their numerous shepherds would desire. One of the old Wightmans, in Groton, in pastoral longevity, could outdo a stage load of such short-lived shepherds.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 190; Addison, 161; Machias' Port, 128. None of the others come up to 100.
¹⁰ In the minutes of their Associations, there is a uniformity and peculiar neatness in their style of mechanical execution. They are, for the most, published in Portland, under the inspection of the publisher of their religious paper. If the Associations in each State would adopt this plan, which, in my Circulars, I have recommended, these documents would come out in a much better style than many of them now do.

¹¹ This I cannot say of any other region of our country. And, although my limits and general plan would not admit of the use of any more of these ample materials, yet they have given me such a thorough insight into their affairs, that I am able to speak of them with confidence, and, I trust, with some degree of correctness.

perpetual but irregular transition of pastors, from one location to another, has unquestionably been injurious to the growth of our churches and the general prosperity of our cause.

This whole subject will be more fully canvassed in my general reflections at the close of this volume.

Literary and other institutions. Waterville College, of course, stands at the head of this list; at present, however, I can only say that it is a most important establishment for our community in this territory, and its beneficial influence is most strikingly apparent in the improvements which it has superinduced in the character and efficiency both of the ministers and churches. The principles of ministerial education and support, as my correspondents inform me, have taken a strong hold of the feelings of our community in all the northern N. E. States; and the same may be said of the cause of missions, at home and abroad.

Before taking leave of these three northern New England States, so far as the Associated Baptists are concerned, it is proper to observe that the *Free-Will Baptists* and *Christian Society*, are numerous in this section of our country, as we shall see when we come to their history. Not a few of the many churches which our historians have reported as extinct, have been re-modeled upon the plan of one or the other of these societies. Some of our oldest and strongest institutions have undergone this change of character in their ecclesiastical affairs.

This being the case, it is plain to be seen, that the population who embrace the distinguishing sentiments of the baptists, has as yet been but in part enumerated.

Having arrived at the terminus of the United States, in this direction, and come in juxtaposition with the British possessions, I shall next pass over the line, and give my usual details of the rise, and progress, and general affairs of our brethren in the neighboring Provinces.

Authorities for the foregoing statements. *Mr. Millet's History* has been my principal guide. The brethren who have made contributions by written documents, more or less extensive, are John Tripp, T. B. Robinson, J. Washburn, Samuel Adlam, David Nutter, O. Barrow, E. R. Warren, P. Bond, L. C. Stevens, F. Shepherd, J. Gillpatrick, H. G. Nott, L. F. Beecher, R. W. E. Brown, J. H. Hilton, N. Smith, and Z. Hall.

Mr. Wilson, of Portland, publisher of *Zion's Advocate*, has also taken much pains to send me the Minutes of Associations, and to circulate my notices in his paper.

In addition to these, I have an autobiography of Elder I. Case, now in the 87th year of his age. It was written at my request.

CHAPTER X.

NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK.

SECTION I.

Early history of the baptists in these Provinces—first churches mostly on the mixed-communion plan—Henry Allen—the Mannings, Dimocks, Hardings, Chipmans, and others—the Nova Scotia Association formed—mixed-communion given up—churches in Cornwallis—Horton—Newport—Onslow—Halifax, and many other places.

FIRST PERIOD, 1763.

THESE two British Provinces occupy a large extent of territory, to the east and north-east of the State of Maine. In them are two large Associations of our denomination, which contain, together, about one hundred and seventy churches, and about fourteen thousand members.

Most of this large baptist interest has risen up within the present century, as at the commencement of it the churches of the order were few and feeble, and nearly all of them were in embarrassment and perplexity, from many causes, but mostly on account of their well-meant, but mistaken efforts to amalgamate, and commune with the *New Light* pedobaptists, as will be shown in the following narratives.

The first appearance of the baptists in either of these Provinces, was soon after the close of the French war, upwards of eighty years ago, when emigrants in considerable numbers began to settle in this country from the New England colonies, and a few from those of New York and New Jersey. Among these new comers were some of the baptist order, and from this period and onward, foundations began to be laid for the churches which soon afterward arose, and have continued to spread over this interesting portion of the British possessions, and our eastern border.

Among the ministers first on the ground, and whose labors were the most efficient, were Elders Moulton, Mason, Dimock, John and James Sutton Burton, Windsor, Rounds, &c.

Of those raised up subsequently, in early times, in the country, the Mannings, Chipmans, Hardings, the Dimocks, and many others.

A number of these men were pedobaptists of the *New Light* order, when they commenced their ministry, and co-operated with Rev. Messrs. Allen, Payzant, Secomb, and a few others, who continued in that connection.

“*Mixed-communion*, with baptists and pedobaptists, was the order of the day for a considerable time in this country. A long and thorough trial was given to this system by our Nova Scotia brethren; they were much pleased with it at first; they were all new lights together, full of zeal in the good cause, and much success attended their efforts for the reformation of the rude and heterogeneous mass of inhabitants whom they found in this new and uncultivated region. And the practice was laid aside, not by any sudden revolution or conventional rules, but it died away by slow degrees, as one church and minister after another found themselves embarrassed, beyond endurance, by the inconsistencies, inconveniences, and collisions in which it involved them. The pedobaptists, with whom they were thus associated, were, unquestionably, a very pious and devout people, and nothing but stern necessity, for convenience

sake, induced them to decline a continuance of an intercourse in which they had found much comfort and satisfaction. So much were some of the ministers attached to the system, that they held on to it a long time after others had given it up.

When this change of ecclesiastical regimen first commenced, these people were entirely by themselves, shut out from almost any intercourse with their brethren from abroad, and but a few of them had any acquaintance with the views of the baptists generally on this subject. In the work of evangelizing their benighted countrymen, they were all agreed; in the business of baptism, all modes passed current among them; but, finally, immersion took the lead; the plain dictates of the bible became their guide, and the change was ultimately effected with but little interruption of that christian charity and friendly feeling which brethren of different views should always cultivate toward each other. In the midst of this revolution, the ministers of different orders occasionally acted together at ordinations, and on other important occasions.²

The first baptists in Nova Scotia were led hither by Rev. Messrs. Nathan Mason, Ebenezer Moulton, and John and James Sutton, about 1763. It is not certain that they all went together, but we find them here about the same time.

Moulton went from South Brimfield, Mass., the Suttons from New Jersey, and Mason from Swansea, Mass. Respecting these two first, but little more can be learnt than that they continued their ministry for a few years in this Province with some success, and then returned to their own country.

Of Mr. Mason, Mr. Backus has related, that he, with eleven others, removed from the old church in Swansea, in a church capacity, in 1763, of which he was ordained pastor before their removal; that they settled in a place now called Sackville, in the Province of New Brunswick, of which a more particular account will be given under that head.

Three ministers, by the name of Windsor, Rounds, and Read, are mentioned as having preached here in early times.

Besides the emigrant church from Swansea, it is supposed, that one or two others were formed in Nova Scotia, about eighty years since, but none of them, however, gained a permanent standing, but were all scattered and dissolved previous to the rise of those which now occupy the ground.

Mr. Shubael Dimock, the progenitor of a numerous family, and of five ministers of that name, settled at Falmouth, in 1760. He was from Connecticut, was an exhorter, or licensed preacher, at the time of his emigration into this country, but did not become a baptist until a number of years after.

As some of the ministers above mentioned remained here a number of years, and traveled and preached extensively, with some good effect, baptist sentiments were, no doubt, widely diffused, and the seeds were sown by which an abundant harvest was soon after produced.

SECOND PERIOD, 1776.

In this, and a few succeeding years, there was a revival of religion in Nova Scotia of unusual power, and to a great extent. It commenced under the ministry of Rev. Henry Allen, who had for his companions and coadjutors a large number of young ministers, most of whom suddenly came forward into the work of the ministry without any previous training from the schools; but sound sense and ardent piety supplied this deficiency, and unusual success attended their ministrations.

This work bore a strong resemblance to the *New Light Stir* in New England, a few years before; and Allen was the Whitfield of the age, in this then most destitute region, of even the forms of religion, much more of its saving power. His course was rapid and peculiar, having died at the age of thirty-six, and in the eighth year of his ministry.

² I have been thus particular in this account, as this is about as fair a specimen as can be found in the history of the baptists in this country, of the operations of this system. It will be referred to in another place, to show that the experiment has been fairly made, and failed.

Although Mr. Allen was born, lived, and died, in the pedobaptist connection, yet on account of his instrumentality in raising up baptist churches and ministers, and of the good savor of his name with those who were associated with him in his evangelical labors, I have thought proper to give some biographical sketches of his character, in the note below.³

As frequent references must of necessity be made to the salutary effect of this extensive reformation in this new Province, in the accounts of the churches which it produced, whose history will soon be given, I shall now proceed to an account of the Association in which they are included.

THIRD PERIOD, 1798. NOVA SCOTIA ASSOCIATION FORMED.

This body, now so large and influential in all baptist affairs, after setting off a kindred institution in the adjoining Province, began with six churches, the same number of ministers, and but a few members. All were on the plan of open communion, and a portion of the ministers were of the pedobaptist order.

The origin of this, then semi-baptist community, is thus given by Elder E. Manning, who, it will be seen, was one of the constituent members.

"In June, 1797, four ministers, viz.: T. H. Chipman, of Anapolis, James Manning, of Granville, both baptists; Mr. Payzant, of Liverpool, and myself, then at Granville, congregationalists, met in conference in Cornwallis, and thought it to the glory of God to notify the ministers and churches in our connection to meet the next year, June 30. At which time six ministers and churches met, &c. All were on the open-communion plan, and we traveled on in that sort of way eleven years. But during this time, the light spread considerably among us, and placed us in an awkward situation," &c.

FOURTH PERIOD, 1809.

In June of this year, a vote was passed, that no church should be a member of this Association that admitted open communion; at which time four churches were dropped, or withdrawn—two of which have since come upon gospel ground.⁴

The year after this event, this body, for the first time, began to print their Minutes, at which time the number of members in Nova Scotia, exclusive of those in New Brunswick, was about 700.

After this change in the Association, the First church in Halifax, and one or two others, whose views of propriety had kept them away, now united with them, and from that period they have pursued the usual course of baptist communities.

In 1822 the churches in New Brunswick went off by themselves, and formed the flourishing community in that Province, and another division will probably soon take place.

As this body has had a uniform and onward course, I shall omit the details

³ Mr. Allen was born in Newport, R. I., in 1748. At the age of twelve years, the family removed, and settled in Falmouth, in this Province. From childhood, he was piously inclined, but his open profession of religion was not made until he was about twenty-seven years old. Soon after which, he took a decided stand in favor of the gospel ministry, and, soon after, resolved on going to New England to solicit the aid of his friends to obtain an education for that purpose. He actually proceeded some distance on his journey, but hindrances obstructed his course, and the importunities of his friends, the ardor of his own feelings, and, above all, the uncommon effect of his first efforts, hurried him on in his evangelical career without classical acquirements, and, for eight years, few men were more laborious or successful, so far as revival measures were concerned.

His lax views of church discipline disqualified him, entirely, for the building and management of churches; but his great liberality in baptism and other matters, left his disciples free to follow their own convictions of duty, without fear or restraint; and, as there were yet the remains of a few decayed baptist churches, and many of the converts soon became inclined to their sentiments, it was not strange that the denomination soon got an extensive foothold in the country.

In 1784, Mr. Allen, while on a visit to the States, sickened and died at the house of Rev. David McClure, in the town of Northampton, N. H.

Allen is a very common name in Rhode Island. This was, no doubt, the original name, and not Alline, as the Nova Scotians spell it.

⁴ Letter of Rev. Edward Manning to the author, dated in 1812, of course, thirty-five years ago.

of its yearly doings, and proceed to some historical sketches of some of the oldest and most efficient churches.

CORNWALLIS CHURCH. The history of this body will lead us back to the year 1776, when this ancient community arose, under the ministry of Henry Allen, in the very commencement of his evangelical career. It was founded on his plan of open-communion, but for a number of years was regarded as a church of the congregational order.

Rev. John Payzant, a pedobaptist, was the second pastor of this people. He continued with them a few years, when he removed to Liverpool, where he prosecuted a successful ministry to a good old age.⁵

Rev. Edward Manning was the next in office, and was ordained as a congregationalist, in 1795, and next as a baptist, in 1807. This patriarchal elder, who is now in the 88th year of his age, and 56th of his ministry, is still at his post, officiating as the senior pastor of this extensive flock.

It was about eight years after Mr. Manning's settlement before he and this church worked their way through to regular baptist ground, on which they have now stood about forty years.

The details of these events I shall give in the words of this veteran minister, which were communicated to me a long time since.

"For three years after my ordination, my mind was much perplexed about baptism, and at times I baptized, and at other times sprinkled infants and adults, endeavoring to prove both right, and kept searching for stronger proof from scripture, until I found none for sprinkling. This brought me into a great strait indeed, until I was made willing to obey. Accordingly I went to Anapolis and received gospel baptism, at the hands of Bro. Thomas H. Chipman. This made an uneasiness among the brethren. However, in conference it was agreed that I should be considered the pastor of the church, as usual, and not be compelled to sprinkle any more. We were still conscientiously open-communionists. In this situation I continued for some years.

"Soon after this, an extensive revival of religion commenced, at the close of which, new trials commenced, council after council was called. I could not comply with them, and they would not comply with me. The points we differed in were many; but what agitated their minds generally, was what is called among us *close-communion*. For by this time I could not commune with unbaptized people."⁶

In this manner things went on, until 1807, when Mr. Manning was re-ordained, by Rev. Messrs. Case and Hale, missionaries from the old society of Mass., and mixed-communion ceased.

As Mr. Manning is apparently so near the end of his earthly pilgrimage, by my request he has supplied me with a brief autobiography, from which the following extracts are made. He has traveled fifty thousand miles, baptized one thousand persons, attended fifty councils, and preached about nine thousand sermons.⁷

The ministers who have been sent out by this church, are Rev. Messrs. Crandall, Tupper, Bill, Marsters, Wm. Chipman, T. Harding, Dickie, Rand, Chase, Coggswell, and Taylor.

And from it have been set off the Second and Third churches in this town, which is large, and contains no less than fifteen houses of worship, of all the various denominations in the country.

This church has been often favored with religious revivals, by which their numbers and prosperity have been much promoted.

SECOND CHURCH, CORNWALLIS, was constituted from the First, in 1828, of about fifty members. It is situated in the western part of the town, in a place called Pleasant Valley.

Rev. Wm. Chipman was ordained to the pastoral office March 29. 1829, in which he still continues.

⁵ I am not sure but he is yet alive, but my impression is that he lately died.

⁶ Mr. Manning's letter to the author, dated 1811.

⁷ The details of his various ministerial performances will be given more fully in his future biography. Specimens of his hand writing I am well supplied with. But I want his likeness, which he informs me has never been taken. I hope something of the kind is secured, if it is but a profile or daguerreotype view. He is said to be large and well proportioned.

He was a deacon of the mother body, a number of years previous to his assuming the ministerial office.

This church has also been much favored with religious revivals.

THIRD CHURCH, CORNWALLIS was organized in 1834.

Rev. Abraham Stonach is their pastor.

These three churches, which all sprung from the same old semi-baptist, mixed-communion stock, now together contain about eight hundred members, on the strict-communion plan.

A brief history of the revolution in this church, on the communion question, is extracted from their letter to the Association, in 1811.

"From the year 1788 to 1808, we walked together, baptized and unbaptized persons enjoying as much harmony as most (or perhaps any) of the same principles, during which time we were blessed with several revivals of religion.

"In the year 1808, some disputes arose about what was called close-communion. We called a special church-meeting, and implored special aid. After much friendly debate, four were in favor of close-communion; twenty in favor of the present standing; twenty-two in favor of communing with all now in the church, but to receive no more except by baptism. Some time after, a day was set apart for fasting and prayer, to seek divine aid.

"May 6, 1809, at a special church-meeting, things stood thus: 5 *neutral*, 8 *open-communion*, 16 *close-communion*, so called.

"We found a house so divided could not stand, so at length, on the 20th of April last, at a church-meeting, finding 28 would favor the measure, we adopted baptist articles, and after our next conference meeting, 43 were walking together in love, on principles of baptist articles."

CHESTER CHURCH. This church was formed in 1788, upon the open-communion plan, most of the members at that time being congregationalists. One article in their Confession was:—

"We believe baptism to be a divine institution, yet, as there are different opinions, as to the subjects and outward administration of the ordinance, we give free liberty to every member to practice according to the dictates of their consciences, as they profess to be directed by the word of God."

Different ministers labored among them with success.

Rev. John Secomb, a very godly minister, of the congregationalist order, became their pastor, and continued in that office till his death.

Rev. Joseph Dimock, who was then a baptist minister, made them a number of visits during Mr. Secomb's life, and soon after his death, viz., in 1793, he accepted a call and settled among them. Under his ministry, they have been a prosperous and happy people. They had, however, for a while, some severe trials, occasioned by their disputes about the terms of communion. In 1809, a partial reformation was effected, so that no more were to be received into the church, unless they were baptized. But still a few good people who had not been baptized, were admitted to their communion. Thus matters continued until 1811, when the reformation was completed, and the church was received into the Association.

More than half a century did this venerable Elder sustain the pastoral office. The church is now large and prosperous.

Mr. Dimock was born in Newport, Nova Scotia, Dec. 11, 1768. His father, Daniel, and his grandfather, Shubeal, were both baptist ministers.*

HORTON CHURCH. All accounts of the planting of baptist principles in this place, which have come to my knowledge, concur in ascribing the work to Rev. E. Moulton, from New England, about 1763. His preaching here was attended with good success, and a church arose under his ministry; but no details of its early operations appear in any documents I have received. Mr. Moulton made but a short stay in the country. This infant body is said to have been in a declining condition for a number of years after he left them, but was greatly revived under the ministry of Henry Allen, and his associates. During the great

* A copious autobiography of this aged elder, now in the 79th year of his age, has been supplied me at my request. Also biographical sketches of his progenitors, Daniel and Shubeal Dimock, all of which are reserved for my work on that subject. Mr. Dimock is since dead.

reformation which then spread over the Province, these New Light ministers were cordially received among them, and the church resumed its operations on their liberal plan, and so continued, until they received for their pastor a Mr. Pierson, from England, who induced them to adopt the unmixed system of communion. In a short time, however, one of their deacons had influence enough to obtain a vote in favor of their former course, and in this practice they continued until 1809, when they came out on the usual baptist ground.

Next to Mr. Pierson, a Mr. Scott officiated here; but how long does not appear, nor have I any information respecting him.⁹

Rev. Theodore S. Harding became the pastor of this people many years since, where he still continues. Mr. Harding was at first in the Methodist communion—was baptized by Mr. Burton, of Halifax, and from that time has been a preacher in the baptist order.

In this town is situated the *Acadia* College, an institution wholly under the baptist control; and with this church the corps of officers pertaining to it are connected.

Horton, of course, is becoming a central place for the denomination in this Province.

NEWPORT. This town received its name from that ancient town in R. I., from which most of the first planters emigrated. In this place, John Sutton was probably the first to propagate the sentiments of the baptists.

Here Shubeal Dimock settled soon after he came to Nova Scotia, and for more than eighty years this has been the residence of a portion of the Dinock family. From this central point they have spread out in different directions to many parts of the Province.

But notwithstanding this town has been thus distinguished, as the abode of so many of the society, yet there was no church of the order formed here until 1799. At least there were none that gained any permanent standing.¹⁰

This church also had its share of troubles, growing out of the liberal plan, for eight or ten years.

Rev. Daniel Dimock was the first pastor, and continued in office until his death, 1805. He was the son of Shubeal, the first of the name in the place; was baptized by John Sutton, about 1765, and soon after began to officiate as an exhorter; in this practice he continued, in Newport and the neighboring towns, until he was settled in the pastoral office.

Mr. Dimock bore an excellent character, and so much was he esteemed for the soundness of his judgment, and the wisdom of his counsels, that he was often called to assist in the settlement of difficulties in the infant churches.

Rev. William Delaney was the next in office. His ministry was peculiar and successful for a time; additions were made, and all things promised well, until the sin of intemperance threw him into disgrace, and the church into division. This downfall of their pastor occasioned trials and difficulties from which they did not recover for years.

Rev. James Munroe, a native of Scotland, was the next pastor for one year. The next in office after him, was

Rev. George Dimock, the fourth son of Daniel. He was ordained in 1820, and still continues with them.

Mr. Dimock was born in the place, and was a deacon in the church previous to his ordination.

RAWDON CHURCH was formed from the Newport, in 1823.

FIRST YARMOUTH. This place was settled by a company of emigrants from New England, soon after it fell into the hands of the English. Among this

⁹ Rippon's Register, Vol. I., p. 481.

¹⁰ About the time that Mr. Allen began to preach in this region, the few professors in Falmouth and Newport formed a church on the open-communion plan, and Mr. Dimock was ordained a ruling elder on the baptist side. MS. biography of D. Dimock, by his son Joseph. *Ruling Elders* were common among the New Lights in New England and Nova Scotia.

company, who were generally congregationalists, came Elder Moulton, whose name has often been mentioned. After preaching here a few years, and making some converts to his sentiments, he removed to Horton. This was in 1763, and onwards.

In 1778, Mr. Allen gathered a church in this place, in his peculiar way, which continued without an entire reformation to the baptist plan, for fifty years.

Up to 1814 the church admitted her members on the old mixed-communion plan. In that year it was

Resolved, That no person shall be considered a member of this church, excepting such as have been baptized by immersion. Yet such believers as the church have fellowship for, and whose deportment is circumspect, may, by the voice of the church, be invited to occasional communion."

On this foundation matters stood until 1828, when this church, having adopted the rules of the Association on this subject, was admitted into that body.

The Yarmouth church has often been favored with special attention to religion, under all its different modes of administration, and in the year before it came into the Association, nearly two hundred were added. After setting off two other churches, it is the largest in the Association.

Rev. Harris Harding became the pastor of this community in 1797. He had labored much in the place before, as had also Mr. Ansley, and T. H. Chipman.

In the Minutes of the Association for 1846, Mr. Harding is still reported as the pastor of this body. That was the fiftieth year of his ministry with this people.

Rev. Wm. Burton, on account of the extensiveness of this flock, was associated with Mr. Harding as junior pastor, in 1830.

Mr. Burton is a native of Cape Breton, and had previously been the pastor of the church of Parsborough.

TUSKET AND ARYLE. This church was formed from the old Yarmouth community, in 1834.

Rev. James Lent is their present pastor.

SECOND CHURCH, IN YARMOUTH, was organized from the mother body, in 1837.

Mr. Harding, the senior pastor of the first, sustains the same relation to this. Associated with him, as the active pastor, is

Rev. Anthony V. Dimock, who was appointed to this office in 1838.

ONSLow. The first settlement in this place by English inhabitants, was also made by New England Congregationalists, and a church was formed of that order, whose first minister was *Rev. James Lyons*.

In 1782, and onward, under the ministry of Mr. Allen, Payzant, and others, Onslow shared in the great reformation which was then going on in the country. This work met with great opposition, not only from the thoughtless multitude, but also from the cold professors of religion. This caused the young converts to associate by themselves, and this measure led on to the formation of a *New-Light* interest on the common practice of the country.

This mixed-communion plan continued until 1808, when a separation took place, and the baptist portion of the community commenced operations according to the rules of the denomination.¹

E. Manning, Joseph Dimock, and the two Hardings, were successful laborers in this place in early times.

Rev. Nathan Cleveland, a native of Horton, became the pastor of this people soon after the reformation above referred to, and continued with them ten years, when he removed to New Brunswick.

¹ It is a singular fact, that the Congregationalist New Light church under Mr. Payzant, and the present one, both began with the same number, seven.

Rev. James V. Munroe was the next pastor. He settled with them in 1818, and continued in the pastoral office until his death, in 1838.

Rev. John Mann was the next pastor, for one year, when

Rev. David W. C. Dimock, the present pastor, came into office, which was in 1814.

STEWIACKE. This church was formed from the Onslow, in 1833.

Rev. Anthony V. Dimock is the present pastor.

AMHERST. "Mr. Allen's labors here were attended with much success. He was succeeded by Messrs. T. H. Chipman, H. Harding, and E. Manning, then of the same order. The last named minister having afterwards embraced believers' baptism, called the attention of the people in Amherst to that subject, as did also Rev. Joseph Crandall, of Salisbury, N. B. On investigation, several were convinced of their duty, and went forward in that ordinance. In 1809, a small baptist church was constituted. They had no pastor, but were occasionally visited by several ministers. Discipline, however, was too much neglected, and the church consequently languished.

"In 1819, the writer² began to spend a portion of his time with this church, and the disorders were subsequently rectified. Rev. Samuel McCully, who is likewise a member of the same church, and was ordained in 1820, has also preached a part of the time with them for some years. He is a native of the Province, and his parents were presbyterians. After having been attached to the *New Lights* for a time, on more mature examination, he embraced his present sentiments."³

CITY OF HALIFAX, FIRST CHURCH. This ancient community was founded by Rev. John Burton, who continued its pastor until his death, in 18 —, a period of — years.

Mr. Burton was born in England, in 17 —; was a member of the national church, and never fully separated from it, until he united with the baptists.⁴

Mr. Burton landed at Halifax May 20, 1792, with no intention of tarrying there, as his destination was for the United States, but by a singular coincidence of events, he was detained in that city, where he spent his long and useful life.

Before he left the ship, he was invited to the house of a Mr. Marchinton, of the Methodist connection. This gentleman had recently built a chapel for his own people, which in consequence of some disagreement between him and the society, was unoccupied when Mr. Burton arrived. In this vacant house, by the request of its owner, Mr. Burton commenced his ministerial labors in Halifax, which he occupied more than a year. In the fall of 1793, he traveled into the States, and at Knowlton, New Jersey, in December of this year, he was baptized by Rev. —, and the next month was ordained as a minister of the baptist order.

This event caused an entire change in his condition and prospects, although he continued to occupy the same house until another year, yet the coldness, estrangement and neglect of his former friends, left him in circumstances of destitution and trial.

During his absence from home, his wife had experienced a change of views on this part of christian duty, and was baptized by him after his return, and then, in the whole city of Halifax, no other baptists were to be found. His

² Rev. Charles Tupper's letter to the author.

³ Mr. Tupper's history of the baptists in N. S. and N. B., in the N. S. Baptist Magazine.

⁴ "I was a member of the Church of England, I believe, from a month old, and so continued sometime after my arrival here, and went to the sacrament table with them, although I was licensed a dissenting minister by government, but I was not joined in heart with them. Before I became a baptist I left off going to church, and began to sprinkle old and young. Of the members who composed my church, one was brought up a Quaker, another a Roman catholic, one was a Moravian, some were Church people, and others were presbyterians. Our meeting-house is 36 feet 6 in., by 25. I should be glad to see you in it."—*Letter of Mr. Burton to the author, in 1812.*

prospects for a long time were gloomy indeed, but new friends and helpers soon gathered around him, for his comfort and support. Motives of duty urged his continuance in the place, and providence favored his enterprise. In 1795, a small church was founded, orthodox in faith and practice, which for a number of years stood almost alone, notwithstanding the Province was full of baptists, but of a *sui generis* kind. This church did not unite with the Association until after it became reformed to the baptist standard, in 1809.

After a long course of unwearied efforts and assiduity, and by extensive travels in the States and Provinces, Mr. Burton succeeded in collecting between three and four thousand dollars, with which this church erected a small house of worship, and one for the minister, which for many years after he continued to occupy, much respected by all who knew him, of all creeds and forms.⁵

Of the time of Mr. Burton's death I am not informed. His name appears in the Minutes of the Association for 1837, marked as absent. His church was then 130.

FIRST CHURCH, HALIFAX, has not been reported for a number of years past. For what reason, I have not learnt.

SECOND, OR GRANVILLE STREET CHURCH, was constituted of seven members, Sept. 30, 1827.

Rev. A. Caswell, D. D., now of B. University, and Henry K. Green, now of Charlestown, Mass., E. A. Crawley, and D. N. Sheldon, have in succession been pastors of this church.

Rev. Joseph Belcher, D. D., late of England, was settled with them early in 1845.

Rev. E. A. Crawley, D. D., former pastor of this people, and late president of Acadia College, at Horton, came back to his old station in 1846.

DIGBY-NECK, FIRST AND SECOND DIGBY, AND SASSIBRO. These four churches are all in the same neighborhood, and are situated in what was originally the township of Digby. This region, then in a most deplorable condition of ignorance and immorality, was visited by

Rev. Enoch Towner, about the close of the last century. His preaching was attended with good effect, and he afterwards settled in the place.⁶

Mr. Towner died in 1828.

Rev. Peter Crandall, was for some years pastor of the church of Digby-Neck.

Rev. James C. Morse is returned as pastor of First and Second Digby-Neck, in the Minutes of 1846.

NICTAUX, at first called Nictaux and Wilmot, was constituted with fifty-six members, in 1810, from the First church in Granville, then under the care of Mr. Ansley.

Rev. Thomas H. Chipman was their first pastor, and continued with them a number of years.

Mr. Chipman was born in Newport, R. I., in 17 . He commenced preaching in connection with Mr. Allen, and traveled extensively in evangelical excursions. He continued a pedobaptist until 18 , when he was baptized by Rev. Mr. Merrill, in Sedgwick, Maine.

Rev. I. E. Bill, the present pastor, was settled in 1829. The church under his ministry has had a prosperous course, and is now the second in size in this large community.⁷

⁵ Mr. Manning's description of this minister and people, is as follows: "There is a small, but well-regulated church in the town of Halifax, under the care of Elder John Burton, from England. He is an excellent man. Letter of 1811. More of him in my biography.

⁶ E. Manning's letter of 1811.

⁷ Mr. Bill lately traveled through the United States to solicit aid for the Acadia College, at Horton, and he promised to send me some items of the history of his church, which, however, have not been received.

FIRST AYLESFORD. This church was organized in 1829, by a colony from Nictaux, and

Rev. Ezekiel Masters was their first pastor; how long he continued in the station, I have not learnt.

Rev. William C. Rideout is the present pastor of this people.

SECOND AYLESFORD, was probably formed from the first; at what time, I am not informed, as no communications have been made touching the histories of these two bodies.

Rev. Obed Parker now officiates in this community.

FIRST CLEMENT. This church was formed near the beginning of the present century, but was in a declining state until 1810, when a revival of religion of considerable extent brought them back to an active and healthy condition, and succeeding reformations have raised them up to a large community.

Rev. Israel Potter has been the pastor more than twenty years.

SECOND DO., was formed from the first, in 1824.

WINDSOR. This church was gathered in 1829, by the labors of *Rev. David Nutter*, now of Sedgwick, Maine, who was their first pastor for about three years.

Rev. R. McLean was the next in office, until 1833, when he was succeeded by the

Rev. Silas S. Rand, their present pastor. *Mr. Rand* was settled in 1813.*

ANNAPOLIS AND UPPER GRANVILLE. This church stands at the head of the list in the Nova Scotia Minutes. These places were, in very early times, resorts of the baptists, but so many transformations have there been in the names of the churches which at different times have been gathered and remodeled on different platforms and under different names, that I have found it very difficult to keep the thread of their history, or to describe the line of their succession.†

I find, at different times, in various documents, churches named from that of the town alone, then Upper and Lower Granville, and these compounded with other names.

Over one of these churches, *James Manning* presided many years. *Thomas Ansley* also died pastor of one of the Granville churches, in 1830.

This place, and, indeed, this whole region, was distinguished for religious revivals under *Mr. Allen* and his associates in early times, which laid the foundation for the baptist churches which afterwards arose in this vicinity. They, probably, continued on the mixed plan many years after the other churches had become reformed to the baptist model.

The church now under consideration, united with the Association in 1821; it was then in a very feeble condition; since that time, they have had for pastors, *William Elder*, *R. W. Cunningham*, and

Rev. John Chase, their present pastor, who was settled here in 1837.

LOWER GRANVILLE. The circumstances attending the origin of this church I have no means of ascertaining. In 1810 it contained sixty members, with

Rev. James Manning for its pastor, where he continued till his death, in 1818.

Rev. J. B. Cogswell was its pastor in former years; by the last accounts, it was vacant.

WILMOT. The branch in this town, in connection with Nictaux, composed one body for a few years. When it went off by itself I have not learnt.

Rev. Nathaniel Viditoe, the present pastor, has been with them for a num-

* Windsor is situated on the river Avon, which empties into the basin of Minas, and is about eight miles from its mouth. It is forty-five miles westerly of Halifax. From this place, gypsum, lime, and other mineral productions are exported in large quantities.—*Letter of Rev. Mr. Rand to the author.*

† According to *Morgan Edwards'* list, there was a church called Granvilletown, *Nathan Mason* pastor, in 1768. *Mr. Manning* is confident that this is a mistake, but such a report was, no doubt, made to *Mr. Edwards* at the time.

ber of years past. This is a large community, being the third in rank as to numerical strength in this body.

WILMOT MOUNTAIN, *Rev. Richard Cunningham* pastor, is probably in the same town.

LIVERPOOL is a large church, with *Rev. Robert B. Dickie* for its pastor, but no sketches of its history have come to hand.

UPPER GRANVILLE MOUNTAIN CHURCH, *Rev. Aaron Cogswell* pastor, is also in the same situation

BROOKFIELD, *Rev. James Parker* pastor, is among the large communities of which no account has been received.

BRIER ISLAND, OR WESTPORT, was gathered in 1809, under the ministry of *Rev. Peter Crandall*. In 1841, an extensive revival was experienced in this and neighboring islands; as the fruits of which, this body was much enlarged.

LONG ISLAND CHURCH was formed from the one last named, in 1834; and the one at Petite Passage, on the upper end of this island, arose in 1841, out of the great reformation at that time.

FIRST FALMOUTH, *Rev. Benjamin Vaughan* pastor; JEDDORE, *Rev. David B. Pineo* pastor; EAST POINT, *Rev. John Shaw* pastor; and PRESTON, vacant; SECOND HORTON, vacant, are communities of more than a hundred members each, of which no items of history have come to hand suitable for my usual details.

LUNENBURG, *Bennet Taylor* pastor; RAGGED ISLAND, *Wellington Jackson* pastor; MARGARET'S BAY, *Wm. Hobbs* pastor; DALHOUSIE, vacant; NEW GERMANY, *B. Taylor* pastor; NEW TUSKET, *C. Randall* pastor, and a few others of the small churches, have, by themselves or friends, given some account of their origin.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND. This island, sometimes called St. John, is situated in the gulf of St. Lawrence, to the west of the island of Cape Breton, and north of Nova Scotia. It is about one hundred miles long; its mean breadth is about thirty. Charlottetown is the capital. Ten churches, mostly small, have arisen on this island; six of them belong to this Association, viz.: BEDEQUE and ST. ELANORS, *Alexander McDonald* pastor; THREE RIVERS, *John Shaw* pastor; CHARLOTTETOWN, *Silas T. Rand* pastor; LOT 49, *Benjamin Scott* pastor; CAVENDISH, vacant; YORK and ELLIOT RIVERS, *Malcom Ross* is the under shepherd.

The other churches have remained unassociated.

A part of these P. E. Island churches practice weekly communion, oppose articles of faith, and, in general, adopt the views of the old Scotch baptists.

A proposition has been made to form a new Association on this island, which does not seem to meet with favor from the old body, nor do the churches agree among themselves as to the principles on which it shall be founded.

Rev. John Knox, late pastor of the First Church, Albany, N. Y., resides at Charlottetown, is pastor of a church in that town, and seems to have supervision of some of the others of these young institutions.¹⁰

ISLAND OF CAPE BRETON. This island is also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; is about the size of Prince Edward, but not so many inhabitants.¹

SIDNEY CHURCH, *Rev. George Richardson*, the present pastor, was gath-

¹⁰ To Mr. Knox I am indebted for most of the information I have received of the rise and progress of our denomination on this island. He has given me detailed accounts of all the churches which here exist.

In his communication of 1844, he writes: "We expect that we shall have an Association composed of all the churches in the island *without any articles*."

"The cause is in a prosperous state, though we are not in a baptist country. We want pious and well educated men; without this, we cannot succeed. Above all, we want baptist books—books on our own principles," &c.

¹ Dr. Morse states the Prince Edward at 5000, Cape Breton at 3000.

ered under the ministry of Rev. Joseph Dimock, in 1825, during his first visit to this remote situation. He was sent there by the N. S. B. Missionary Society.

Rev. John Hull, then officiating as a licensed preacher to a small pedobaptist church, with a number of his members, were among the first converts to baptist sentiments. Mr. Hull subsequently became a minister of the baptist order. Mr. Dimock's visits were repeated at short intervals for a few years after.

AT MIRA BAY, on this island, a church arose a few years after that at Sydney, which is also under the pastoral care of Mr. Richardson.

I have gone much beyond my usual custom in giving historical sketches of these churches, but when it is considered that this one Association contains about the same number of churches and members as each of the States of New Hampshire and Vermont, this extra attention seemed to be required on the principle of justice and equality.

Supplement to the history of the Nova Scotia Association.

Some items of the history of our brethren in this interesting field of their operations, which could not well be incorporated in the narratives as we went along, I have thought proper to put together under this head, and, as but little is known by our people generally of the affairs of these Americo-British baptists, I shall give some more biographical sketches in this case than is usually done.

THE DIMOCK FAMILY. Men of this name have been identified with the operations of the baptists in this Province for about eighty years past. Some of the fourth generation, and probably the fifth, are now among ministers and members of a number of the churches in this region.

Shubeal Dimock, the progenitor of this numerous race, was a native of Mansfield, Windham Co., Conn., where he was born, 1708. In the *New Light Stir* in Whitefield's time, he left the *standing order*, so called, and united with the zealous *Separates*, became an exhorter among them, and promoted their cause with that ardor and assiduity for which, through life, he was peculiarly distinguished. His religious course with his new associates was so decidedly *contrary to law*, that it brought upon him such a flood of proscription and persecution from the ruling powers in church and State, and was making such havoc with his worldly substance, that he resolved to seek an asylum in the quondam territory of the French, which had then but lately been annexed to the British crown. Some anecdotes of his sufferings at home may be seen in the note below.²

He arrived with his family at Newport, N. S., in the autumn of 1759. He died May 24th, 1781, aged 73. He left ten children, four sons and six daughters.

Daniel Dimock, his son, was born in Mansfield, as above, in 1736, and emigrated with his father to his new and remote residence. He died April 5, 1805, aged 69.

² A full account of the interesting incidents attending Mr. Dimock's first visit to Cape Breton, has been sent me by his son, A. V. Dimock, which I regret my limits will not allow me to insert.

³ "I recollect," says my author, "to have heard him relate a circumstance concerning a person, perhaps himself, who had held a meeting in Mansfield, and in the time of worship, an officer came with a warrant to take the leader of the meeting to the Windham Jail. When service closed, he read his warrant and asked him if he would go to Windham with him. He said he had no call to go to W. that he knew of, but said, if the officer had any duty to do, he must attend to it—that he should not resist him. The constable obtained help and set the prisoner on a horse which had been provided for that purpose. The officer then asked him if he would guide the horse. He told him he would guide him to his own house, if he would allow him, but that he had nothing to do in that kingdom, and, therefore, could not in conscience guide the horse one step in compliance with that warrant, which was persecuting the cause and people of God. The officer then got on the horse and guided it, behind the prisoner, to Windham. While proceeding on their journey, the prisoner availed himself of the opportunity of addressing the officer so closely on the subject of religion, that it was thought, for the time being, the officer was as much a prisoner as the real one, and that he felt as desirous to be released. I do not recollect how long he was kept in custody."—*Com. by Jos. Dimock.*

Joseph Dimock, son of Daniel, late pastor of the Chester church, was born in Newport, N. S., Dec. 11, 1768. He died 1846, aged 78, and in the 53rd year of his ministry. George Dimock, pastor of the Newport church, is also a son of the deceased.

David W. C. Dimock, pastor of the church at Onslow, and *Anthony V. Dimock*, late of Yarmouth, now in the pastoral station at Upper Stewiacke, are sons of Joseph, and great-grand-sons of Shubeal. Davis Dimock, of Pa., is a relation of this family.⁴

THE MANNINGS, *Edward* and *James*, were of Irish descent; the place of their birth I have not yet ascertained. Edward was born Oct. 16, 1758. James, 1763. Their parents were Roman Catholics, who settled in Nova Scotia while their sons were young.⁵

THE HARDINGS. Harris Harding was born near or in Hartford, Conn., 1762. He is still the senior pastor at Yarmouth, aged four score years and five. Theodore S. Harding, senior pastor at Horton, is a native of the same State, the cousin of Harris; and is a few years the youngest.

THE CHIPMANS. Wm. H. Chipman was a native of Newport, R. I. His age I have not learnt. Wm. H. Chipman, now pastor of the Second church, Cornwallis, is his son.

SECTION II.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

Early history of the Baptists in this Province—Nathan Mason and company at Sackville—rise and progress of the churches in St. Andrews and other parishes—New Brunswick Association—Closing remarks on the two Provinces.

THESE two provinces, so far as the interests of our denomination are concerned, are very intimately connected. The churches were all associated together, until their number, and the extent of territory over which they were spread, became so large that it was found needful to have a new organization.

My materials for the history of our denomination in New Brunswick, are much more scanty, and not so well connected as those for the adjoining and older Province, whose affairs have just been related. At some particular points they are quite ample, and will enable me to give my usual details, but in most cases, from the paucity of facts on hand, I shall be compelled to present the history of New Brunswick baptists in a very summary manner.

FIRST PERIOD.

SACKVILLE AND VICINITY. As these places appear to have been the first where the baptists introduced their principles among the heterogenous population of this then newly acquired territory of the British government, it seems proper that it should be first named, although the churches here at present are small, compared with many other of the New Brunswick communities.

According to the accounts given by Rev. E. Manning, two or three churches had lived and died here before those now on the ground were organized.

According to Mr. Backus' History, the following is the brief story of the emigration of Nathan Mason and company from the old Swansea church, in Massachusetts, to this eastern country.

⁴ At my instance, full memoirs of Shubeal and Daniel, and a copious autobiography of Joseph, written about two years before his death, have been obtained for my biographical work.

⁵ An autobiography of E. Manning I have already announced. Of James, who died in middle life, I want more particular information. Also, the place of their birth.

"When all North America was ceded to Great Britain, Nathan Mason and wife, Thos. Lewis and wife, Oliver Mason and wife, and Experience Baker, of the Swansea church; Benjamin Mason and wife, and Charles and Gilbert Seamans and their wives, from other churches, were formed into a church, and Nathan Mason was ordained the pastor of this emigrant body, April 21, 1763. This newly organized community soon after set sail for their new location, and settled at the head of the Bay of Fundy."⁶

In addition to these thirteen church members, their families, and probably others who had not at the time united in their communion, accompanied them in their removal.

Of the doings of these New England adventurers, most of whom were probably of Cambro-British descent, in this then uncultivated region, our accounts are very imperfect. The most we know about them is, that "they continued here about eight years, enjoying many spiritual blessings, and witnessing much of the goodness of the Lord in this new and remote situation." This little church increased to about 60 members, and among its ministerial sons was the late Job Seamans, whose name occurs in connection with the church of Auleborough, Mass., and N. London, N. H.

"But the lands and government not meeting their approbation, and finding themselves uncomfortable in other respects, they returned, as already related."⁷

Not long after the events thus described, other ministers of the baptist order visited this place, and labored for a while with some success. The history of these coadjutors at Sackville, is related by Rev. E. Manning, as follows:—

"Nearly fifty years ago, there was an Elder Windsor and Elder Rounds visited this place, and I believe there was a baptist church organized there soon after. There was a Brother Joseph Reed, who was called by grace, who preached, but never received ordination. He did much good—removed to Horton, and soon died of a consumption. But the church entirely dissolved. Thirty years ago there was a revival under Mr. H. Allen's improvements, and others, and a congregational church gathered; this entirely dissolved also. There were some times of refreshment afterwards, but no church attempted to be gathered until the year 1800, when it pleased the gracious Lord to visit them again, under the improvements of Brother Joseph Crandall, who was not then ordained. The brethren seemed desirous of coming into gospel order, and called for assistance for that purpose. A church was constituted, and Brother Crandall ordained. They prospered for a short time, but they soon got into a state of disorder. Since that, they have been visited with some showers of mercy. Brother Amos Allen, from Sedgwick, Maine, and Brother Ansley, have been made useful unto them. Brother Crandall preaches to them a part of the time now, and their number is fifty."⁸

But no institution of this early formation seems to have gained any permanent standing, and the succession of churches and pastors, at this point, was wholly broken up, or is lost in obscurity. The two churches now in this town bear date from 1799. The few churches which arose in different parts of the Province were in a feeble condition until soon after the commencement of the present century, when new and more vigorous efforts were made for the revival and extension of the baptist cause, under the evangelical labors of that distinguished pioneer, Thomas Ansley, assisted by ministers of a kindred spirit, from Nova Scotia and the neighboring parts of the District of Maine. This portion of my narrative I shall copy from Mr. Thomson's communication, which was prepared for my use.

"An account of the rise and progress of the Baptist denomination in the Parishes of St. Andrews, St. Patricks, St. Davids, and St. James, in the County of Charlotte, Province of New Brunswick.

"The first Baptist herald that blew the gospel trump here, in modern times, was Edward Manning, in the fall of 1798. He was under the necessity of hiring a room in St. Andrews to preach in, and pay the rent himself; so little was the gospel rated by the benighted inhabitants. He preached in some other places, but his stay was short—he however labored more at St. George, on the Mackadavie river.

⁶ Backus' History, Vol. III., p. 146.

⁷ John Leland's narrative, found among Backus' papers.

⁸ Letter from Elder E. Manning to the author, 1811. He adds, "I pray they may walk more orderly than heretofore."

"The next in order was James Murphy, who, although his sun seemed to set in a cloud, yet I believe many of the ancient ones estimate him a gospel preacher, and some date their first awakenings from him.

"The next was Elder Still. He also was honored of God, who granted success to his ministry, and some souls were converted through his ministrations.

"But the most powerful demonstrations of the grace of God, followed the preaching of Thomas Ansley, who came in the fulness of the blessings of the gospel of Christ, and labored in all the parishes of the County, but was more particularly blessed in St. Andrews and St. Davids. A good work began to spread over the country—almost wherever he went the enemies of the cross were very much exasperated, as might be expected; and a magistrate in St. Stephens issued a warrant against Mr. Ansley, and he was taken prisoner, but was not held long in durance vile, his persecutors either fearing they had overstepped the bounds of their authority, or for some other cause, they soon released him, and he was soon engaged again, like Peter and John, teaching the people.

Brother Ansley, at this time, was not ordained, consequently he did not baptize the converts. He returned to his family, and shortly after this, Elders Case and Hale were providentially directed this way. They baptized the believers, and organized a church in this, the parish of St. Andrews, and another in St. Davids.

"It would appear that from want of a knowledge of the character of the individuals who were chosen and appointed officers in the churches, difficulties arose soon after Elders Case and Hale left, and matters of religion fell very low; the churches nearly or quite lost their visibility; opposition and animosity arose, and on some after visits of Mr. Ansley, he experienced similar trials to Paul, in the case of the Galatians; iv., 15, 16.

"In the spring of 1814, Elder Gilbert Hains baptized several and made an attempt to gather the church. He but partially succeeded, on account of the opposition.

"For about the space of ten years, nothing special occurred connected with the baptist interest; some considerable excitement, however, was raised by visits from a christian band of ministers, but not of any great duration.

"In the years 1824 and 1825, quite an interesting reformation took place, without the aid of any minister, and a number found peace and joy in believing. It was at this time that I obtained a hope in Christ. I was teaching school at the time, and as soon as I had found the pearl of great price, I could not refrain from telling it, and immediately commenced to tell the scholars, who received it with joy, and a number were converted. Immediately upon this, a christian band of ministers came, and baptized several; others again could not join them, and remained unbaptized. Much division arose from party feelings and names, and a suspension of good was the result.

"After a lapse of twenty-odd years, Brother Ansley returned to the land where he had planted the standard of the cross; several of those who had been blessed through his labors had gone to their rest; others had come upon the stage—some of them which he had left rejoicing, were nearly lifeless. He commenced blowing the gospel trump and prophesying, and the bones began to move. He itinerated over an extent of about forty miles in length, with general success. At this time, he fell in with Brother Samuel Robinson, from Ireland; he was a presbyterian, and preached occasionally. Brother Ansley gave him the articles of our faith. He (Bro. R.), after duly examining, adopted them—was baptized, and directly was licensed by a small church organized in St. Davids by Mr. Ansley."

Mr. Robinson took a prominent stand in this region of country, where, as we shall soon see, he is occupying an important station.

"Brother Ansley, I should have stated, went back to Nova Scotia in Dec. 1830, returned the following summer, baptized Brother Robinson and myself, and died Dec. 31, 1831.

"He saw the sinking church arise
And left the world in peace,"

'and his sepulchre is with us unto this day.'

Mr. Ansley's name will appear elsewhere in the history of this Province, as it has already in that of Nova Scotia. His name is held in grateful remembrance in both Provinces, in which he labored with abundant success.

Mr. Thomson continues his narrations, in which he describes the rise and progress of churches under the ministry of Mr. Robinson and others, in the parishes of St. Stephens, St. Patricks, St. Andrews, and other places, some of which acquired a permanent standing, while others, for the want of good spiritual guides, and from internal difficulties, soon fell into decay.

In addition to Messrs. Robinson and Thomson, the following named ministers originated in the churches above described, viz.: Martin Byrns, John Magee, now of Maugerville, John Mann, George Rigley, now at Kings Clear, on the river St. John, and William Rideout, now pastor of the First church of Aylesford, Nova Scotia.

RISE OF THE CHURCHES OF ST. JOHN AND SUBURBS.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH bears date from 1810;⁹ the number at first was very small, and for many years it continued in a very feeble condition, and was often threatened with extinction.

The very earliest movements by the baptists in this city were made by Thomas Pettingall, who removed to this place from St. John, in Kings Co. By his efforts a small prayer meeting was set up, in which only three persons participated, as to active duties. The news of this small gathering of *New-Lights*, as they were denominated, made some stir in the city, which made a small augmentation to their number. In this manner they went on about two years, during which time they were visited occasionally by Messrs. I. Case, D. Merrill, H. Hale, J. and E. Manning, T. S. Harding, J. Crandall, Thos. Ansley, and others, who were engaged in itinerant services in that region.

In 1810, the little band of only twelve members, was organized as a church. Soon after this event, Rev. E. J. Ries, now in Maryland, came among them, where his ministry was attended with much success; he tarried about two years. After being destitute of a settled pastor for a few years, they made their case known to the baptists in England, at whose instance

Rev. Thomas Griffin "came over to take the oversight of this church." This was in the autumn of 1817; with him came David Nutter and Thomas Lockey.¹⁰ Mr. Nutter's name appears very often in the history of the Nova Scotia Baptists. He is now in Sedgwick, Maine, where his official standing has already been reported.

Under the ministry of the new pastor, the church went forth with success, and among the early additions to their number were *Duncan Dunbar*, now one of the city pastors of New York, and *Joshua Bunting*, now a minister in this Province.

As the church had become embarrassed with an inconvenient debt, for a new house of worship, Mr. Griffin made the tour of the States for their benefit, and soon after his return removed to Philadelphia. In about two years after Mr. Griffin's removal.

Richard Scott, from England, assumed the pastoral office, for a short time. After him

Rev. Isaac Case Messenger was the next in office for about two years.

This brings us down to 1828. For a number of the succeeding years, the changes in their spiritual guides, as pastors, or supplies, were so frequent that it is difficult to follow the details. In one case a Mr. Caswell was called out from England, but he soon returned.

Rev. Samuel Robinson, the present pastor of this people, was inducted into office in 1840.

CARLETON CHURCH was organized in 1841. This is on the western side of the harbor of St. John.

Rev. John Francis was settled here in 1845. He was sent into the ministry by the church of Bedeque and St. Eleanors, on P. E. Island. Mr. Francis is a native of Wales.

PORTLAND. This also is a suburban community, which was constituted in 1842.

Rev. E. J. Harris was reported as the pastor in 1846.¹

⁹ The MS. from which my accounts are taken, names 1810 as the year in which this church was organized, but on the minutes of the Association for 1846, the date assigned to it is 1806. The early records of the church were destroyed by a calamitous fire in this city a number of years since. John T. Smith, Esq., now there, assures me that 1810 is the right date.

¹⁰ Thos. Lockey is one of the deacons. Thos. Pettengall, whose name has just been mentioned, was in that office from the beginning.

¹ A Second Church was formed in St. John, in 1838, and David Harris became its pastor. They built a good chapel, but became so involved in debt, that they found it prudent to sell it, and it went into the hands of the *Free Scotch Presbyterians*. The church is in a very feeble condition, if it still exists.

FREDERICKTON. This is the capital of the Province. The church here bears date from 1814, but no items of its history suitable for my usual narratives have I been able to obtain.

A Baptist Seminary was established here in 1833, one object of which is to promote ministerial education. It appears to be conducted on the common principles of academies, and was got up at considerable cost, mostly by donations of the friends of the baptist cause in this Province.

The *Principals* of the school in former years officiated also as pastors of the church, but this custom has been altered.

Rev. Samuel Elder is now pastor of the church.

Rev. Charles Spurden is Principal of the literary institution. Mr. Spurden was educated at the Bristol Academy, England, and came over for the express purpose of assuming the duties in which he is now engaged.

Rev. F. W. Miles was at the head of this institution for several years, until his death.

Rev. Charles Tupper, of Amherst, Nova Scotia, a few years since occupied this literary station a part of a year.

John T. Smith, Esq., lately removed from this place to the city of St. John, has taken an active part in promoting the interests of this favorite seminary from its commencement.

NEW BRUNSWICK ASSOCIATION.

This body is an immediate offspring of the Nova Scotia, and was constituted in 1822. The first meeting was held at Frederickton. The number of churches of which it was composed was twelve, viz.: Frederickton, Waterbury, now Channing, St. John, Prince William, Wakefield, Norton, Nashwack, Salisbury, Merrinack, Keawick Creek, St. Marys, and Oromacto. The ministers, at that time, were Rev. Messrs. T. S. Harding, E. Easterbrooks, R. Scott, Duncan Dunbar, L. Hammond, Jos. Crandall, C. Miller, and T. Densmore. The number of members were 501.

They have now increased to more than sixty churches, about forty ministers, and nearly five thousand members.

This increase has been steady and regular, and all things speak well for them in the future.

As I cannot give the details I wish of a number of churches in this body, I will make up the deficiency, in part, with an extra amount of statistical matter, with which, by the kind attentions of an industrious correspondent,² I am amply supplied. I shall first give the yearly statistics of this body, from its formation to the present time.

Years.	No. of Churches.	No. of Members.	No. of Ministers.	Years.	No. of Churches.	No. of Members.	No. of Ministers.
1822	12	501	8	1835	40	2070	20
1823	17	835	8	1836	40	2090	17
1824	19	949	8	1837	43	2355	19
1825	24	1184	9	1838	46	2572	19
1826	25	1237	13	1839			
1827	28	1347	15	1840	46	2940	23
1828	30	1341	10	1841	49	3486	30
1829	31	1414	11	1842	54	3876	34
1830	32	1532	12	1843	60	4705	31
1831	32	1557	12	1844	61	4914	34
1832	33	1732	12	1845	65	4836	36
1833	38	1721	14	1846	69	4906	41 ³
1834	39	1940	17				

² John T. Smith, Esq., late of Frederickton, now of St. John.

³ Pastors of churches only are counted in all these statements. The licensed preachers are, in all cases, omitted. In 1846, they amounted to 15.

Ministers who have belonged to the Association since it was formed.

Elijah Estebrooks,	James Wallace,	I. D. Caswell,	James Walker,
Joseph Crandall,	Joseph Henderson,	Wm. Harris,	John Mann,
Lothrop Hammond,	Charles Lewis,	A. D. Thomson,	James A. Smith,
T. S. Harding,	Wm. Sears,	James Blakeney,	I. E. Bill,
Richard Scott,	John Landers,	Michael Doyle,	George Rigby,
Duncan Dunbar,	Thomas Magee,	Jos. C. Skinner,	Sanford Botes,
Charles Millar,	Benjamin Coy,	R. C. Burpe,	William Hale,
Samuel Dinsmore,	F. W. Miles,	Wm. Pulcifer,	James McFee,
David James,	David Crandall,	W. H. Beckwith,	Joshua Bunting,
Nathaniel Cleveland,	James Innis,	Charles Thorn,	James H. Tupper,
Francis Pickle,	Titus Stone,	John Magee,	John Francis,
David Harris,	Charles Tupper,	Peter Sprague,	Wm. Fitch,
John Masters,	Samuel Bancroft,	R. B. Dickey,	John Mills,
Gilbert Spurr,	Robert Davis,	E. J. Harris,	James Tremble.
James Tozer,	James Stephens,	Ezekiel Masters,	

Mr. Smith, with much labor and care, has constructed a table, which, in addition to the names and dates of each church, shows *their number at first—do. in July, 1843—pastor that year—what year they were ordained—number of chapels for each church—how many they will seat—usual attendance.*

From this table, it appears that of upwards of sixty churches, but few of them are without pastors; it is true, some of the pastors have a plurality of livings; sixteen are without chapels, but a number have two, some three, and St. Georges four; so that in the whole body, there are as many chapels as churches into eight, an unusual case in a community of so great extent; it is spread over the whole Province, among a people whose means are, in general, not abundant.⁴

The usual attendance in the chapels varies from one hundred to a thousand.

BAPTIST CONVENTION OF NOVA SCOTIA AND NEW BRUNSWICK AND PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

The objects of this body are set forth in its Constitution to be,

"To maintain the religious and charitable institutions hereinafter mentioned; to procure correct information relative to the baptist body, and to advise and carry out such measures as may, with a divine blessing, tend to advance the interests of the baptist denomination, and the cause of God, generally."⁵

Closing Remarks. The foregoing sketches exhibit convincing proofs of unusual industry and success in the evangelical enterprises of the early settlers of these two Provinces, after they came under British rule. The hardships and privations endured by the pioneers of the country in their travel from one location to another, and in the insults, mockery and scorn to which they were often exposed while planting the standard of the cross among the rude and thoughtless inhabitants, were similar to those encountered in other new and wilderness regions.

The mixed-communion operations. In no other field in the old country or the new, have I seen such a full development of this system. It continued long, and was carried on with a kindness and good nature which seldom attends this compound motion in ecclesiastical affairs. The ministers and churches were for a long course of years mixed up together in their mixed-communion doings so generally and thoroughly, that none can say the plan did not have a full and fair trial.

The ministers, whether *dippers* or *sprinklers*, united together in the most cordial manner, and interchanged their ministerial services in ordinations, and in all other clerical functions without any scruple or reserve. The pedobaptists often went into the water with those who were baptistically inclined; the baptists however in no case returned the compliment.

⁴ The table above referred to would be an interesting document for a local publication. It indicates a familiar acquaintance with the whole region. I shall preserve it with much care for future use.

⁵ Minutes of the first session, held at Frederickton, September, 1846.

In Mr. Allen's time, about the year 1774, one of his churches in Nova Scotia being destitute of a pastor, he ordained two *Ruling Elders*, one a baptist, the other a congregationalist, with power to administer ordinances, each in his own way, agreeable to the sentiments of his brethren; but this was a short-lived church.⁶

What could be more kind, condescending and accommodating! There was much of this spirit among them at first, but in process of time the different parties fell into collision, and they found it needful to separate, and for many years past this method of church building, so specious in theory, but so inconvenient in practice, has been entirely laid aside.

The two Associations whose history I have briefly given, contain together one hundred and sixty-nine churches, one hundred and twenty-two ministers,⁷ and 14,171 members.

Many of the churches are small, in some cases unusually so; a good portion of them, however, well compare with sister communities in other parts of the country.⁸

Missionary operations, both domestic and foreign, have received much attention from the brethren in these provinces for many years past. They have one mission family in India.

The business of ministerial education meets with much favor from the Nova Scotia brethren, as their doings for many years past sufficiently indicate. Their college at Horton and seminary at Frederickton have imposed no inconsiderable tax on the baptist population in this region. Their British brethren, as well as those in the United States, have occasionally lent them aid.

The Nova Scotia baptists have descended mostly from New England progenitors, with whom from their origin they have been very closely allied. Among the ministers who originated in Nova Scotia, but whose services have been mostly devoted to the States, we may name Daniel Dodge, now of Philadelphia, Job Seamans, John Grant, Duncan Dunbar, and probably a number of others.

A List of Correspondents from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.

In old times they were E. Manning, Jos. Dimock and John Burton. In modern times, the two first of these names, A. V. Dimock, D. W. C. Dimock, Charles Tupper, William Chipman, John T. Smith, Adam D. Thomson, George A. Garrison, J. O. Beatey, Robert Stevens, Silas T. Rand, Wellington Jackson, John Chase, Bennet Taylor, John Knox. A number of these brethren have given me very ample details, which I regret that my limits would not allow me more fully to insert.

Some portions of the old N. S. B. Magazine have been sent me by Mr. Tupper, its editor, containing some historical narratives, which have afforded me essential aid.

N. B. I wish some of the brethren in this region would collect some biographical sketches of James Manning, Thomas Ansley, Thomas H. Chipman, and a number more of the old worthies of whom I have but imperfect accounts.

⁶ E. Manning's communication in 1812.

⁷ The licensed ministers are not included in this or any other statistical table.

⁸ In the Minutes of the Nova Scotia Association for 1846, the twenty-seven following churches reported thus: First Yarmouth, 523; Second do., 293; Nictaux, 469; Horton, 401; Second do., 150; Wilmot, 307; First Aylesford, 306; Second do., 106; Chester, 276; First Clements, 257; First Cornwallis, 238; Second do., 241; Third do., 221; Liverpool, 211; Second Halifax, 209; Lower Granville, 206; Anapolis and Upper Granville, 203; First Falmouth, 199; Brookfield, 156; Newport, 132; Wilmot Mountain, 132; Preston, 132; York, &c., 117; Upper Granville Mountain, 116; Bedeque, 108; Jeddore, 106; East Point, 101.

In the Minutes of the New Brunswick Association for 1846, seventeen of their churches reported as follows: St. John, 393; St. George, 254; Second do., 134; Hopewell, 162; St. Martins, 154; First Salisbury, 143; Second do., 138; Butternut Ridge, 141; Blackwell, &c., 132; Frederickton, 125; Moncton, 122; Hillsboro', 116; New Canaan, 112; Harvey, 101; Second Sackville, 101; Portland, 101; Wickham, 100.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW YORK.

SECTION I.

Introductory statements—four companies of baptist settlers—two general divisions—Southern and Eastern and Western Associations—New York—Hudson River—Warwick—Union—Dutchess—Stephentown—Rensselaer—Saratoga—Washington—Essex—Lake George.

IN this great State we find forty-four Associations, upwards of eight hundred churches and ministers, and almost ninety thousand members. Most of this great body of our denomination has been collected here within a little more than half a century.

About eighty years ago, no traces, as yet, have been found of but five small churches of baptists in this extensive territory, viz.: New York city, Fishkill, and Beakman's Precinct, some distance to the north of it, and Oyster Bay and Brookhaven on Long Island. John Gano, Samuel Waldo, a Mr. Halsted and Noah Hammond, as far as it is known, were the only ministers of the order then on the ground.

In 1790 the number of churches had increased to about sixty; there was something more than that number of ministers, and the communicants were four thousand.

For the next twenty years the increase was much more rapid; so that by 1812 the denomination showed an aggregate of 252 churches, 170 ministers, and 17,908 members.

When Allen's first Register was published, in 1833, the churches had increased to about six hundred, the ministers to about that number, and the members to sixty thousand.

Upwards of thirty per cent. has since been added to the society, as will be shown when we come to the general tables.

But still, with this great augmentation of numbers, and accumulation of strength, the history of this State will be short, compared with some greatly inferior in size and importance to the baptist cause. Different from most of the old Atlantic governments, in this empire State there is a great deficiency in those ancient records and narratives which are the most favorable for the construction of general history. In all the affairs of our community in this land of their abundance, we must follow close to the heels of time, where for onward progress, unusual enlargement, and an almost unbroken uniformity, they have been principally distinguished. Prior to the commencement of the 18th century, we can get a glimpse of but one solitary community of the baptist order. While they were founding a few churches in New England on the one side, and New Jersey and Pennsylvania on the other, and still farther south, the tenacious Dutchmen held undisturbed possession of the Island of Manhattan, and all the settlements on the Hudson river, and from all that appears to the contrary, the baptists in Rhode Island were the first to disseminate the senti-

ments of the society in the city of New York and Long Island.¹ We are now prepared to give some account of the

FIRST COMPANY OF BAPTISTS IN THIS STATE.

The account is thus given by Morgan Edwards :

“ William Wickenden, of Providence, Rhode Island, during his ministry there, frequently preached in this city, where, at one time, as a reward for his services, he was imprisoned four months. At what time this event took place, cannot be ascertained ; it must have been before 1669, for in that year Mr. Wickenden died. From this period we hear nothing of the baptists here, until about 1712, when Mr. Valentine Wightman, of Groton, repaired to the place, by the invitation of Mr. Nicholas Eyres, and continued his visits about two years. His preaching place was Mr. Eyres' house. Under his ministry many became serious, and some hopefully converted. Their names were Nicholas Eyres, Nathaniel Morey, Anthony Webb, John Howes, Edward Hoyter, Cornelius Stephens, John Daneman, Elizabeth Morey, Hannah Wright, Esther Cowley, Martha Stephens, and Mrs. — Miller. Some time in 1714, Mr. Wightman baptized the five women, in the night, for fear of the mob, who had been very troublesome, while the seven men stood by. The following text dropped into Mr. Eyres' mind ; ‘ *No man doeth anything in secret, when he himself seeketh to be known openly.*’ Accordingly, he and the six brethren put off their design till morning, when Eyres waited on the Governor (Burnet)—told the case, and solicited protection, which the Governor promised, and was as good as his word, for he and many of the gentry came to the water-side, and the rite was performed in peace. The Governor, as he stood by, was heard to say, ‘ This was the ancient way of baptizing, and in my opinion much preferable to the practice of modern times.’ The above twelve persons called Mr. Eyres to preach for them, by whose ministry the audience so increased, that a private house would not hold them. Accordingly, they purchased a lot on Golden Hill, (not far from the lot where the late meeting-house stood,) and thereon built a place of worship, some time in the year 1723.”

THE SECOND COMPANY

Of baptists in this State, is found at Oyster Bay, on Long Island. This company, in all probability, was from Rhode Island. The first discovery of any baptists in this place was about 1700, when one William Rhodes, an unordained minister of this order, began to preach here, having fled hither to avoid persecution ; but from what place does not appear. This is a name common in R. I., but the persecution from which this early minister fled must have been experienced in some other place. It might have been in Connecticut, which was an intervening colony. By his ministry a number were converted, among whom was Robert Feeks, who, in 1724, was ordained pastor of the church which had previously been organized by elders from Rhode Island.

In 1741, Elder Feeks wrote to his brethren in Newport as follows :—

“ God has begun a good work among us, which I hope he will carry on. There have been seventeen added to our little band in about three months.”

When Mr. Feeks was far advanced in years, this church obtained for its pastor one Thomas Davis, who labored with them several years, and then removed to other parts. After him, a young man by the name of Caleb Wright, one of their members, engaged in the ministry ; his gifts appeared promising to an uncommon degree ; a day was appointed for his ordination, which proved to be the day of his burial ! After this melancholy event, the church was supplied by visiting ministers, until Mr. Benjamin Coles, one of their number, and

¹ This story will be more fully told when we come to the history of the churches in the city and vicinity.

a native of the place, began his ministry among them, who spent the whole of his life in the ministry in this place, except a few years at Stratfield, in Conn., and at Hopewell and Scotch Plains, in New Jersey.

THE THIRD COMPANY

Of which we have any information, commenced their operations in Dutchess County, about 70 or 80 miles above the city, in Fishkill, and a number of other places which lie between the Hudson river and the Connecticut line. Elders Dakin, Waldo, and Bullock, were the leaders in this region, which for many years was a distinguished resort for baptists, when there were but few in any other part of the State. This old baptist church no doubt arose out of the *Separates* from N. E., who began to settle in this region soon after the *New Light Stir*, under Whitefield, Tenant, and others.

The origin of these early churches will be given in the history of the Union and Dutchess Association, to which they now belong.

Although I shall not call them distinct companies, yet it may be proper here to state, that in a number of places in a northern direction in this State, which lie contiguous to Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont, churches arose in succession by the efforts of ministers and emigrants from the older settlements in New England, which will be described in the Associations which now spread over the whole region to the Canada line. And whatever of antiquity there is belonging to the baptist denomination in this wide-spread domain, except the city of New York and on Long Island, is found in the comparatively narrow strip of land which lies between the Hudson River and the New England States.

THE FOURTH, OR OTSEGO COMPANY.

This, in a little more than half a century, branched out over the whole of western New York, and laid the foundation for the immense growth of the denomination in the State. It began with a feeble hand at the Butternut Creek, within the limits of the county of Otsego, about twenty miles southwest of the head waters of the Susquehannah river.

The story is thus given by the historians of the B. M. Convention:—

“In 1773, Ebenezer Knapp and Increase Thurston, from Warwick, in this State, settled at the Butternuts, so called. These two families at first maintained religious worship in a domestic way; a few other families soon moved into the settlement, and united with them, and things appeared in a promising train, until the troubles of the war of the Revolution threw them all into confusion, and overwhelmed their infant colony in calamity and ruin.

“When the war of the American Independence took place, the unprotected inhabitants at Butternuts suffered a sad reverse by merciless white men and Indians. Their houses were pillaged and burned, their property all destroyed, and they themselves driven from their endeared homes.”²

But on the return of peace, four of the families thus dispersed returned to their long neglected settlement, and in the subsequent year established their religious meetings.

This Otsego company went to what was then the *far west*, so far as the New York colony was concerned. A portion of the aborigines of the country were still on the ground, and an unbroken wilderness spread before them for about three hundred miles to the west, where is now to be found a great majority of the population of the State, and of the baptist denomination.

Other companies subsequently made settlements at different points in this wide-spread territory; but of none of them have I obtained accounts sufficiently definite for the construction of my historical details, which would be interesting to the reader. For the most part, the people of our sentiments were inter-

² History of the B. M. Convention of New York, by Messrs. Peck and Lawton.

mingled with the mass of emigrants who flocked to this fertile region, and who pushed their settlements onward through the whole of western New York with great rapidity.

ASSOCIATIONS.

I am now prepared to give some brief historical sketches of the numerous confederacies of this kind in this State, and shall begin them with the

SOUTHERN AND EASTERN DIVISION.

This embraces the eleven following communities, viz., New York, Hudson River, Warwick, Union, Dutchess, Stepentown, Rensselaerville, Saratoga, Washington Union, Essex, and Lake George.

These Associations lie upon or near to the Hudson river, and most of the churches are on its eastern side.

NEW YORK ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in 1791. Nearly all the churches of which it was at first composed had formerly belonged to the old Philadelphia community; a number of them were situated in N. J., and were among the oldest churches in that State, where their history will be given. But in a short time the Jersey churches generally were dismissed, to form a new body in that State, and most of those which remain are in the city and vicinity.

This Association, for more than half a century, has occupied an important position, not only as to its location, but also as to the tone of feeling which it has given to the enterprises and efforts of the denomination in benevolent pursuits. This was among the early promoters of Domestic Missions, principally in the destitute regions in their own State.

By their active exertions, successful evangelists were sent out to labor in those then destitute places, in the northern and western parts of the State, where for many years past many flourishing churches and powerful auxiliaries have existed.

Their old Minutes give a good account of missionary doings nearly forty years ago. In 1808 the collections at prayer meetings alone amounted to almost four hundred dollars, and donations and subscriptions of various kinds gave them a good supply of the pecuniary means for the support of their missionaries in the destitute settlements to which they were sent. At that time, nearly the whole of western New York was in need. Her cities were then either in embryo or nonentity, and the old N. Y. B. M. Society, connected with this Association, with J. Caldwell for their Treasurer, and Withington, Munn, Stewart, Duffie, and others for contributors, set a good example, which has since been followed by the succeeding generations.

This Association, notwithstanding the large draughts which have been made upon it for the organization of kindred institutions, contains at present upwards of four thousand members.

HUDSON RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This community, now so large and influential, was organized with but four churches, in 1815. The churches were Oliver Street and Mulbury Street, as it was then called, in the city of New York, Mount Pleasant and Poughkeepsie. With the last named church its first session was held.

In New York and Brooklyn are found most of the churches in the New York and Hudson River Associations. As I am preparing a table which will present at one view the whole baptist population in these two cities, I shall omit my usual accounts of them till I come to the close of this chapter.

The name of this body is sufficiently descriptive of its location, as the churches are situated on and near to the river, from the city of New York to Albany, Troy, Lansingburg, and Schenectady. It has been in existence thirty-one

years ; has had a steady course of prosperity and increase, and now embraces the greatest number of members of any Association in the Northern States. It has fifty-nine churches, sixty-six ordained, and eight licensed preachers, and upwards of twelve thousand members ; and its enterprise and efficiency in all the interests of religion and benevolent efforts is in proportion to its numerical superiority.

Contributions for benevolent objects of all kinds, in the year 1844, was forty thousand eight hundred and nine dollars and forty cents.

Appended to the Minutes of this Association is a very copious table, which exhibits their doings in all benevolent objects, Sabbath schools, &c. The amount set against some of the churches is unusually large. I will give a specimen of a few of them for 1844. Pierpont Street, Brooklyn, \$6925 ; South Albany, \$6000 ; Oliver Street, New York, \$5958 ; Pearl Street, Albany, \$4922 ; Amity Street, New York, \$2560 ; Tabernacle, do., \$2292 ; Norfolk Street, do., \$1945 ; Bethel, do., \$1800 ; South, do., \$1500 ; First, Brooklyn, \$1356 ; Cannon Street, New York, \$1200 ; Stanton Street, do., \$1043 ; Laight Street, do., \$958 ; First, Troy, \$525 ; a good number of the other churches contributed respectable sums to a smaller amount. The contributions for 1845 were about \$26,000. The largest contributors for this year, appear to have been Stanton, Oliver, and Amity Street churches ; the sums set down against them vary from three to between four and five thousand dollars. Next to them were the Tabernacle, South Church, Cannon Street, New York ; First, Brooklyn ; First, Troy ; and First, Poughkeepsie. The doings at Albany were, evidently, not carried into the table. In the Minutes of 1846, the contributions compare well with former years. Oliver Street stands the highest on the list, \$7655 is the sum put down against it. Poughkeepsie \$4400, which is much beyond its former doings.

No table of this kind appears in the Minutes of the New York Association. The contributions of some of the churches must be very large.

Their anniversaries are held at different places in their long range of territory, and so commodious and expeditious is the modern mode of traveling on this noble river, that, although the churches are spread along a distance of nearly two hundred miles, yet the labor of attending them is but small.

This longitudinal community is over against, and contiguous to many Associations on both sides of this highway of steamboats, to the head waters of navigation.

The strongest churches in this body are in the cities of New York, Brooklyn, Albany and Troy. Those in the two first cities, for the reasons already assigned, will be omitted for the present, and, although I must pass by a number of Associations in pursuance of my plan, I see no other way than to travel up to the highest point and give some sketches of the churches as I pass on.

MOUNT PLEASANT CHURCH was formed in 1790. In this place the New York Association attempted to form an Academy for the purpose of ministerial education ; a building was erected, and some measures were taken to carry the design into effect, which, however soon fell through for the want of patronage, and the premises went into private hands. This place is on the Hudson river, thirty-six miles above the city of New York.

Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, a native of Massachusetts, for many years, was pastor of this church, and teacher of the academy.³

Rev. B. C. Moore is the present pastor in this place.

POUGHKEEPSIE. In the year 1800, a few baptists began to meet for social worship in this village, and soon after, the somewhat erratic Mr. Palmer commenced preaching here with some success, but it was not until 1807 that the church acquired a permanent organization. It was at first composed of sixteen members.

Rev. Francis Wayland, Sen., was their first pastor for about four years.

Rev. Lewis Leonard, from Massachusetts, was next in office about nine years.

Rev. Aaron Perkins has been twice settled in this place, and the same may be said of

³ In this academy the author, under the tuition of Mr. Nelson, pursued his classical studies preparatory to entering Brown University. And Frank Wayland, as he was familiarly called, there lad, but now the distinguished president of that institution, was a pupil in the same school. In this place is located the Sing Sing State Prison.

Rev. Rufus Babcock, D. D., who lately resigned in favor of the A. and F. Bible Society, whose interest he is now promoting with much assiduity and success. Dr. Babcock was ordained to the ministry with this church, and continued in office until elected president of Waterville College, Maine, a space of about three years. His second settlement was in 1840. Dr. Babcock is now at New Bedford, Mass.

In the interval of these frequent changes, this church has been supplied at short periods by *Rev. Messrs. Lawson*, an English baptist missionary, then on his way to India, *R. W. Cushman*, *William Hutchinson*, *J. L. Burrows*, *E. W. Dickinson*, and *Thomas Wilks*.

Rev. Charles Van Loon is their present pastor.

CENTRAL CHURCH was formed in 1845.

Rev. A. Perkins has been its pastor from the beginning.

HUDSON. This city is one hundred and thirty miles up the river. The church here bears date from 1810, but for many years before the place contained a small baptist population, who had ministers of the order occasionally among them. Here Dr. Gano, late pastor of the old church, Providence, R. I., preached a part of the time before he removed to that place.

Rev. Howard Malcom, D. D., now president of Georgetown College, Ky., officiated as the pastor of this church before he assumed the spiritual charge of the Federal Street Church, Boston. The succession of pastors here I am not able to give.

Rev. T. G. Freeman was the incumbent in 1845.

Rev. Leroy Church is the present pastor.

ALBANY. In this city are five churches in connection with this Association.

FIRST CHURCH was gathered in 1811. This is generally called the Green Street Church.

Rev. Joshua Bradley was the principal agent in the collection of this body, and officiated as its pastor a number of years. His successors in office I am not able to trace. Dr. Welsh was some time in the pastorate here before he was transferred to his present station. After him, they had *J. M. Cooley*, and *A. Bronson*, the first of whom is at Utica, in that State, the other at Fall River, Mass.

Rev. William S. Clapp is the present pastor.

HAMILTON STREET, was organized in 1821. This body is composed of people of color.

Rev. W. B. Serrington is their present pastor.

PEARL STREET was constituted with a colony from the First, or Green Street church, in 1834.

Rev. B. T. Welsh, D. D., has been the spiritual guide of this people from the beginning.

SOUTH CHURCH. In 1842, the old mother body sent out another colony of seventy five members, who united with a few members from Pearl Street, and established the fourth community in this city.

Rev. Stephen Wilkins, the present incumbent, has been in office here from the first.

STATE STREET CHURCH, is a new interest, got up in 1846.

Rev. Jacob Knapp was installed into office here at the same time the church was organized.⁴

This church is located in the centre of the city, and appears to be coming up to the standard of the older and larger bodies in numerical strength.⁵

⁴ I expected to have some fuller accounts of the Albany churches, which, however, have not come to hand. For a part of these facts, I am indebted to a writer in the *Ch. Messenger of Indiana*, over the signature of *Carolus*.

⁵ Mr. Knapp has been somewhat distinguished as an evangelist in former years.

TROY. Three churches have been collected in this city, and the suburban village on the west side of the river.

FIRST, TROY, was organized in 1795, by the name of "The First Particular Baptist Church in Troy."

Rev. Elias Lee, late pastor of the church at Ballston Spa, was the first pastor. After him they had for pastors or supplies, *Rev. Messrs. F. Wayland, Sen'r*, and *Isaac Webb*. Who followed in succession, I am not able to state.

Rev. B. M. Hill, now Cor. Sec'y of the B. H. M. Society, was in office here about ten years.

Rev. G. C. Baldwin is the present incumbent.

NORTH CHURCH was organized in 1845.

Rev. L. Howard was reported as pastor in 1845.

Rev. J. H. Walden is the present pastor.

WEST TROY bears date from 1827.

Rev. C. H. Hosken, now of Patterson, N. J., was some time the shepherd of this people. In the last Minutes the place is reported vacant.

LANSINGBURG adjoins Troy on the north. This is an old church, but never was very large.

Rev. Nathaniel Kendrick, D.D., now at the head of the Hamilton Institution, had the spiritual oversight of this people in the early part of its existence.

Rev. W. W. Moore was the pastor in 1845. The next year, they are reported vacant.

SCHENECTADY. This church bears date from 1822.

Rev. N. N. Whiting had the spiritual oversight of this people from the beginning. After him, they have had in the pastorship, *A. G. Gillett, M. Graves*, and probably others. *Rev. William Arthur* is the present pastor.

Recapitulation of the churches of Albany, Troy, West do., Lansingburg, and Schenectady.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Albany,	1811	Wm. S. Clapp,	444
Hamilton Street,	1821	W. B. Serrington,	86
Pearl Street,	1834	B. T. Welsh,	546
South Church,	1842	Stephen Wilkins,	451
State Street,	1846	Jacob Knapp,	191
First Troy,	1795	G. C. Baldwin,	612
North Church,	1843	J. H. Walden,	166
West Troy,	1827	—	153
Lansingburg,	1804	—	219
Schenectady,	1822	Wm. Arthur.	247

Total, 10 churches.

8 pastors.

3117

These churches are all near together, none of them far from the junction of the Mohawk and Hudson Rivers. We have now arrived at the *terra suprema*, the highest point, of this lengthwise community, which contains, in the aggregate, a greater number of baptist communicants than either of the States of New Jersey, Vermont, or New Hampshire.

There are probably some churches of other orders of baptists in these places.

WARWICK ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in 1791, and took its name from the town in which it was organized, which contains the oldest, and at that time the most important church in this connection. It was for many years a member of the mother body at Philadelphia.

THE WARWICK CHURCH was planted in 1766, by *Rev. James Benedict*, who was from Ridgefield, Conn., and continued in the pastoral office here until his death.* This church at first was exceeding small, but the year after it was

* He was a distant relative of the author.

formed, it increased to 70, and soon amounted to 200, when it began to branch out in different directions, and from it were set off, in the early stage of its existence, Wantage, Deer-Park, Middletown, &c. In 1769, it joined the Philadelphia Association, under the name of Goshen. After Mr. Benedict, was Mr. Thomas Jones, and then Mr. Thomas Montanye, who was ordained its pastor in 1788, at which time the war had so scattered its members that but about thirty were to be found, and these were spread over a circumference of almost as many miles. Soon a revival commenced, and in less than a year and a half 140 were added by baptism. Many of these soon dispersed to the western country, and other parts, and by them a number of other churches were founded. Mr. Montayne, after laboring here a few years, removed to Southampton, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Stephens, who tarried with them but a short time. Successor to him was *Lebeus Lathrop*. Their present pastor is *P. Hartwell*.

Old Warwick was a favorite resort for baptist ministers in early times, and Rev. John Gano resided a number of years in this place, while in exile from New York, in the time of the war of the Revolution.

This body has become quite small, and is ranked among the most decided opponents of the benevolent institutions of the times.

In this place, Drs. Manning and Smith spent a number of days while on a journey to Philadelphia, in 1776. They tarried with Rev. John Gano, and preached for Mr. Benedict, who was then the pastor.—*MS. Journal of the men above named.*

UNION ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1810. Some of its churches had belonged to the Warwick; a few came from the Danbury Association, while others had not been in any associate connection. The centre of this body is about sixty miles above the city of New York, in the counties of Westchester and Putnam, on the Hudson river. This is a small community, compared with some of its neighbors, but it has had considerable increase for a few years past, and is now in a promising condition.

CARMEL CHURCH was founded in 1788. It is the largest in this body.⁷

Rev. Aaron Perkins is their present pastor.

BEDFORD is a still older community, having been organized in 1786, and is also an influential member of this body.

Rev. Nathan A. Reed, a graduate of B. University, is now their pastor.

DUTCHESS ASSOCIATION

Is still farther north, in the county from which its name is derived, and was organized in 1835.

This young but growing body, is planted on the ground which was first occupied by the denomination in this region of country, and comprises the oldest churches in the State, except the First, New York, and Oyster Bay; and as a rare thing, much however to my advantage, the whole of their history is detailed in their Minutes for 1843, from which the following extracts are made:—

“NORTH-EAST. This church was constituted Nov. 6th, 1751, with nine members, about the time of the great revivals under the celebrated Whitefield, Tenant, and others. A number withdrew from a presbyterian, and united with a congregational church. Simon Dakin, and many others, subsequently embraced baptist sentiments.

“Elder Dakin was ordained as their pastor in 1753. During his long and useful ministry, the church was blessed with much prosperity. He died Sept. 19th, 1803, in the eighty-third year of his age, and fiftieth of his ministry.

⁷ In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 377; Kent and Fishkill, N. Robinson, 277; Bedford, N. A. Reed, 255; Red Mills, C. Brinkerhoff, 183; Yorktown, Wm. Bowen, 113; Paterson, D. W. Sherwood, 112; Cross River, E. H. Ballard, 100.

They removed from Philips' Patent, their first location, in 1773, on account of mobs and riots, to enjoy greater local privileges. Some members were left at that place, who formed a church, and Nathan Cole became their pastor. A branch of Elder Waldo's church, in Dover, became a separate church in Amenia. Elder Philips presided over them for a time; he left, and the members united with Elder Dakin's church. In 1774, a precious revival was enjoyed; many were added to the church, and Elijah Wood was licensed to preach. In 1776, a difference of opinion arose in reference to a plurality of elders, some considering this essential to a regular church. A council was called, composed of Elders Waldo, Drake, Gano, Moss, Kellog, and Ferris, who advised the release of all those who held the doctrine to be essential to church order. They were organized into a separate church, but soon dwindled away."

Rev. Messrs. Hopkins, Allerton, Buttolph, Winter, and Smith, have at different times had the oversight of this church, and from it have been sent into the ministry, Messrs. Eastman, Fulton, Thompson, and J. M. Winchell, the author of Winchell's Watts, who died pastor of the First church, Boston.

Under the ministry of Mr. Winter, now of Pa., which lasted fourteen years, a new and commodious brick meeting-house was erected.

This church has been remarkable for very extensive revivals of religion, at different periods, and some of them were experienced in very early times.

Rev. John La Grange was their pastor in 1845.

The North-East church is the largest in this Association.*

FIRST, DOVER, was formed in 1757, and the year after,

Rev. Samuel Waldo became their pastor, in which he continued with good success thirty-five years. "The Lord prospered the labors of Elder Waldo abundantly, and additions were made to the church almost every month, for nearly ten years. The church becoming large, meetings were held in the north part of the town, where was organized the now Second church in Dover. Elder Waldo was a very godly man, and a distinguished preacher. He was thorough in discipline and church government; zealous and devoted to the cause of his Divine Master; abundant in his labors, and very successful in winning souls to Christ. This church is now small, though it holds on its way."

This church was at first called Beeksmans' Precinct, and under that name belonged to the Philadelphia Association, as early as 1769, and probably much earlier. It afterwards took the name of Pawlings' Precinct, or town, and finally assumed the name it now bears.

STANFORD. "In the year 1755, a few brethren of the baptist faith, residing in the wilderness, agreed to meet for prayer, which they continued to do for four years. Others then joined them, and in October, 1759, they were constituted into a church, or branch, by Elders Jabez Wood, and Robert Wheaton, of the baptist church in Swansea, County of Bristol, Massachusetts. They elected Ephraim and Comer Bullock to administer the ordinances of the gospel to them, and Richard Bullock to serve them as deacon. There is no further record till 1771-2, at which time a considerable number were added to them.

"About this time, they heard that the mother church at Swansea sung by rule, and in Watts' Psalms, which occasioned them much grief. They labored to convince the mother church of their error, but to no effect. So they withdrew from their fellowship. Some time afterwards, however, a few of the church grew uneasy about the matter, viz., Elder Comer Bullock, and Richard Ellis, who made a recantation to the mother church. This was a grief to Elder Ephraim Bullock, and the others. The brethren named dissented from the church, and did not meet with them for some time. At length some ten or twenty of the members joined them, and they organized anew under Comer Bullock, May 9th, 1778. From this time the records were regularly kept.

* In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 192; Amenia, J. Kelly, 138; Second Dover, A. Smith, 178; Stanford, Luman Burch, 126; Franklindale, G. W. Houghton, 100.

The last named laborious and truly good man continued to serve them until his health and strength failed, about the close of the last century. He died June 10th, 1812, aged 78 years, and is said to have baptized one thousand during his ministry."

Rev. Luman Burtch, who has been in the ministry in this vicinity about forty years, is now the aged pastor of this church.

Rev. Comer Bullock, in *Asplund's Register*, is reported as the first pastor of the church, then called *Great Nine Partners*, of 370 members; and *Abraham Adams*, *Christopher Newman*, *Nicholas Hare*, and *James Purdy*, are put down as licensed preachers.

This was a wide-spread territory, in which different towns afterwards arose.

In the Minutes above referred to, mention is made of Elder John Lawrence, as a minister, at a place called Pawlings, as early as 1770. Soon after this time, I find, in the old Philadelphia Minutes, this man is reported as pastor of a church, then called Philips' Patent, which may have been so called from the name of an old minister in this vicinity.

FISHKILL. In this town are two churches; the first is dated 1782, but there must have been a church there about forty years before, under the care of a Mr. Halstead, as we have before reported, from which originated some of the materials for the first church New York. This old church no doubt became extinct.

"The first location of this church was in Middlebush, where they owned a meeting-house and lot; their present location is on Fishkill Plains, where they have a very pleasant and commodious place of worship, which they own; also a parsonage, with eight acres of land, about three miles from the meeting-house. They were organized November 13th, 1782, with eight males and ten females, by Elder John Lawrence, of Pawlings, and Elder Nathan Cole, of Carnel. The services were held at the house of Abraham Van Wyck. Elder James Philips was one of the constituent members, and accepted their call to become their first pastor. He served them many years with great acceptance, and was very useful. He died Feb. 3d, 1793. They frequently met at their pastor's house. Their first record speaks often of baptisms. They licensed a brother Jonathan Atherton to improve his gifts, and to conduct a meeting on the other side of the Hudson river, at New Marlborough, where a branch was organized, which called for his ordination."

Rev. Edward C. Ambler is their present pastor.

AMENIA, or Ameniatown as it was formerly called, is a church of long standing, having been formed in 1787.

Rev. Elijah Wood was their minister for twenty years. He was at first a preacher among the pedobaptist *Separates*, and while deacon of one of the *New Light* churches, those nurseries of baptists, his mind was disturbed on the subject of infant baptism, by a sermon intended for its defense. This was in Bennington, Vermont. He was baptized by Dr. Manning, of the college at Providence, R. I. He died 1810, at the age of 65.

Rev. J. M. Peck, the baptist pioneer of the west, originated from this vicinity, and was, in early life, the pastor of this people.

"John Gurnsey and Seth Thompson were both among the early members of this church, and through long and useful lives, served it as deacons. They used the office well, and sustained an excellent reputation. The church owes much of its prosperity to the faithful labors and liberality of these truly good men. The first died in Feb. of 1840, and the last in 1843. Deacon Gurnsey left for the use of the church, a wood lot, and one thousand dollars, the interest of which is for the support of the pastor; an example worthy the imitation of wealthy brethren in other churches. The church feels deeply the loss of these faithful brethren. It has, during its history, experienced some painful trials, in all of which it has been graciously preserved. It has also enjoyed much prosperity. A spirit of christian liberality seems now to pervade the church; may it always be the case."

Rev. Alexander Smith is the present incumbent.

RHINEBECK. This church was organized in 1821.

Rev. Isaac Bevan is their pastor. *Rev. Robert Scott*, from England, is spoken of as a local preacher, for many years of much reputation and usefulness.

PINE PLAINS. This church is of recent origin, having been organized in 1839, and at the same time

Rev. N. D. Benedict became their pastor, and continued with them about four years.

Rev. Joseph B. Breed was his successor.

In this place, *Rev. G. F. Davis*, of Hartford, Conn., in answer to a challenge from a presbyterian minister, gave a series of discourses on the baptismal controversy, much to the satisfaction of his baptist friends.

"The organization of the Dutchess Association," says the historian, "has proved a very great benefit to our churches in the county. Most of the churches now connected with it formerly belonged to the Hartford and Union Associations.

"A very decided improvement has taken place in regard to giving a proper support to pastors, and sustaining objects of benevolence."

Although this body contains but a little over thirteen hundred members, and none of the churches are in populous towns, yet the footing of their doings for the various objects of benevolence, shows a commendable zeal and liberality.

We have stated above, that the late *Mr. Winchell*, of Boston, *J. M. Peck*, of Illinois, and it may also be said that *John Peck*, long known as a successful agent for baptist institutions, originated from this region.

The late *Dr. Gano*, of Providence, R. I., for a number of years in the early part of his ministry, officiated with some of the old churches in this vicinity, and the most excellent *Deacon Gurnsey* was, through life, one of his most choice and intimate friends.

STEPHENTOWN ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1831. This is on ground formerly occupied by the old *Shaftsbury* community. A part of the churches were at first in *Mass.*, but they have now gone off to unite with newly formed communities in their own State. Most of the churches are in *Rensselaer* county.

BERLIN CHURCH has for many years been one of the most flourishing and influential bodies in this part of the country. It was formed in 1785, and was at first called *Little Hoosick*, from the name of a river on which it was situated. Some of its original members were from *R. I.*

Rev. Justus Hull, was the founder and first pastor of this church, and continued in office here until the infirmities of age disabled him from pastoral duties.

He was born in *Reading, Conn.*, July 24, 1755, and when young, removed with his parents, who were pedobaptists, to this field of his future successful labors.

He was ordained to the pastoral office Feb. 23, 1785, and died May 20, 1833, aged 77 years, and in the 56th of his ministry.

Rev. John Leland, who lived at no great distance from *Mr. Hull*, was his companion in labors, and in the sermon which he preached at his funeral, remarked, "that he had been acquainted with about eleven hundred baptist ministers, and thought that *Elder Hull* possessed the most of the christian and ministerial graces of any one he ever met with."

This church has been distinguished for revivals of religion, and great enlargements, and contained at one time 600 members. *Grafton, Sandlake, Petersburg* and *Williamstown, Mass.*, have been formed wholly or in part from this mother of churches; and by it a number of sons have been sent into the ministry.

Rev. J. D. Rogers officiated as pastor after *Mr. Hull* a few years.

Rev. T. S. Gifford, the present incumbent, was settled in 1839.

He is a native of *Canaan, Columbia Co., N. Y.*^o

^o From *Mr. Gifford* a portion of the above facts have been received, and also a biographical account, with the autobiography of this eminent man, which will be inserted in my biographical work.

CANAAN. In this town were two churches, under the care of Rev. S. Hatch; the first was formed by Elder Jacob Drake, in the following manner: Mr. Drake removed from Windsor, Connecticut, and settled in this town in 1769. He was then a pedobaptist minister of the *Separate* connection, and, finding a number of his own persuasion in the neighborhood, he formed them into a church, and was ordained their pastor, 1770. After traveling on the pedobaptist plan about eight or nine years, he, with many of his flock, embraced the baptist principles, and formed a church of baptized believers only. One article of their covenant was, "A church consists of a pastor and teacher, ruling elders and deacons." Mr. Drake traveled and preached abundantly with great success, insomuch that his church, in ten years from its beginning, amounted to between five and six hundred members. They were spread over a great extent of country, not only in the neighboring towns, but branches were scattered at many miles distant, on both sides of the Hudson River; for wherever Mr. Drake baptized any disciples, he gave them fellowship as members of his flock. When this wide-spread church contained the number just mentioned, there were in it besides its pastor, eleven teachers and ruling elders. Their names were *David Skeels, Bariah Kelly, jun., David Mudge, Jeduthan Gray, Reuben Mudge, John Mudge, Nathaniel Kellogg, Hezekiah Baldwin, Aaron Drake, jun., Nathaniel Culver, and Asahel Drake.* The four last were ruling elders, but had a right to administer the ordinances. Dr. Gano, of Providence, was about this time preaching at Hillsdale, not far distant, where he founded a church, which he served a number of years. He labored with Mr. Drake's people to show them the impropriety of their proceedings, and mostly by his influence, they set off from their great unwieldy body five distinct churches, in 1789, viz.: Great Barrington and Egremont, Warren's Bush, Coeyman's Patent, Duane's Bush and Rensselaerville. The church in West Stockbridge had been formed from it in 1781, and the one at New Concord was set off in 1791. Thus from the labors of this itinerating pastor and his spiritual sons, arose eight churches in the course of about twelve years. "Some," observes Mr. John Leland, who furnished this account, "say that Mr. Drake contended for an apostolical gift; be that as it may, he has been a successful preacher, and he is the best *fisherman* who catches the most *fish*," &c.

In 1792, Mr. Drake removed to Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, where he founded a church, which had spread extensively along the Susquehanna river.

BERLIN CHURCH is now the largest in this Association.¹⁰

SCHODACK, A. Milne, pastor, is the next in size.

LEBANON SPRINGS. A church at this favorite *watering place* was gathered a number of years since. The succession of their pastors I am not able to give.

Rev. E. Sandys is the present incumbent.

RENSSELAERVILLE ASSOCIATION.

This is an old community, which has been a nursery for a number of the surrounding Associations. It was formed at the town from which it took its name, in 1796, which is about twenty miles south-west of Albany. It began with three churches, viz.: two in Rensselaerville, and one in Broome. Many of the members removed hither from New England. Elder Philip Jenkins, former pastor of the church in Bern, which then belonged to this body, was from Rhode Island, where he had been engaged in the ministry with good success. He died 1811, in the 85th year of his age. For more than half a century, Mr. Jenkins was zealously engaged in the ministry, and was a man of eminent piety and usefulness during the whole of his long and unspotted life.

¹⁰ In 1845, they reported 258; Hillsdale, S. Jones, 190; Schodack, A. Milne, 166; Stephentown, E. Sweet, 132; Grafton, J. D. Rogers, 126; Petersburg, E. B. Crandall, 106; First Nassau W. E. Waterbury, 107.

Rev. William Storrs was the pastor of the church named *Bern and Knox*, in 1845. The old church in *Bern* bears date from 1798.

RENSSELAERVILLE was gathered in 1787.

Rev. J. Fulton was the pastor in 1845.

Rev. R. Winegar is the pastor of the first church *Waterloo*, which is the largest in this body. Its date is unknown.¹

Rev. J. M. Peck was the clerk of this Association in 1811.

SARATOGA ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1805. The churches are principally situated in the county from which it was named: it is north of Albany, and the churches are located in all directions around the famous *Saratoga Springs*. This ground was for many years occupied by the old *Shaftsbury Association*, in Vermont, and this body arose out of a division of that community, which at that time had become very large. It consisted at first of thirteen churches, viz.: *Amsterdam*, *First Galway*, *First Greenfield*, *Hadley*, *First and Second Hartford*, *Kingsborough*, *Broad Albin*, *Milton*, *Ballston Springs*, *Northumberland*, now *Moreau*, *Providence* and *First Saratoga*.

In 1841, this Association published an interesting sheet, containing a tabular view of all its affairs, from its origin to that time. In this document is exhibited all the changes which have taken place in the churches and ministry, and estimates and averages of about everything that can be thought of in the doings of such an ecclesiastical community.

According to this table, the moderators for thirty-six years have been

E. Barber,	C. H. Swain,	W. McCuller,	J. Harris,
A. Brown,	J. Cornel,	A. Scamans,	J. Fletcher,
E. Lee,	E. Harrington,	F. Wayland, Sen.	J. Wescott,
I. Beals,	J. Finch,	W. Groom,	N. Fox.

For the same time the clerks have been

E. Lee,	E. Smith,	S. M. Plumb,	T. Powell,
E. Barber,	S. Rogers,	G. Witherell,	J. Fletcher,
W. Stillwell,	J. W. Clark,	J. A. Waterbury,	J. Goadby.

The succession of pastors in some of the oldest and largest churches have been as follows:

BALLSTON SPA, 1796. *Elias Lee*, *W. E. Waterbury*, *S. S. Parr*, *C. B. Keys*.

Rev. Norman Fox, the present pastor, was settled in 1838. This is the largest church in old *Saratoga Association*.²

SARATOGA SPRINGS, 1794. *E. P. Longworthy*, *F. Wayland*.

J. Fletcher came into office in 1829, where he still remains.

BROAD ALBIN, 1792. *H. Gorton*, *J. Nichols*, *W. Groom*, *J. Delaney*, *W. B. Curtis*, *L. Salisbury*.

Rev. N. C. Chandler was in office in 1845.

CLIFTON PARK, 1795. *A. Peck*, *S. Pomeroy*. The venerable *Elder Peck* has performed most of the pastoral service in this church for about forty years. He is still a resident member.

Rev. F. S. Parke has been the pastor since 1840. This church has been the nursery for a number of the surrounding communities.

FIRST GALWAY, 1778, is the oldest church but one in this body. Its pastors have been *E. Carpenter*, *J. Lewis*, *J. St. John*, *T. Day*, *M. L. Fuller*, *T. T. St. John*, *E. Wescott*, *O. H. Capron*.

Rev. E. W. Allen is the present incumbent. This church was never large.

SECOND GALWAY, 1790. *S. Rogers*, *J. Cornel*, *E. Kincaid*, *W. E. Waterbury*, *S. Wilkins*, *J. S. McCollom*, *A. Smith*, *I. Robards*, *L. Parmley*.

Rev. S. Ward was in office here in 1845.

¹ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 217; *Preston Hollow*, *J. J. Teeple*, 168; *Duransburg* and *Florida*, *J. Earl*, 155; *Rensselaerville*, 146; *Greenville*, *P. Prink*, and *Charleston*, *C. Herrick*, each 144.

² In 1845, it reported 400; *Broad Albin*, 268; *Schuylerville*, *B. F. Garfield*, 239; *Saratoga Springs*, same; *First Half Moon*, 224; *Second Stillwater*, *I. Wescott*, 221; *Milton*, 219; *Clifton Park*, 200; *Amsterdam*, *W. Hutchinson*, 193; *Second Galway*, 170; *Northampton*, 157; *Burnt Hills*, 136; *Gloversville*, 128; *1st Stillwater*, 107.

MILTON, 1793. T. Powell, A. Seamans, T. Day, J. B. Wilkins, J. Goadby and
 Rev. W. B. Curtis, who came into office in 1849.

BURNT HILLS, 1890. B. Clay, N. N. Whiting, J. Harris, Wm. McCarthy, J. S. McCollom,
 J. W. Green.
 Rev. J. Goadby is the present pastor.³

Remarks. Mr. E. Kincaid, whose name has been mentioned as one of the pastors at Galway, is the missionary; and from his pastoral station in this body, he went into the foreign field.

Mr. J. Cornel was one of the old pastors at Providence, R. I., for a number of years. But Galway was his home, and the place where he died in 1896.

Story of John Leland. At Stillwater, near the place where Gen. Burgoyne was taken in the American war, a church arose in 1762, which became unusually large and prosperous, and branched out in many directions. But on account of the misconduct of their pastor, it suffered an almost overwhelming calamity and downfall. In the midst of their troubles, John Leland being called to preach among them, took for his text, "and some on boards, and some on broken pieces of the ship: and so it came to pass, they all escaped safe to land." Acts xxvii., 44.

Rev. Lemuel Covel, a distinguished minister and domestic missionary, was sent into the ministry by the Providence church in this Association.

Benevolent operations. The churches here had been accustomed to send up their annual contributions to the mother body for missionary and other benevolent purposes. The same thing has been done since they went off by themselves. They began with less than one hundred dollars per annum. In 1839, which year seems to have exceeded any other, the sum was about twenty-four hundred. The total amount for thirty-six years was between thirteen and fourteen thousand dollars. As the reader would naturally expect, Sabbath schools and the evangelical enterprises of the day receive a cordial support from this old community.

In conclusion, I would say, that old Saratoga is on old baptist ground; and, although emigrations from the county have been great to the more western parts of the State, and to still remoter regions, yet this old confederacy has held its own, and stands the third on the list as to numerical strength, among the whole corps of its sister communities in this great State.

WASHINGTON UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed of churches which had belonged to the Saratoga, Shaftsbury, and Vermont communities, in 1827.

No special event occurred in the doings of this body until 1831, when the churches of Bottskill, Saratoga, First Fort Ann, Kingsbury, Hartford, and White Creek churches, some of which were members of this fraternity, got up a new organization for the express purpose of taking a more decided stand against the institution of Free Masonry than their brethren generally were disposed to do.

This Bottskill company, after about three years' standing, gave up their organization, and coalesced with the community now under consideration.

BOTTSKILL CHURCH was organized in 1776, by emigrants from Rhode Island, who began to settle in this region some ten years before.

Rev. Nathan Tanner was their first pastor, in which office he continued many years. Successor to him, was

Rev. Edward Barber. He was settled in 1794, and sustained the pastoral office about 40 years.

³ As the table which I have followed ends with 1841, and as Mr. Goadby and a few others have come into office since that date, it leaves me uncertain as to the year of their settlements.

554 LAKE GEORGE, AND ESSEX & CHAMPLAIN ASSOCIATIONS.

Rev. Nathaniel Colver, now pastor of the church at Tremont Temple, Boston, was settled with this people in 1831, as co-pastor with elder Barber, where he continued about seven years.

Rev. P. D. Gillett was the next pastor for about one year.

Rev. W. Arthur, now at Schenectady, assumed the pastorate in 1839, where he continued about five years.

Rev. J. O. Mason, their present pastor, was settled in 1844.

This ancient church has generally been distinguished for prosperity and enlargement. It is now the largest but one in this body.⁴

LAKE GEORGE ASSOCIATION.

The churches composing this Association lie scattered on the western side of the lake from which its name is derived.

CHESTER CHURCH, formed towards the close of the last century, is the oldest in this body.

Rev. Jehiel Fox was its first pastor, who traveled abundantly, often by marked trees, through this then wilderness region, he being for a long time the only ordained minister of our order within the region of his labors. This laborious minister gathered a number of churches, either as branches of that at Chester, or as separate bodies, and after a few years, Daniel McBride was ordained the pastor over them.

By this time three churches had been gathered, which met in a conference for a number of years previous to their assuming the name of an Association, which was in 1817, when their number of churches had increased to five, viz.: Chester, Schroon, Caldwell, Warrensburgh, Bolton and Minerva, and two hundred and fifty members.

Upwards of twenty ministers have been ordained within the bounds of this small community, viz.: Messrs. Grant, Faxon, Eastwood, Hodges, Arnold, Scofield, Fox, Barker, Woodward, Hendryx, Wilkins, Fay, Mead, Ward, Wells, Adams, Harrington, Trumbull, Farnham, Sprague, and Smith.

Ticonderoga, a place of some note in the old wars, is within the bounds of this Association.

Most of the time since this body was organized, *Rev. Norman Fox*, now of Ballston Spa, son of the old pioneer, and *Alvin Barton, Esq.*,⁵ have officiated as clerks.

ESSEX AND CHAMPLAIN ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed under the name of Essex, in 1802, in the north-east corner of the State, on the western shore of Lake Champlain. The few churches were gathered by the labors of Elder Solomon Brown, who was the first, and for many years almost the only baptist minister in this part of the State.

The Champlain Association was formed some fifteen years ago; it afterwards coalesced with the mother body, which assumed the compound name it now bears.

Elizabethtown, Westport, Jay, Keeseville, Moriah, and W. Plattsburg are the largest churches in this community.

This Association extends to Clinton county, the highest point in the State, and adjoining the Canada line. It spreads over a large territory, which, for a long course of years, was considered missionary ground.

Rev. Solomon Brown was the first minister on the ground, and by him, with very partial assistance, the first churches were planted.

⁴ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 461; Hartford, L. Parmly, 467; Fort Ann Village, 232; First Fort Ann, 107; Second do., 161; W. Greenwich, T. S. Rogers, 193; Sandy Hill, 179; Adamsville, R. O. Dwyer, 150; Kingsbury, Wm. Grant, 145; First Queensburg, O. H. Ch. pin, 125; Hebron, A. Harvey, 131; White Creek, 121; Fort Edward, A. Stevens, 112; Glenns' Falls, 111. I am indebted to *Rev. J. O. Mason* for the account of this association.

⁵ By *Mr. Barton* this information was communicated, with the autograph of *Jehiel Fox*.

This community has increased to upwards of fourteen hundred members, and seems to be engaged, with commendable zeal, in lending its aid to missionary and other benevolent institutions.

*The Church in JAY, C. Berry, pastor, is the largest in this institution.*⁶

We have now gone from one extremity of the State to the other, on its eastern side, from the sea coast to the Canada line, a distance of about three hundred miles. As yet but eleven Associations have been enumerated, most of which are on the Hudson river, and, with but few exceptions, on its eastern side. Four of these bodies, viz.: the New York, Hudson river, Saratoga, and Washington Union, are the largest in this government. Old Warwick is very small, some of the others are not large, but in the aggregate they contain more than one-third of the baptist members in the whole State.

We are now prepared to enter the great western field.

SECTION II.

WESTERN NEW YORK—CENTRAL DIVISION.

Otsego Settlement and Otsego—Madison—Cortland—Chenango—Berkshire, now Broom and Tioga—Franklin—Lexington—Worcester—Mohawk—Oneida—Onondaga—Cayuga—Orwego—Jefferson Union—Black river, and St. Lawrence Associations.

By *Western New York*, is generally meant all the western parts of the State from the old settlements on the Hudson and Mohawk rivers.⁷

In this whole region, at the commencement of the present century, there were but about thirty churches of our order.

In 1812, according to my first volume, the number had greatly increased, and the five following associations had been formed, viz.: Otsego, Madison, Franklin, Cayuga, and Holland Purchase. These soon branched out in different directions, so that at this time, more than thirty of these institutions exist on this ground.

OTSEGO ASSOCIATION.

This body, which has become the mother of a large number of kindred institutions around it, bears date from 1795. More attention has been paid to the history of this old community than of any of the great number in this part of the State which is yet to be explored.

In the year 1800, Elders A. Hosmer and J. Lawton, who were among the first ministers in these then infant settlements, published a pamphlet, entitled *A View of the Rise and Progress of the Churches comprising the Otsego B. Asso.* From this work much assistance was derived in my former history.

In 1837, this same Mr. Lawton, in connection with Elder John Peck, whose name has long been identified with benevolent efforts in this and many other States, by appointment of the B. M. Convention in New York, published a history of that efficient body. From these two works very ample materials are furnished for the whole range of the old Otsego community, whose growth was rapid and vigorous, and whose boundaries soon became so widely extended, that in a few years it was found necessary for it to branch out in different directions.

⁶ In 1845, it reported 188; Moriah, J. Baldwin, 171; Keeseville, I. Sawyer, 166; Westport, T. L. Brandt, 160; Elizabethtown, 151; W. Plattsburg, H. B. Dodge, 132.

⁷ This term was more significant in former years than at present. *Central New York* would be a more appropriate designation of a large portion of the territory now under consideration. It is not my business, however, to dictate in matters of this kind, but, for my own convenience, I have thought it proper to divide this great section into two parts.

At a place called **THE BUTTERNUTS**, and at another named **COOPER'S PATENT**, small churches had been gathered, which soon became extinct in consequence of the war and the changing habits of the population.

At **SPRINGFIELD**, in 1789, under the ministry of *Elder William Furman*, was formed the first church which acquired a permanent standing in this vicinity. This town is situated at the head of the lake from which this body received its name. Soon after, others arose in Burlington, Fairfield, Norwich, Richfield, Otsego, and other places, so that in 1795 their number was sufficiently augmented to take the first step among this gregarious people, and unite in an associated form. The following is a schedule of their first session :

Churches.	Ministers.	No. of Members
Springfield, - - - -	William Furman, - -	56
First Burlington, - - - -	- - - - -	23
Second do. - - - -	Ashbel Hosmer, - -	101
Third do. - - - -	- - - - -	10
Norwich (now New Berlin), - - - -	- - - - -	30
First Unadilla (now Butternuts), - - - -	- - - - -	17
Richfield (now Exeter), - - - -	- - - - -	22
Stuart's Patent (now first Otsego), - - - -	- - - - -	21
Schuyler, - - - -	John Hammond, - -	63
Charlestown, - - - -	Elijah Herrick, - -	24
Fairfield, Palatine, - - - -	Joel Butler, - -	31
Second Unadilla (now Otsego), - - - -	- - - - -	15
Otsego, - - - -	- - - - -	12
Churches, 13; Ministers, 5; Members, - - - -		424

"This being the first interview of the kind ever enjoyed in this wilderness, it was one of intense interest. The presence of the great Jehovah was deeply felt, and the souls of his people expanded with joy. Some who came to the meeting with a resolution to oppose the forming of an Association, were constrained to acknowledge that God was there; their opposition ceased, and their souls melted in the pleasure occasioned by the union of their infant churches. Indeed, it was a delightful scene to behold these little flocks scattered throughout this extensive region, coming up out of the wilderness, evidently led by the good Shepherd to associate together in this capacity, and thereby exhibit what the Lord had done, and what He was still to do in this once howling desert. Thus, in weakness, with much fear and trembling, and amid trials of the most distressing character, was the foundation laid, on which a glorious superstructure has been raised in *Western New York*."

"The first Association was held in a meeting-house, built by the baptists and congregationalists, in Springfield; the second, in the woods; the third, in a barn; and the fourth in dwelling-houses; and in all these places the presence of the Lord more than supplied the want of convenient accommodations."

The extent of this body, at the end of five years from its commencement, was about 140 miles from east to west, and 60 from north to south.

The ministers who officiated during this time were Elds. William Furman, Ashbel Hosmer, Joel Butler, Elijah Herrick, John Hammond, John Bostwick, Stephen Taylor, John Lawton, Peter P. Roots, Warner Lake, James Bacon, David Irish, Hezekiah Eastman, Stephen Parsons, and Simeon Smith.

The first five of these were laboring here previously to the forming of the Association. No two of them lived nearer to each other than twenty-five miles, and the residence of one was sixty or seventy from the body of the Association.

These accounts embrace the history of this mother body for the first five years of its existence; but during the long intervening time it has maintained its character at first established, and is still an active and efficient community.

In 1833, when Mr. Allen's first Register was published, there was a healthy action in this body in favor of all benevolent operations, and most of the churches had been favored with refreshing seasons in the year then past.

The *Jubilee* of this old body, on its fiftieth anniversary, was held at West Burlington, in 1845. In the Minutes for that year, is found some brief historical sketches of its rise and progress, the substance of which has already been given. On the ground at first occupied by this body, are now about twenty Associations.

As this community has been trimmed at all points, and is not in a populous region, it is now reduced to seventeen churches, and eighteen hundred members.

BROOKFIELD was the largest church, in 1845.* It was then without a pastor.

I have found the collocation of the Associations in this section attended with some difficulty, as I want to preserve as much as possible a geographical connection and contiguity, and, at the same time, follow out the branches from the old radiating point in somewhat of a chronological order.

But as I must begin somewhere, and travel in some direction, and as the tendency of the population was westward, I have gone that course, then have taken a circuit round to the south and east, then north, to the Mohawk River and Erie Canal, which I have followed up to Cayuga lake, then I have gone a north-easterly course, along the shores of Lake Ontario and St. Lawrence River, to the farthest point in that region.

MADISON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1808, by a division of the Otsego, which had become so extensive that it was found needful to begin to set off separate interests, and the western churches, to the number of fourteen, were organized in the county from which this new body received its name, which has long been an important location for the whole denomination in this section of the State, partly on account of the flourishing institution at *Hamilton*, which is situated within its bounds.

In addition to the seminary here established, the church in *Hamilton* contains nearly four hundred members, and is the largest in the Association.

The churches in *Cazenovia*, *Eaton*, *Lebanon*, and *Nelson*, are large and flourishing communities.

Elders *John Peck* and *Lewis Leonard*, missionary agents, are members of this Association, as are also a large corps of college officers, so that the number of ministers to that of the churches, is almost two to one.

This seat of baptist literature has become a distinguished place for other operations, and the concentration of men and measures for the promotion of all the affairs of our increasing society.

A SECOND CHURCH has been organized in this town since my account was made up. It is on the college ground, and embraces most of the officers and others connected with the institution.

Rev. C. P. Sheldon was the pastor of the First church in 1845.†

CORTLAND ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1827. Most of the churches are in this county, and a few are in those of *Cayuga* and *Tompkins*. It was formed from the *Madison*.

This for many years has been an efficient body, and has shown considerable zeal in benevolent efforts.

HOMER CHURCH was constituted in 1801.

Rev. Alfred Bennet, one of their sons, was ordained to the pastoral office in 1817. His ministry was long and useful, and he continued in it until he commenced an agency in behalf of the B. F. M. Society, which he has prosecuted with great efficiency for a number of years past.

This ex-pastor has lately published a discourse wholly devoted to the history of this church, from which the following extracts are made.

“From 1811 to 1821, we call the period of the church’s enlargement—for it was emphatically a season of revivals.

“During the whole of this period, there was a kind and christian friendship and intimacy of intercourse among saints, which was admirably calculated to

* It reported at that time, 240; *Cooperstown*, F. Prescott, 165; *Hartwick*, J. N. Adams, 156; *Butternuts*, 142; *Edmestown*, H. Fitch, 135; *West Winfield*, B. M. Alden, 112; *Richfield*, H. Hutchins, 108; *New Lisbon*, S. Gregory, 102; *North Burlington*, L. Casler, 100.

† At that date, it reported 392; *Cazenovia*, Daniel Putnam, 257; *Cazenovia Village*, Wm. Clark, 222; *First Eaton*, 113; *Second do.*, 243; *Lenox*, L. Wright, 166; *Lebanon*, E. D. Reed, 151; *Madison*, S. S. Wheeler, 122; *Georgetown*, R. L. Warriner, 110; *Stockbridge*, Geo. Bridge, the same; *Second Brookfield*, S. C. Ainsworth, 107.

give peace in society, and pleasure in the soul, while it led to a mutual co-operation among christians of all denominations, and secured public confidence in favor of religion."

The sentiments of the following extract, if carried out in all churches, would save them from that state of coldness and neglect in which multitudes of them are too often involved.

"A brother who was a large farmer, and yet was seldom absent from a Wednesday conference meeting, or *any week-day meeting appointed by the church*, being asked how he could be so constant at meetings, replied, 'These meetings were appointed by the church, and it is my duty to be here; I am bound to respect the claims of the church. It is presumed,' said he, 'the church would not make an appointment unless it were important, and if it is important for the church to meet, it is necessary for me to be there, as I am one of the church.'"

"May the Spirit of the living God impress this truth, this important, this *immensely important*, practical truth upon every church member's heart, that it may enlighten the conscience, and result in a punctual attendance on the appointments of the church.

"These social seasons were of great advantage to the pastor, in making him acquainted with the state and condition of the church, so as to enable him to encourage the faint, strengthen the weak, direct the inquiring, restrain the rash, reclaim the wanderer, assist the strong, and as far as possible, so divide the word, that each might have their portion in due season."

After pursuing an unusual successful course of operations for about twenty years, with a church of nearly five hundred members, and the old sanctuary, with which were associated a long train of the most pleasing reflections, full to overflowing, this enterprising community, under the influence of their judicious pastor, took the bold and important step of becoming three bands. "The old meeting-house was abandoned and three new ones were built in the villages of Homer, Cortland, and McGraw; the least of which was as large as the old one, each of them ornamented with a steeple, and furnished with a bell, to note the hours of worship."¹⁰ These three churches, in 1844, contained the total of 815 members. This was doing business with skill and to advantage. Instead of waiting till internal commotions should rend them asunder, and the surplusage of their members should go off to other communities, they by mutual agreement colonized in season and with good effect.

Rev. Cephas Bennet, son of the old pastor, and also Mr. S. S. Day, now in India, were sons of this church.

Rev. Messrs. E. Bright, J. P. Simmons, and W. G. Dye, were the pastors of these three churches in 1845.

Mr. Bright has been transferred to a secretaryship in the F. M. Board at Boston. The old church in Homer is the largest in this body.¹ Who is its present pastor I have not learnt.

CHENANGO ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the Madison, in 1832. Most of the churches are in the county of the same name, in a southern direction from the mother body.

I have no minutes of this Association later than 1844. It is a large body, of upwards of thirty churches and three thousand members. At the date just named, the state of the churches stood as reported in the note below.²

¹⁰ Discourse of Rev. A. Bennet.

¹ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 272; Cortlandville, J. P. Simmons, 237; McGrawville, J. Holliday, 220; Truxton, W. McCarthy, 215; Milan, A. Dean, 139; Groton Village, A. R. Beldin, 136; McLean, A. Knapp, 128; Second Sempronius, B. Ames, 115; Scott, W. Walker, 106; F. bius and Truxton, T. Purrinton, 103; Virgil Village, S. G. Jones, 100.

² In 1844 it reported Norwich Village, C. T. Johnson, 284; Oxford, 269; South New Berlin, J. H. Chamberlain, 223; Central Green, C. Darby, 204; Oxford and Green, D. Leach, 186; New Berlin Village, H. A. Smith, 174; McDonough, O. Bennet, 154; Pitcher, E. T. Jacobs, 146; First Smithville, 139; Smyrna, 124; Sherburne, 119; Coventry, Aaron Parker, 116; Cincinnati, E. P. Dye, 111.

BROOME AND TIOGA ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1824. This body, like most others in this region, indicates the names of the counties in which it is situated. It is on the head waters of the Susquehanna river, and near the Pennsylvania line.

OWEGO CHURCH, of which *Rev. P. B. Peck* is pastor, is the largest in this body.³

BINGHAMPTON, whose spiritual pastor is *Rev. Chanacy Darby*, is the next in size.

FRANKLIN ASSOCIATION.

This is an old community for this region of country. It was organized in 1811, and was the second colony which went off from the old Otsego. It received its name from a town in Delaware Co. In that and Otsego the churches are generally situated.

Among the ministers first on the ground were Lake, Bostwick, Robinson, Wakefield, Spaulding, Sears, Holcombe, Woolsey, &c.

This is another large body of which I have no account later than 1844. The state of the churches at that time is represented in the note below.⁴

LEXINGTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1825. It takes its name from that of a town in Green Co. This is a small body, which stands aloof from all missionary operations, and is not reported in the Minutes of the New York M. Convention. In Allen's Register for 1836, it was put down at about five hundred members; they are probably less now.

WORCESTER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1830. This is another branch from the old Otsego community, which it joins on the east and north; it is in the neighborhood of *Cherry Valley*, one of its churches being situated in that place. It is an old baptist ground, but I have no account of the rise and progress of the churches except what is embraced in the history of the parent body. The state of the churches in 1845 was as follows.⁵

MOHAWK ASSOCIATION.

This is another branch of that fruitful nursery of baptists at Otsego. It was organized in 1840, and is situated on the river from which it takes its name, mostly in the county of Herkimer.

PLEASANT VALLEY, *E. G. R. Joslin* pastor, is the largest body in this community.⁶

ONEIDA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1820, of the fourteen following churches, viz.: Floyd, 1st and 2d Lenox, New Stockbridge, Rome, Smithfield, Steuben, Vernon, 1st and 2d Verona, 1st and 2d Westmoreland, and Western. These churches came principally from the Otsego and Madison Associations.

In the minutes of this body for 1845, I am glad to find some historical

³ In 1845, it reported 400; Binghampton, 240; Second Spencer, C. A. Fox, 145; Union Village, G. W. Meads, 123; Union, W. Gates, 109; First Caroline, Wm. Spaulding, 102.

⁴ In 1844, it reported Gilbertsville, T. O. Judd, 203; Deposit, N. Mumford, 176; Franklin, H. Robertson, 168; West Meridith, 169; Oneonta, J. Smith, 160; Masonville, J. Amner, 133; First Milford, E. Spafford, 126; Delhi, E. Wescott, 120; Sand Hill, N. Sherwood, 101.

⁵ In 1845, it reported Waterville, E. Spafford, 122; Maryland, 118; Middlefield, H. A. Smith, 112; Westford, A. Butler, 108; Summit, C. Preston, 106; Leeville, Geo. F. Post, 104.

⁶ In 1845, it reported 233; Salisbury, 144; Newport, 127; Little Falls, 101.

sketches of the rise and progress of some of the oldest churches in this region ; also of the general doings of the body from the time of its formation, from which we discover that this central and now very populous position has been a favorite location for our denomination for the last half century. Churches and Associations here and still farther westward are planted near together, and a spirit of activity and evangelical enterprise is very apparent from their annual returns relative to benevolent operations.

A few selections from the document above referred to will now be made :—

“The two oldest churches in the Association are those in Whitesboro' and Deerfield. The first advances towards the organization of a church in Whitesboro', were made in the early part of 1796. Many of the early settlers were from Middletown, Conn. Owing to this fact, Elder Stephen Parsons, of Middletown, who had been in early life a Congregational minister, but was then connected with the Baptist church, visited his old friends here in 1796. A Congregational church had been organized in this town previous to this time. While here, Elder Parsons baptized five members of this church, who were dissatisfied with sprinkling for baptism. On the 18th of June following, the five persons baptized, and two others who held letters, organized themselves into a Christian church. Eld. Parsons, who was on another visit to his friends, gave them fellowship, and on the following Lord's day administered the Lord's supper to them as a Christian church. He also accepted a call to become their pastor, and in September of the same year, removed his family from Middletown to Whitesboro'. From this period, Whitesboro' became a radiating point of baptist influence, touching church organization and ordinances among the settlements then new, and thinly scattered. Small bodies of members have, from time to time, been dismissed, to form new churches in surrounding towns. In 1797, this church connected itself with the Otsego Association, which had then been formed two years. In 1803, Eld. Caleb Douglass, one of the five baptized by Eld. Parsons, was ordained to the work of the ministry, and succeeded Eld. Parsons as pastor of the church.

“The church in Deerfield was organized in 1798, while the country was yet new and thinly settled. Eld. Oded Eddy, who was ordained about that time, was their first pastor, and labored among them about twenty-four years.

“We learn that a baptist church was organized in the town of Paris in 1797, to which Eld. John Beebee preached for a number of years. A church was organized in Floyd in 1807, to whom Eld. Simeon Jacobs preached; and we find, in 1816, the church numbered eighty-three, of whom twenty-two had been baptized the year previous.”

The churches were gathered in early times in Trenton, Sangersfield, Westmoreland, and Paris, under the ministry of Elders Joel Butler, John Upfold, Heze. Gorton, and Heze. Eastman.

The annual sessions of this community are all described. These details are interesting to those immediately concerned, but do not supply facts for the construction of general history.

The following summary statement I will select :—

“Since the Association was organized, there have belonged to it one hundred and thirty-two ministers, and forty-four churches. There have also been baptized into the churches composing the Association, up to the year 1844, four thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight. The largest number baptized any one year was four hundred and fifty-five; the smallest, forty-three. At the time of its organization, the aggregate number belonging to the churches was one thousand and twenty-nine; the whole number now is two thousand seven hundred and seventy-four.

“We have thus sketched the outlines of our history as an Association for a quarter of a century, and during this period successive changes have marked our progress. Some of the fathers who were present at its first meeting have exchanged the weapons of their spiritual warfare for the joys at God's right hand. And not a few precious disciples in all our churches have found that better country. And should the Oneida Association be permitted to hold its fiftieth anniversary, how many of its ministers and members will then be sleeping in the grave, is known only to the arbiter of life and death. The hoary heads that greet our eyes remind us that places now filled, and filled with honor and usefulness, will then be vacated by death. But not among the aged alone—even those in the morning of life should remember that life is short and uncertain.

“During the past twenty-five years, it appears from the minutes that the various objects of Christian benevolence have been cherished by this Association. Resolutions have been passed and money contributed. The amount of pecuniary contributions we should be glad to know, but have not the means of ascertaining. It may not be amiss, however, to inquire whether we have in this respect met the claims of God; whether the records of twenty-five years, constituting a volume to be opened at a future day, will reveal that this Association did what she could. But, be this as it may, the times on which we have fallen demand united and increased action. Human wants and woes are seen on every hand.”

UTICA. In this flourishing city are a number of churches of the baptist persuasion, although but two of them are of the associated connection.

FIRST CHURCH was gathered in 1801, under the ministry of *Elder John Stevens*, whose successor was

Elder John Harris. This body was composed of Welsh people, and in that language, I believe, their public worship is still maintained.⁷

BROAD STREET and STATE STREET CHURCHES are well organized and flourishing institutions, and I very much regret that I have no means of ascertaining their early history or the succession of their pastors.

Rev. H. N. Loring, formerly from Rhode Island, and *Rev. Daniel G. Corey* have the spiritual oversight of these communities.

WHITESTOWN or WHITESBORO⁸ contains a church of half a century's standing, which, from an early period, has held a prominent rank in the denomination in this quarter; but I have the same embarrassment as to the history of its pastors as with those at Utica.

Rev. Elon Galusha was in office here in 1820, when the Association was formed, and preached the introductory sermon.

Rev. Jirah D. Cole is the present incumbent.

ROME, which has for its pastor *Henry C. Vogell*, is a fraction in advance, as to numbers, of any church in the Oneida Association.⁹

In the city of Utica, and in the bosom of our brethren there, the venerable *Elder Benjamin Harvey*, that prodigy of longevity, lately finished his earthly course, at the unusual age of one hundred and twelve years.¹⁰

ONONDAGA ASSOCIATION

Is farther on to the west, and is wholly within the bounds of the county whose name it bears. This is in the region of the famous *Salt Springs*, and SYRACUSE, the great emporium of the manufacturers of this needful article, and is the largest church in this body.¹

Rev. J. W. Taggart is the present pastor.

FAYETTEVILLE is another large member of this body.

Rev. A. Breed was its pastor in 1845. Over this church formerly presided *Rev. John Switzer*, late secretary of the B. M. Convention of this State.

CAYUGA ASSOCIATION.

This body is an old ground for our denomination. It was formed in 1801, and seems to have been an original organization, which arose under the evangelical labors of a set of men who had gone far west indeed for that time. It was much beyond the utmost boundaries of the Otsego Association.

As an incipient movement, a number of churches in this quarter united together under the name of "The Scipio Conference," two years before they assumed the name of an Association. In my first volume, I find the following description of this body as it stood in 1811, when its numbers amounted to over three thousand:

The Cayuga Association occupies an extent of country of about a hundred miles from east

⁷ I believe there is an Association of Welsh Baptists in this region; I shall seek more definite information on this subject before my tables are made up.

⁸ Whitestown originally embraced the villages of Utica, New Hartford, and Whitesboro'. In this last named place, as I understand it, this church is located.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 281; Whitesboro', 266; Broad street, Utica, 189; State street, do., 171; Sangersfield, J. N. Murdock, 141; Paris, S. Davis, 142; Vernon, S. W. Adams, 122; 1st Verona, R. L. Williams, 117; Augusta, 115; Berean, 110.

¹⁰ This aged minister attended the anniversaries in the cities of New York and Brooklyn in the spring of 1846, where the author, with thousands of others, had the pleasure of seeing his face and hearing his voice. A biographical account of him is soon to be published, with his portrait.

¹ In 1845, it reported 385; Elbridge, J. Butterfield, 222; Tully, N. Camp, 200; Fabius, P. P. Brown, 182; Manlius, S. Spaulding, 172; Onondaga, B. Capron, 160; Fayetteville, 153; Marcellus, T. Brown, 137; Baldwinville, J. Bennett, 121.

to west, and not far from forty, north and south. Its churches are situated on the east, west, and north sides of the Cayuga and Seneca lakes, and are scattered along westward as far as the Genessee river. This extensive body will probably be soon divided. In its bounds are at least five churches of respectable standing, which are not yet associated, besides many collections of brethren, called Conferences, which are maturing for churches.

This community, like the Otsego on the east, and the Holland Purchase still farther west, soon spread out its branches at different points, as has just been suggested it would do, and from it arose a number of the surrounding kindred institutions. But, notwithstanding the frequent and heavy drafts upon its churches, its numerical strength places it in the second class of Associations in this State.

AUBURN CHURCH, whose pastor is *Rev. J. S. Backus*, and

JORDAN, under the pastoral care of *Rev. H. J. Eddy*, and CATO, over which presides *Rev. J. Woodward*, are among the largest churches in old Cayuga.²

We have thus gone to the farthest bounds of our central division on the west, and have arrived at the *Cayuga Bridge* and *Lake*, which is not far from midway from the old settlements on the Mohawk and Hudson rivers on the east, to the farthest regions on *Lake Erie* to the west.

We must now take a northerly course along the shores of Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence.

OSWEGO ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1832; it is situated on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, on the canal, and in the county, and in the flourishing town of

OSWEGO, which has the largest church in this body.³ It was organized in 1829, with but eleven members.

Rev. J. C. Harrison was their first pastor. After him, they had in succession *J. Lothrop*, *E. Savage*, *J. Waterman*, from *R. I.*, and *W. Hutchinson*.

Rev. Isaac Lawton, their present pastor, was settled in 1842.

BLACK RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This is one of the old confederacies of our order in this State, which arose in a remote situation, on what was for many years considered missionary ground. It was organized in 1808, and took its name from a well known river which runs a northerly course into Lake Ontario. The great county of Jefferson embraces most, if not all, of the churches in this body. A number of them are in the neighborhood of Sackett's Harbor, and none of them are far distant from the shores of Lake Ontario and the river St. Lawrence.

Elders *Emery Osgood* and *Stephen Parsons*, two distinguished domestic missionaries in their day, aided by some co-helpers in this great range of spiritual destitution, were instrumental in gathering most of the churches in this northern portion of the State.

This Association, which now stands high as to numerical strength and evangelical efforts, for many years depended much for assistance on the old missionary societies in New York city and Boston. These early favors, in their times of pressing necessity, have been repaid in a most commendable manner, as the following statement will show :

In 1817, within the bounds of this Association, was organized

The Black River Missionary Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions, which, up to 1844, had received into its treasury \$7,837. More than two thousand of this amount had been transmitted to the treasurer of the Convention for Foreign Missions; the remainder had been expended in domestic

² In the Minutes of 1845, they reported : Auburn, 287; Jordan, 262; Cato, 248; Sennett, A. Marshall, 184; Scipio, J. W. Osborn, 157; Port Byron, J. Jeffries, 151; Venice and Scipio, B. Ames, 108; Montezuma, P. Lyon, the same; Fleming, H. Cady, 104.

³ In 1845, it reported 246; Hannibal, D. Foot, 179; Colosse, 142; Mexico, D. McFarland, 112; Pulaski, T. Bright, 110; Fulton, L. Ramsted, 100.

missions in the counties of Jefferson, St. Lawrence, and Franklin, in their own State, and in the adjoining parts of U. Canada. In this way many feeble churches have been nourished up to maturity, and in many destitute regions new ones have been planted.

The principal churches in the Black River Association are Adams, Bellville, Henderson, Orleans, Leroy, Lowville, and Copenhagen.

ADAMS CHURCH, *Rev. C. Clark*, pastor, is the largest in this body.⁴

In addition to the ministers already mentioned, as the most successful laborers within the bounds of this Association, my correspondent names Isaac Cornwall, Peleg Card, Sardis Smith, Martin E. Cook, Elisha Morgan, Joshua Freeman, and John Blodget, most of whom have gone to their reward. Blodget is in Ohio, Freeman and Morgan are among their superannuated ministers.⁵

THE JEFFERSON ASSOCIATION,

Which was formed from the Black River, and which is reported in Allen's Register and other statistical accounts, was of but four years' standing, when, in 1838, it coalesced with the mother body and ceased to exist.⁶

ST. LAWRENCE ASSOCIATION.

This is another old community, in the very upper end of the State. It was formed in 1812, and is situated in the great county of St. Lawrence, and along the southern shores of the famous river of the same name. The early churches in this community were for the most part the fruit of missionary labors. S. Palmer, Jon. Paine, R. Bachelor and H. Greene are named among the early and successful preachers on the ground.

THE ST. LAWRENCE B. MISSIONARY CONVENTION was organized in 1836, within the bounds of this Association. Like the sister and adjoining institution at Black River, this missionary organization has afforded essential aid to the young and feeble churches among them. It has also contributed a part of its funds to the foreign cause.⁷

As I have no materials towards the history of any of the churches in this body, or the succession of their pastors, I can do no more than to add in the foot note my usual notice of the numbers.

THE CHURCH AT MALONE, *Rev. Anthony Case* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁸

⁴ In 1845, it reported 422; Lafargeville, D. D. Reed, 246; Bellville, J. H. Greene, 217; Manville, 203; Lyme, R. T. Smith, 184; Watertown, J. A. Nash, 181; Smithville, E. Sawyer, 146; Le Roy, H. G. Degolyer, 133; Leyden, C. Haven, 129; Copenhagen, W. I. Crain, 125; Lowville, C. Graves, 120; Henderson, A. Call, 108; Antwerp, W. Tillinghast, 102.

⁵ Most of the above statements are made on the authority of *Rev. J. N. Webb*, who, some years since, on account of ill health, returned from a mission in India, and is now the pastor of the church at Carthage in this body. Mr. Webb has taken much pains to supply me with historical facts for all his region of country.

⁶ The *Jefferson Union Association* is still reported in the Baptist Almanac; if such an institution is now in being, it must be a small company of *Old School Baptists*, so called, somewhere below the Mohawk river.

⁷ All the information I have been able to gain of the origin or the doings of this Convention, has been collected from a broken file of its Minutes, which I obtained of Dea. Vilas, when I visited Ogdensburg on my way to Montreal, Canada, in the autumn of 1845. As to the Association, I have been most singularly unsuccessful in my efforts to collect any sketches of its history. One of the ministers, Mr. Case, was one of my pupils in his early life; with Mr. Willard, of Ogdensburg, I became acquainted during my visit just named. From these two brethren, I had expectations, which, I am sorry to say, have not been realized.

⁸ In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 240; Gouverneur, S. Pomeroy, 202; Fort Covington, 181; Parishville, L. T. Ford, 172; Madrid, W. Morley, 138; Nicholville, M. G. Peck, 121; Lawrence, L. B. King, 110; Ogdensburg, C. M. Willard, 106.

SECTION III.

WESTERN DIVISION.

Introductory remarks—Eighteen Associations—Wayne—Seneca—Ontario—Yates—Steuben—Chemung—Canistota—Cattaraugus—Chautauque, No. 1—Do., No. 2—Harmony—Livingston—Genesee River—Genesee—Munroe—Orleans—Buffalo—Niagara—Recapitulation of all the Associations in this State.

I AM NOW about to enter an extensive field, with which I am but partially acquainted, and in which are found nearly one-third of the baptist population of the whole State. From some points I have received some portions of intelligence; but, after all, my information relative to the affairs of our society in this great western territory, will enable me to exhibit but very scanty details of the numerous churches and associations which are spread over this populous, fertile and extensive region of country.

How to arrange the Associations on my plan of juxtaposition and geographical contiguity, I have found it somewhat difficult. I at first thought of following them out in tiers, from east to west, but have finally concluded to adopt the arrangement which the contents of this section exhibits.

Could I have had one of their circuit riders at my side, whose personal knowledge of the geography of the country I might consult, my collocation of the associations would no doubt have been more accurately made.

Before I proceed to give my usual account of the Associations now under review, it may be proper to state, that some thirty or forty years since, the whole of the baptist population in this end of the State was embraced in the Cayuga and Holland Purchase Associations. Old Cayuga, which is now confined to the eastern side of the lake, in its early movements extended far to the west, as well as to the east of her present line of demarcation; and the Holland Purchase comprehended all the churches on the then western frontier.

WAYNE ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Cayuga, in 1835. It is situated on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, in the county of the same name. Some of the churches in this connection are among the oldest in the country, but I have none of the needful details respecting them.

MARION CHURCH, *Rev. Wm. Frary* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

ONTARIO ASSOCIATION.

This is an old community, of more than thirty years' standing, having been constituted in 1813. It arose out of an early division of the old Cayuga confederacy. The churches are generally in the counties of Ontario and Yates. Some of the churches in this Association arose in the early settlement of the country, but as no historical details have come to my hands, they of course must be omitted.

The BENTON CHURCH, *J. W. Wiggin* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

SENECA ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1832; this is also on the ground formerly occupied by the old Cayuga community. This body not only bears the name of the county

⁹ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 290; Clyde, W. R. Webb, 204; Williamson, S. Ewer, 191; Palmyra, D. Harrington, 189; Lockville, ———, 165; Ontario, A. P. Draper, 123.

¹⁰ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 192; Manchester, H. Miner, 163; Seneca Falls, N. Baker, 146; Bristol, J. Grosscup, 133; Bethel, M. Forbes, 117; Junius and Tyre, A. Graham, 116; Gorham, J. G. Stearns, 103; Waterloo, E. Blakesley, the same; First Geneva, E. Tozer, 99.

in which it is located, but also of the lake, which runs parallel with that of Cayuga. Between these two lakes this body is situated.

COVERT CHURCH, in the county of Tompkins, is the oldest in this Association, having been gathered in 1803.

Rev. Miner Thomas was its early pastor, and continued in the spiritual care of this growing community about fifteen years, when he removed to Indiana, where he prosecuted his evangelical labors with success till his death. He is said to have baptized about 1200 persons during his ministry.

Rev. Obed Warren was settled here in 1823, but in less than a year his ministry was closed by his lamented death.

After Mr. Warren, this people had for their pastors, Aaron Abbot, Richard Woolsey, and

Rev. D. W. Litchfield, who is still in this pastoral station.

TRUMANSBURG CHURCH is the largest in this body. *Rev. E. Locke* was some time the shepherd of this flock.¹

Rev. I. Smith is the present pastor of this large community.

This account is taken from Lewis Porter's letter to the author, probably the clerk of the church.

YATES ASSOCIATION

Is of recent origin, having been organized in 1843. Like most of the other kindred institutions here, it takes the name of the county where it is located.

The PENN YAN CHURCH, *Rev. L. Adsit* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

STEUBEN ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1817, and is one of the southern tier of counties in this section of the State. I very much regret that I am not able to give any account of the old baptist churches in this region.

THE WAYNE CHURCH, *Almon C. Mallory* pastor, is the largest in this community.³

CHEMUNG RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1842, mostly of churches from the older bodies of Steuben and Seneca; one of its churches is in Pennsylvania. It begun with fourteen churches, twelve ordained ministers, and four licentiates.

Rev. Roswell Goff, *P. D. Gillett*, *D. B. Coriell*, *A. Jackson*, and *B. R. Swick*, were the principal ministers by whom the churches in this region were built up.

BIG FLAT CHURCH was gathered in 1807, and is the oldest in this Association.

Rev. Roswell Goff assumed the pastoral office at the time the church was organized, in which he continued till his death, in 1826, a period of about twenty years.

Rev. P. D. Gillett was his immediate successor for about five years.

Rev. A. Jackson, now at Ithica, was next in office here, about seven years. Mr. Gillett was re-settled for about one year.

Rev. B. R. Swick, the present incumbent, assumed this pastorship in 1841.

¹ In the minutes for 1846, it reported 349; Covert, 217; Ithica, A. Jackson, 200; Mecklenburg, H. West, 173; Lodi, 140; Ovid, B. Warren, 139; Reading, T. S. Sheardown, 123; Romulus, D. Wright, the same; Farmerville, Wm. McCarthy, 107.

² In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 260; Second Pulteney, P. Olney, 120; Branchport, R. P. Lamb, 96.

³ In 1845, it reported 173; Urbana, Thos. R. Clark, 138; Second Milo, A. W. Sunderlin, 130; Barrington, Jno. Ketchum, the same; Dundee, P. Shed, 124; Bath, Moses Rowley, 120; Jersey and Tyrone, Jere. H. Dwyer, 111; Campbell and Bath, Ed. W. Martin, 109; Tyrone, Jas. H. Noble, 101.

566 CANISTEO, CATTARAUGUS, CHAUTAUQUE, AND HARMONY ASSO.

From this church have been set off three others, all bearing compound names viz: **ELMIRA AND FAIRPORT, 1826**; **SOUTHPORT AND ELMIRA, 1829**; **BIG FLAT AND CATLIN, 1842**. These branches, with the old stock, in numerical strength, amount to six hundred.

In addition to the men already mentioned, those who have had the active care of the churches in this body, are *G. M. Spratt, S. Wise, H. G. Vogell, D. Robinson, Z. Grenell. Mr. Gillett*, and, indeed, most of them, made a number of changes in their pastoral relations.

THE SOUTHPORT AND ELMIRA CHURCH, Z. Grenell pastor, is the largest in this Association.⁴

CANISTEO RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This is a small body in the south part of the State, which takes its name from a river which runs into the Tioga, one of the head branches of the Susquehanna. It was organized in 1834. Most of the churches are in the county of Steuben; a few are in Alleghany, and one in Potter Co., Pa.

ALMOND CHURCH, C. G. Smith pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

CATTARAUGUS ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1836, in the county of the same name; a few of the churches are in Pa.

FRIENDSHIP CHURCH, J. Halladay pastor, is the largest in this Association.⁶

CHAUTAUQUE ASSOCIATION.

This is the name of a large county at the extremity of the State, in its southwest corner; it is bounded by Pa. on the south and east, and Lake Erie on the north and west. Here an Association arose in 1823, which soon became one of the largest in this western territory, but unhappy divisions rent it asunder, so that, for many years, the two parties have maintained separate organizations, both claiming the original platform.

The Minutes of both these rival institutions are before me, which, together, exhibit an aggregate of a little more than a thousand members, not one-third the number which the old body contained in the days of its union and prosperity. The names of the churches are, for the most part, the same in both bodies, an indication that they have been rent asunder by the distressing difficulties in which they have been so long involved.

FIRST POMFRET is the largest church in the Minutes of each body, which shows, that while united, they must have been a very populous community.⁷

HARMONY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839. It is in the western part of Chautauque Co., and a few churches are in Pa.

⁴ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 206; Big Flat, 172; Elmira and Fairport, G. M. Spratt, 164.

⁵ In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 115; Ulysses, Pa., T. Scott, 90.

⁶ In the Minutes for 1846, it reported 203; Franklinville, V. Bemis, 165; Rushford, E. L. Harris, 58; Hinsdale, H. S. Card, 137; Farmersville, G. W. Huntley, 101.

⁷ An unusual amount of documents, printed and written, have been sent me in relation to what may be properly denominated the *standing difficulty* in this community. Both parties seem anxious to explain—criminate—and exculpate.—Council after council have been convened, and, at one time, it seemed as if the whole region would become involved in this unhappy affair. I made up my mind a long time since, that it would not be advisable to attempt any historical details of this painful controversy, nor to publish even the names of the men most deeply implicated in it. The names of the men from whom I have received communications in the whole State, on all subjects, will be given at the close of this article, from which it may be inferred by those on the ground, who are my correspondents on this unpleasant business; otherwise, I shall give no information respecting them.

I have a friendship for them all, and I hope the God of peace may give them all more friendship for each other.

The number of churches, at first, was 20; ministers, 16.

Elders *Jonathan Wilson, Joshua Bradley, Asa Turner, and Paul Davis*, were pioneers in this region.

"This has been one of the most harmonious and prosperous Associations in the State. Many of the churches are comparatively old. The Mayville church was constituted more than twenty years ago, and, for many years, met in the old court-house. It was entirely destroyed in the excitement which masonry and anti-masonry created; and re-united partly by the influence of Dr. Kendrick. Elders Jairus Handy, H. B. Kenyon, J. W. Sawyer, and O. Dodge, and the pastors who most contributed to the prosperity of the cause in this place. The church in Busti was gathered chiefly by elder J. Wilson, who was sent out, many years ago, by a female missionary society in Boston. Elders Wilson, Bernard, Stoddard, and E. R. Swain, have all been blessed in their ministry here. The church in Harmony (Panama) owes its existence and prosperity, under God, for many years, to elder Palmer Cross. The names of ministers associated with the early history and prosperity of the churches in this Association, are elders Wilson, Handy, Bernard, Cross, Windsor (now dead), Gill, and Ravelin. The churches in Ashville, De Wittville, and Sherman were sent out from the church in Mayville."

In addition to this communication, two other members of this institution, whose character seems to be well expressed by its name, all agree in ascribing a very active and healthy influence to elder Wilson, who was sent into this region by the good ladies of Boston. The names of Daniel G. Powers, W. R. Brooks, and S. S. Walker are mentioned as laborious and useful men in this region.

THE BUSTI CHURCH, gathered under the ministry of *Elder Wilson, Rev. E. R. Swain* the present pastor, is the largest in this body.*

THE MAYVILLE CHURCH, organized in 1820, another body of Mr. Wilson's planting, is the next in size; this has been a very growing community, and had for its pastors after its founder, *Turner and Lakatt*, until it was broken up by the rupture about masonry in 1833; since then, *Sawyer, Windsor, and Dodge* have been its pastors or supplies. In 1845, it was reported vacant.

We have now gone to the utmost bounds of the State in the south-west direction. We shall now return and go up the course of the Genesee river, to the Lake Ontario, and then go out to Buffalo and Niagara.

LIVINGSTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1830, in the county of the same name. No account of the rise and progress of this community have been received.

LIVONIA CHURCH, *D. B. Purinton* pastor, is the largest in this body.*

GENESEE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1829. The following description of this fraternity by one of its pastors, I shall insert in the language of the writer.

"The Genesee River Baptist Association has been in existence seventeen years. It is situated in the north part of Alleghany County, and the south part of Wyoming, formerly Genesee.

"It was organized in 1829, by the union of seven churches; viz.: Mt. Morris, Cuba, Grove, Castile, Pike, Nundo and Gainesville, all from the Holland Purchase Baptist Association. They held in their connection and fellowship seven ordained ministers, viz.: Ransom Harvey, Samuel Messenger, James Reed, Joseph Case, Ezra Kendall, Elijah Bennett and Anson Tuthill, five of whom were settled and laboring as pastors; elders Case and Kendall superannuated. All of them have since died except James Reed. This body, at its constitution, had 407 communicants.

"CASTILE is the oldest church that belongs to this body. It was organized 1817, with 18 members. Elder Joseph Case served as pastor (on the part of the time system,) until 1826, when he was succeeded by Elder James Reed, who still sustains that relation. The Baptist

* In 1845, it reported 223; Mayville, 213; Jamestown, A. Handy, 212; Harmony, C. Sanderson, 182; North-East, J. Going, 108; Westportland, L. Rathburn, 92; These statements are grounded on communications made by W. R. Brooks, Fred. Glanville, and L. Rathburn.

* In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 162; Mt. Morris Village, 153; York, S. A. Estee, 130.

churches in Pike, Gainesville and Portageville, went out from this church in the largest portion. They have ordained one minister, Hosea Fuller, and now have a young man at Hamilton. They have a good meeting house in the village of Castile.

"NUNDO CHURCH was organized 1819, with twelve members, under the pastoral care of Samuel Messenger, who served them twelve years. E. Bennett, E. W. Clark, A. Ennis, J. W. Spoor, and Ichabod Clark, have sustained the pastoral relation since. They have ordained two ministers, E. Bennett and Peter Robinson. The churches in the towns of Grover and Granger went out from this church. They have a good meeting house in the village of Nundo valley.

"PIKE CHURCH was organized 1827, with 27 members. Elder Anson Tuthill was their first pastor. O. H. Reed, John Bostwick, Peter Freeman, J. G. Woolsey, A. C. Sangster, C. M. Fullor, E. L. Harris, and H. Smith, have sustained that relation since. They have ordained three ministers, Manger, Woolsey, and Harris. The churches of Centerville, Hume, and Portageville went out from this in part. They have a good meeting house in the village of Pike. There was a church organization in this town in an early day, and received the labors of Titus Gillett, and Cyrus Andrews; but it disbanded, and the few members joined the Castile Church.

"In 1843 this Association numbered 18 churches, 20 ordained ministers, 6 licentiates, 2392 communicants; they have now 9 meeting houses, and 8 of the churches have settled pastors, having preaching all the time, giving their ministers a comfortable support."

"JAMES REED."

NUNDO CHURCH, *I. Clark* pastor, is the largest in this community.¹⁰

GENESEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1818. In the minutes of this body for 1843, is contained historical sketches of this and the Holland Purchase Associations, from which it originated, from which the following extracts are made.

"No portion of the State has been more distinguished for the establishment and increase of baptist churches, than the western section. Until 1808, there was no church of our denomination west of Genesee river in New York. During that year churches in the towns of Attica, Sheldon, Chautauque and Pomfret were constituted, and in the year 1811, delegates from a few churches convened and organized the Holland Purchase Conference, which held its first anniversary in Sheldon, Wyoming Co., October 14th, 1812, at the house of Br. Samuel Castle. Ten churches were present at this meeting, containing a total number of 279 members. The ordained ministers, who were laboring within the bounds of the Conference at that time, were Elders Reuben Osbourne, Joy Handy, and Joseph Case, excellent men, who have ceased from their labors, and their works do follow them.

"All the churches at this time were small and weak in worldly influence, and there was not a baptist meeting house in the ten western counties of the State.

"The number of churches and ministers constantly increased, so that now, on the ground where there was in 1812 only one feeble Association, containing the above number of 279 members, there are eight flourishing Associations, and more than 17,000 members."

"The Genesee Association was organized by churches from the Holland Purchase at Sweden, Monroe Co., September 30th, 1818. Since its organization, the churches here passed through some severe trials, but God has granted them success, so that they have gradually increased.

"The years 1830 and 31 were distinguished as seasons of peculiar interest to many of the churches, and, from time to time, God has refreshed his saints, and brought sinners to embrace the cross of Christ. The distinguishing sentiments of the baptist denomination, the more they have been explained and understood, have commended themselves to the good understanding and common sense of the people.

"The majority of our number is composed of what may be called the younger class of the community. A system of religious instruction is connected with most, if not all of our congregations. All the churches, with the exception of four, are provided with comfortable houses of worship."

THE PERRY CHURCH, *J. Spoor* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

Rev. Elon Galusha, the former pastor of this people, was reported as a resident member in 1843.

¹⁰ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 407; Castile, James Reed, 244; Pike, E. L. Harris, 212; Wethersfield, E. J. Scott, 108; West Almond, M. M. Coleman, 106.

¹ In 1844, the last account I have of it, it reported 303; First Middlebury, J. Elliot, 232; Pavilion, H. B. Ewell, 200; Warsaw, H. K. Stimpson, 201; La Grange, J. Mallory, 187; York, D. Taylor, 160; Le Roy, H. Daniels, 150; Elba, B. Wilcox, 126; Bethany, R. C. Palmer, 115; Attica Village, P. Nichols, 101.

MONROE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in Rochester, in 1827, of nine churches, viz. ; Greene, Parma, Wheatland, Ogden, First Sweden, Second do., from the Genesee and First Rochester, Penfield, and Ontario, from the Ontario Associations.

This has become a large and influential community, being in a county distinguished for its fertility and wealth, on the south shore of Lake Ontario.

Amount paid to benevolent objects. In the minutes of this Association is appended a table under this head, which in 1845 exhibits an aggregate of over twenty-five hundred dollars. The amounts set down against the different churches which made the largest contributions, were as follows:—1st Rochester, \$476; 2nd do., \$245; Wheatland, \$363; Ogden, \$293; Brockport, \$194; Penfield, \$151; West Henrietta, \$135.

The history of the baptist interest in the city of Rochester, I shall extract from their Church Manual published in 1839.

“The First Baptist Church of Rochester was organized A. D. 1818, in a part of this city then called the town of Brighton. It consisted at first of twelve members, five males and seven females. Limited in resources and influence, as they were few in number, and destitute of other accommodations for public worship than what they could obtain in school houses, in the court house, or in the public halls, they did not for several years rise above the most enfeebled infancy, and their means of doing good were necessarily confined within the narrowest possible limits.

“Another circumstance equally unfortunate to the church, was its precarious supply of preaching. It long depended on the liberality of neighboring ministers, whose labors met with little further reward than the satisfaction of doing good. Thus situated, it was impossible to command respect for their pulpit, or to produce any considerable impression on the public mind.

“And even when they made an effort for a more gifted and permanent ministry, they encountered many discouragements, which more than once threatened a total extinction of their cause. Among the first of these efforts, was that of procuring the services of the *Rev. E. M. Spencer*, then a teacher in Middlebury Academy, the eloquence of whose address awakened sanguine hopes that he would be extensively useful in their rising village. But adverse events, and chiefly their inability to support him, soon brought a cloud over their prospects and deprived them of his services. He left them in less than a year after his settlement. The church was then thrown upon precarious supplies again till 1823, when they settled *Bro. Eleazer Savage* as their pastor, whom they called to ordination the following year. Mr. S. being young and active, proved of essential service to the interests of the church. He preached and visited from house to house, collecting together the baptists who yearly came into the place with the rapid influx of population, and during the three years of his stay the church had increased from about 35 to 85 in number.

“The dismissal of Mr. S., which took place at his own request, was followed by several unsuccessful attempts to obtain a pastor, during which period the Lord revived his work in the church, and notwithstanding their destitute situation, their number was nearly doubled in a single year.

“The event, however, which, under God, did more than any other for the advancement of the church, was the settlement of *Dr. O. C. Comstock* as its pastor, a gentleman who a few years previous, had been converted to God and ordained to the ministry in the city of Washington, while a member of the United States' Congress. The three first years after his connection with the Church were attended by many discouragements, from the want of a meeting house, from the limited resources of the body, and from other causes. The darkness was, however, occasionally relieved by the rays of hope from the settlement of devoted, influential and enterprising baptists in the place, some of whom remain to this day among the most prominent men in both the baptist churches now existing in this city. Their influence, their labors and their money have laid a foundation of prosperity, which future years alone will be fully able to develope.

“Through their exertions the old place of worship on State street was bought of the First Presbyterian Church, which, though indifferent in its accommodations, became to many souls ‘none other but the house of God and the gate of heaven.’ It was here that in 1831 the Lord so signally and so gloriously poured out his Spirit, that the same year there were added by baptism 150, and 53 by letter. The affairs of the church at once assumed an aspect of prosperity; its numbers arose to 373; it was forward in every benevolent enterprise, so that its ‘liberality provoked very many;’ and it had several young men in a course of study for the ministry, one of whom is now a missionary on foreign shores, and another fills the place of tutor in one of our Theological Seminaries. The meetings were heavenly, conversions frequent, and God displayed himself gloriously in the midst of his people.

“As their place of worship had become too strait for them, it was deemed the duty of the brethren on the east side of the river to take letters of dismission and organize themselves into a separate body, to be denominated the Second Baptist Church; by which means, together with large emigrations to the West, the First Church was reduced to about 200 members. This took place in 1834, and soon after, the pastor, being enfeebled in body and depressed in spirits, by the loss of his wife and his own ill health, felt himself compelled to ask a dismission, and accordingly abandoned a post which he had a number of years occupied with happiness to himself, with usefulness to the Church, and with the best influence upon the general interests of the Redeemer’s kingdom.

“In the autumn of 1835 the present pastor, having been unanimously called to that office, entered upon its duties. Three of the years which followed were marked by various successes and trials, till in the spring of 1838 the Church commenced the erection of their present eligible stone edifice on Fitzhugh street; and under the smiles of a favoring Providence, it was so far completed by the 20th of the following October, that the Church removed their meetings to its basement story. On the 7th of February, the house was dedicated by appropriate services, and on the succeeding Lord’s day its baptistry was consecrated by the burial of five willing converts with Christ by baptism.

On the 12th of February commenced a series of meetings of two months, continuance, which were most strikingly signalized by the presence of God among his people. Hundreds were hopefully converted, among whom were some of the most enterprising young men in the city; backsliders were reclaimed, and old professors confessed that they had never before risen to the same height of faith and communion with God. No people ever owed more to continued meetings of this description, than the Baptists of Rochester. The Church has received up to this period, since its last Associational returns, 153 by baptism, and 40 by letter. Truly may it be said, that God is upon his holy hill of Zion, and blessed be the Lord our rock and our fortress. With gratitude we may exclaim, What hath God wrought! and with humility we may add, Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory.”

Rev. Pharcellus Church, the present pastor of this people, was settled in 1835, as is intimated in the foregoing narrative, which was evidently prepared by him.

SECOND CHURCH Rochester, was formed from the first, in 1834; it is now a little in advance of the mother institution as to numerical strength.²

Rev. V. R. Hotchkiss, now at Fall River, Massachusetts, removed from this station to his present location.

Rev. Chas. Thompson, lately from England, is the present incumbent; he was settled in 1846.

ORLEANS ASSOCIATION

Is of recent origin, having been organized in 1843. It is situated on the southern shore of Lake Ontario, between the counties of Monroe and Niagara,

² In 1845, it reported 493; First do., 458; Penfield, 247; Webster, J. Corwin, 222; Greece, S. Gilbert, 182; First Parma; A. C. Kingsley, 171; Second do., 127; Ogdun, Z. Cane, Jr., 160; Wheatland, H. K. Stimpson, 154; Brockport, W. Metcalf, 145; Perinton; S. T. Griswold, 111; Pittsford, J. E. Maxwell, 104.

and of course is adjoining each of these religious bodies, and was no doubt detached from these and the neighboring ones. No items of its history have come to hand.

THE ALBION CHURCH, Rev. John Smitzer pastor, is the largest in this community.³ Mr. Smitzer for many years was secretary of the Missionary State Convention.

BUFFALO ASSOCIATION.

The thirtieth session of this body, according to their minutes for 1845, was held that year. As this comparatively new interest is on the ground formerly occupied by the old *Holland Purchase Association*, which has become extinct, by the rise of other and kindred communities on the wide field which it covered for many years, this is probably a continuation of the same institution, under the name of the famous western city by which it is distinguished. But the history of its transformation I have not received.

Of none of the churches here have I any information, but the one at the emporium of the west.

An *Historical Sketch* of the early history of this church, I am happy to find in their Church Manual, published in 1842. This shows the succession of pastors up to that date.

"Buffalo was settled about the year 1800. From an early period, missionaries and other clergymen occasionally preached here; but no religious society was organized, until 1810, when one was formed, after the model of the Congregational Churches in New England. This afterwards became Presbyterian in its form of government. Public worship was established by the Episcopalians, in 1817, and by the Methodists in 1818.

"Although no Baptist church was organized until about twenty years after the settlement of the place, yet a few of the older inhabitants were baptist in sentiment, including a smaller number who already had been baptized. Several baptist ministers occasionally visited Buffalo; but they acted necessarily without concert and preached at irregular, and often distantly-occurring periods. These visits were kindly received, and although they did not succeed in establishing here the word and the ordinances, still, it is believed that these itinerary labors were useful, not only helping to form the religious and moral habits of the people, but in acquainting them with our views and usages as a denomination. Among those whose labors are still remembered by members of the church, were Rev. Elkanah Holmes,⁴ Rev. John Peck, Rev. R. Winchell, Rev. Clark Carr, Rev. William Throop, Rev. Jonathan Hancock, Rev. Thomas Baker, Rev. V. W. Rathbun, Rev. Mr. Blake, Rev. Joy Handy.

"In February, 1822, Rev. Elon Galusha came to Buffalo, under appointment as a traveling missionary, from the board of the Baptist Missionary Convention of the State of New York, to visit Western New York and Michigan.⁵ He was received with great kindness by the entire community, and preached to the different congregations. A Baptist Society had been organized, under the statue, on the first day of the same year, to whom a lot had been given by the Holland Land Company. The preaching of Mr. Galusha was effective in awakening a general and improved state of religious feeling among professed christians, and in leading some persons to repentance. In March, several were baptized, who, with a few already baptists in the place, were recognized as *The Baptist Church of Christ in Buffalo*, by a council convened at the court house on Wednesday, April 3, 1822.

"Mr. Galusha remained here three months, during which time he baptized nineteen persons, most of whom had long been known as worthy citizens of the village, while some had been members of the other religious societies in the place. It is with great pleasure that we here acknowledge the christian kindness manifested by our brethren of other denominations toward this church in the infancy of its existence. Its first celebration of the Lord's Supper, on the Sabbath day after its organization, was in St. Paul's (Episcopal) Church, which had been freely offered for the occasion. The use of the Presbyterian church, for similar services, and the occupancy of its desk by Mr. Galusha, were frequently tendered by its Session and pastor, Rev. Mr. Squires. Doubtless, much of the kindly intercourse, the mutual confidence

³ In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 303; Yates, Wm. Rees, 191; Holly, F. Woodward, 148; Medina, 122.

⁴ Mr. Holmes was a missionary among the Tuscarora Indians at a very early day. He was probably the first christian minister who preached the gospel in Buffalo.

⁵ It is worthy of mention, that Buffalo enjoyed the labors of the first itinerant missionary whom the Convention appointed the year after its organization, as well as the labors of the first pastor (Rev. J. N. Brown), whom it sustained. Until the year 1833, the Buffalo church received aid from that body. Never may we forget the timely aid thus rendered, or cease to regard the Convention as the first in its claims on our sympathies and aid. Since 1833, the church has paid to the Convention more than she received therefrom in the years of her necessity.

and co-operation in plans of benevolent labor for the public good, by which the several congregations of the place have ever since been generally characterized, is owing to the christian courtesy thus early displayed.

"After Mr. Galusha left, the church still observed their appointed meetings for public worship and for christian conference; meeting at different times, in the court house, in a school room, and, for three months, in an upper room of a wooden building, still standing, near the corner of Genesee and Main streets. In September, 1823, Rev. John Newton Brown, then a licentiate, but afterwards ordained as pastor of the church, commenced his labors among the people, under the patronage of the Convention.

"The following are the names of the several pastors, with the date of the settlement, and dismissal of each:—

Rev. John N. Brown,	'settled	1822,	dismissed	1825
" Eli B. Smith,	"	1827,	"	1828
" Jairus Handy,	"	1830,	died	1831
" Elisha Tucker,	"	1831,	dismissed	1836
" Asahel Chapin,	"	1836,	"	1837
" Jno. O. Choules	"	1838,	"	1840
" James N. Granger	"	1841,	"	1844

"Since the organization of the church, seven hundred and eighty-seven persons have been received into its fellowship, three hundred and thirty-five by baptism; thirty-four have been excluded; three hundred and thirty-seven dismissed, to unite with other churches; and the names of seventy-two others have been dropped from the list of members in fellowship, who have removed from the place without taking letters of dismission. Present number, (April 3, 1843,) two hundred and ninety-six.

"Several seasons of religious revival have been enjoyed, the results of which, so far as respects the enlargement of the church, are indicated by the accompanying catalogue. The first of these, was in 1826, under the labor of Rev. Eliab Going, and other neighboring ministers—the church then being without a pastor. The years of 1831, 1834, 1836, and 1841, are also remembered as having been marked by the reception of special blessings from the Spirit of all Grace. Still the increase of the church has been gradual; the constant occupancy of the talents of its members, has been regarded as the duty of all; and upon this endeavor, under God, in connection with the other ordinary means of grace, chief reliance has at all times been placed.

"The various plans for spreading the knowledge of the truth, now generally approved by the denomination, have ever been regarded with favor, and a deep interest awakened in the objects which they contemplated, to which cheerful and liberal contributions have testified. Especially may be mentioned the American and Foreign Bible Society, the Baptist Triennial (Foreign Missionary) Convention, the Home Missionary Convention, and the Education Society. With reference to each of these Societies, and the objects which it contemplates, a separate committee labors in the church, during a quarter of the year; which in connection with a quarterly appeal from the pulpit, to the whole congregation, is designed to bring each of these important objects distinctly before every member of the church, and while an intelligent interest is awakened thus generally, to secure a quarterly contribution from each.

"On the second of July, 1828, the first house of worship erected by the society was opened for divine service. It was a neat and commodious building, and was located on the corner of Washington and Seneca streets. The increase of the congregation, however, soon called for larger accommodations, and it was sold to private individuals in 1836, and has since been occupied as the City Post Office.

"On Sunday, June fifth, of the same year, the church took possession of their new house of worship, which had been erected on Washington street, between Swan and South Division streets. This building, which is still occupied by the church, is one of the largest Protestant houses of worship in the city, being sixty-six, by eighty-three and a half feet. It was erected at the cost of about twenty-four thousand dollars.

"In 1832 the name of the church was changed to 'The Washington Street Baptist church, of the city of Buffalo.' With the exception of a church composed of colored persons, it still remains the only Baptist church in the city.'

Rev. Mr. Granger removed from this pastoral station to the one he now occupies in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1844.

Rev. L. Tucker, D.D., late of Cleveland Ohio, came into office here in 1844. This church is the largest in this body.*

* In 1845, it reported 379; Springfield, O. Taylor, 260; Sardinia, F. W. Clark, 241; Strykersville, C. Wardner, 217; Hamburg, W. E. Downer, 152; Collins, D. Boecher, 124; Boston, H. M. Danforth, 108.

NIAGARA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1822. As its name imports, it is in the neighborhood of the famous Falls whose name it bears. No sketches of the churches or the baptist interest in this region have been received.

THE LOCKPORT CHURCH, *S. B. Webster* pastor, is the largest in this community.⁷

The few specimens of the histories of churches and associations from which I have made extracts, show our brethren in all this region what is wanting for every community of this kind. They all ought to have their history recorded in this manner; a few have done it. Then it would be very easy to make a compilation from them.

Church Manuals containing sketches of their early history, Covenants, Rules, names of members, officers, &c., should be put into the hands of all the members. But few of these documents have I found in the whole range of churches in this State.

Review of all the Associations in the State.

With no small amount of labor, the location of every community bearing this favorite name with our society, has been explored, and accounts of them more or less particular have been given. Of their internal character but little as yet has been said, and now I will only say, that they present evidences of being well regulated, and, generally, unusually efficient. They seem well united in the principles of evangelical religion, and lend a cordial support to all benevolent operations at home and abroad. So well grounded are they in their principles, that their brethren know where to find them, and how to calculate on their annual donations.

It is interesting to trace the progress of civilization and christianity in its onward course to the west; to see churches which but a few years ago were in their infancy, securing as much as possible the transient labors of the passing missionaries; and next seeking such scanty donations as the small funds of a few old missionary societies could afford them, to support preaching a part of the time, in places of small capacity and of very humble accommodations, now among the strongest in the denomination, with all the appurtenances of city establishments, sending out men and means to remoter regions, and requiting all former favors with commendable munificence.

Although the Associations in Western New York have greatly multiplied within a few years past, yet they all seem able to go alone, and manage their affairs with great uniformity and with good success. There seemed to be good reasons for the augmentation of their number, on account of the enlargement of older ones, and the distances which they had to travel. Motives of convenience and increased efficiency, rather than disaffection, appear generally to have induced the numerous new formations which have lately come into being.

B. M. STATE CONVENTION. I say in this, as in all other cases, that the extended history of these institutions must be deferred to my next volume. But I would observe that the one in this State has been of immense benefit to our churches in all this western region. Some 8 or 10 thousand dollars, I believe, are expended annually, in the support of domestic missionaries in this great field of labor, whose principal object is to bring forward feeble churches to manly maturity, to plant new ones in promising locations, and diffuse among all the people correct sentiments in all matters of faith and practice.

It was my intention at this point, to have added the history of Michigan and the Canadas, but as I am waiting for some additional materials, I shall defer it until I have gone the rounds of the South and West, and come back again to near this point through the great valley of the Mississippi.

⁷ In the Minutes for 1845, it reported 311; Hartland, D. D. Crittenden, 162; Newfane, J. M. Burt, 29; Akron, J. S. Parsons, 121; Somerset, G. C. Walker, 112; Clarence, D. S. Dean, the same; Wilson, A. Irons, 104.

SECTION IV.

THE CITY AND SUBURBAN CHURCHES.

Introductory remarks—Historical sketches of the churches in New York city and vicinity—First Church—Bethel—Oliver Street, and all later ones—Brooklyn—and others in the vicinity of the city—Recapitulation of the whole.

ALTHOUGH this city abounds with churches of our order, yet they might have been greatly augmented, if the same spirit of brotherly affection and evangelical enterprise had prevailed in early times, as has been displayed for a number of years past.

In by-gone-days, it seemed to be a settled maxim with our society, that one church in a place, however large, was enough, and that all must keep together until some intolerable difficulty drove them asunder. But of late years, our brethren here, as well as in some other populous regions, are beginning to send out new colonies, and get up *new interests* on the principles of enlargement, and of propagating not only their own peculiar opinions, but of extending the influence of practical piety.

In looking over an imperfect file of the old Philadelphia Minutes, I find that for many years NEW YORK CHURCH, *John Gano* pastor, stands alone; their number was between one and two hundred.

SECOND CHURCH New York, *John Dodge* pastor, next appears; all this time Oyster Bay regularly stands on the list; its number was generally about forty; and so matters continued until the New York Association was formed, in 1791.

In their old Minutes, in addition to the churches already named, we see BETHEL, *Charles Lahatt*; FAYETTE STREET, *John Williams*; the WELSH CHURCH, *John Stevens*; JAMES STREET, afterwards called MULBERRY STREET, *A. McClay*, successively come to view.

Now I find it an easier task to make out a list of the Baptist churches in this city, than to give a detailed account of the origin of each body, and the succession of their pastors. Few if any of them, have those very useful little documents denominated *Church Manuals*, from which these facts may be derived. I shall, however, do the best I can in the business, and begin with

THE FIRST CHURCH NEW YORK.

Some account of the first discovery of any baptists in this city, under the preaching of Mr. Wickenden, from Rhode Island, and of the formation of what has generally been denominated an *Arminian* church of this order, by the means of Valentine Wightman, from Groton, Conn., may be found p. 474, where it is intimated that the Rhode Island baptists were the first to plant their sentiments, not only on Manhattan, but also on Long Island. The proof of this statement may be seen in the note below.*

* Among Mr. Backus' papers, I found a letter addressed to the church in Providence, by elder James Brown, soliciting some assistance towards defraying the expense of their house of worship on Golden Hill. In this address it is stated that the brethren in New York had purchased a lot and built them a place of worship which cost them dear. That one of their company, a man of property, on whom they much depended, had left them, and the rest being poor, they were now incumbered with a debt which they were utterly unable to discharge. It is, furthermore, stated that contributions had been made for the people among the Rhode Island brethren the year before, but as farther aid was still needful, it was thought that about *five and twenty or thirty pounds* would be a suitable proportion to be raised by the church in Providence. At the close of this address there is subscribed by Mr. Brown *one pound*, and by a number of others, *thirteen barrels of cider*, which was then valuable in that market.—*My 1st Vol.*, p. 537.

The early and continued history of this old community I shall extract from Allen's Register for 1830. The account is compiled principally from a Jubilee Discourse by Rev. Wm. Parkinson, its late pastor, published in 1813.

"After noticing that an Arminian Baptist church had previously, for a while, existed in the city, but was dissolved, the preacher goes on to say,

"The present church,' known as the First Baptist Church in the city of New York, 'originated in the manner following:—About the year 1745, Mr. Jeremiah Dodge, a member of the baptist church at Fishkill, settled in this city, and opened a prayer meeting in his own house. At this meeting some of those who had been members of the former church attended, and occasionally officiated; but as they were Arminians, and Mr. Dodge was a strict adherent to the doctrines of grace, they enjoyed but little satisfaction together. Some time in the same year, 1745, Elder Benjamin Miller, of the Scotch Plains, N. J., visited the city, (probably at the invitation of Mr. Dodge) and baptized Mr. Joseph Meeks. Thence forward the prayer meeting was held at the houses of Mr. Meeks and Mr. Dodge alternately; and these two brethren and Mr. Robert North (formerly of the Arminian church) united in giving an invitation to Mr. John Pine (a licentiate in the church at Fishkill) to come and preach to them. His labors were rendered useful; partly in reconciling some of the former church to the doctrines of grace, and partly in the conversion of others. In 1750, Mr. Pine died: after which they were visited by Elder James Carman, (of Cranberry) who baptized at different times, until their number was increased to 13; when they were advised to join themselves to the church at the Scotch Plains, so as to be considered a branch of that church, and to have their pastor (Elder Benjamin Miller) to preach and administer the Lord's Supper to them once a quarter. This was effected in 1753. Mr. Miller had visited them but a few times, when, the congregation becoming too large to be accommodated in any private house that was at their service, they hired, as the best and most commodious place their circumstances enabled them to procure, a rigging loft in Curt and Horse Street (now called William Street) which they fitted up for public worship. Here they stately assembled for three or four years; when, this place being otherwise disposed of by the owner, they returned to the dwelling house of Mr. Joseph Meeks, where they continued to hold their meetings for about one year. Then they purchased a part of the ground on which, their present meeting house stands, and erected upon it a small meeting house, which was opened, March 14, 1760."

"Having then a place for public worship, and their number being increased to 27, they solicited and obtained from the church at the Scotch Plains, a letter of dismission, bearing date the 12th of June, 1762; and on the 19th of the same month they were constituted a church, by the assistance of Elders Benjamin Miller and John Gano.

"The doctrines in the belief and profession of which this church was constituted, and which she still maintains and professes are contained in the Baptist Confession of Faith, printed in London, in the year 1688."

Rev. John Gano became the pastor of this infant church at the time of its constitution, and continued in office twenty-six years. From the period of Mr. Gano's settlement in New York, to the present time, this city has been a central point of operations for the denomination throughout a wide circuit around. Although the church was small and feeble compared with some of the older institutions in New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and some of the other colonies, yet it was in a central position, and Mr. Gano had, for many years, been favorably known as a man of superior talents, and of a somewhat apostolical enterprise. His missionary excursions to the southern colonies, under an appointment from the Philadelphia Association had been reported in their Minutes, which had called the attention of the churches to this young divine, and soon he took a prominent stand in the denomination.

"During the whole of the revolutionary war, Elder Gano was a highly respected chaplain in the American Army. The last time he administered baptism before he entered the army, was on April 28, 1776; and the first time, after his return, was on September 4, 1784. He was pastor of this church about twenty-six years; when, in May, 1788, he removed to Kentucky."

Rev. Benjamin Foster, D.D., was Mr. Gano's immediate successor, and continued in office till his death. The fatal yellow fever, then very prevalent in this city, was the cause of his death. He died on Sunday morning, August 26, 1798.

Mr. Gano was a self-made man, but Mr. Foster had the advantage of a liberal education, having been a graduate of Yale College, Conn., and but few of our

* "The land now belonging to this church on Golden Hill, consists of five lots, purchased at three several times, viz.: in 1759, 1772, and 1773; containing about 125 feet by 100."

churches in the most prominent locations were, in the estimation of the baptist public, in a better condition as to their pastoral supplies than the one now under consideration; and most calamitous was the event which cut off their spiritual guide in a most sudden and unexpected manner.

The clergy generally, and, indeed, a large portion of the population of the city, had fled before the raging pestilence, but, from motives of christian affection for his flock, and pastoral fidelity, Mr. Foster kept to his post, and went his daily rounds among the sick and dying. In these visits of mercy, he caught the deadly infection which suddenly terminated his useful career.

Rev. Wm. Collier was the next in office at Gold Street, for about three years.

Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D.D., later president of Waterville College, Maine, was Mr. Collier's successor, for less than one year, when ill health compelled him to resign.

Rev. William Parkinson resumed the pastorship in 1805, in which he continued 36 years.

Rev. Spencer H. Cone, D.D., was inducted into office in 1841, in which he still continues. Dr. Cone, by mutual agreement, was transferred from the pastorship of the Oliver Street church, where he had officiated 18 years, to his present location.

History of the chapels and churches which have been occupied by this ancient community.

"The dimensions of their meeting-house, opened on March 14, 1760, the Jubilee Record does not specify; but states that, as enlarged in 1763, it measured 52 feet by 42. Their present spacious meeting house, opened on Lord's day, May 2, 1802, measures 80 feet by 65. When erected it was in a good location; but since the great removal of citizens to the upper parts of the city, it is much out of place; being in the midst of stores and manufactories; and most of the people who attend it, having to come from 1 to 2 miles. We contemplate building a new meeting-house, more convenient to ourselves and those who congregate with us.

"In October, 1763, this church, then consisting of 41 members, and being in a peaceable and flourishing condition, was received into the Philadelphia Baptist Association; of which she remained a member till October, 1790, when she took a dismission from that venerable body; and, in October, 1791, was united with other churches in forming the New York Baptist Association; which, at its last meeting (May, 1835) contained 35 churches—33 ordained ministers—7 licentiates, and 3735 communicants.¹⁰

This design was carried into effect soon after Dr. Cone came into office. The old *down town* stand in Gold street was relinquished, and the new and splendid temple at the corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets was erected in 1842.

This church, with a commendable liberality, expended about ten thousand dollars more than would have been needful for their own accommodation for the purpose of providing rooms *rent free*, for the benevolent institutions which have concentrated in this metropolis under baptist control. The *American and Foreign Bible Society*, and the *A. B. Home M. Society* in the front wings of this spacious sanctuary have suits of rooms, in which they are permanently located.

Churches which have originated from the First.

In old times, we may name the Bethel, Peekskill, forty miles up the Hudson river, King Street, and Stamford, in Conn., about the same distance up the East river, or Long Island Sound, Newtown, L. I., the Abyssinian and the North Bethesda Churches in the city.

¹⁰ At the time the "spacious meeting-house" mentioned above was dedicated, the author resided in this city and heard the discourse which was delivered on the occasion by Dr. Gano, of Providence, R. I., founded on the following passage: *In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.* Exodus, xx 24. This edifice, which has since been demolished to make room for secular buildings, was then regarded as a very important acquisition to the denomination.

Ministers who have gone out from this old community.

Among its sons in early times were Thomas Ustick, Isaac Skillman, Stephen Gano, Thomas Montyne, Cornelius P. Wyckoff, and James Bruce, E. Ferris, J. Seger, S. J. Drake, W. Rollinson, H. C. Fish, and Thos. Devan, missionary in Canton, China.

BETHEL CHURCH was formed from the First, in 1770.

John Dodge, Charles Lahatt, Daniel Hall, Johnson Chase, and probably some others have officiated as pastors of old Bethel. This ancient community has become extinct, and the

SIXTH STREET CHURCH was formed in part of its members in 1840. *Rev. J. O. Choules, D.D.,* now in Roxbury, Massachusetts, was some time in office with this body, which is now without a pastor.

OLIVER, formerly FAYETTE STREET CHURCH, arose out of a division of the Bethel, in 1791. Both parties claimed to be on the original platform as the SECOND CHURCH. Their differences were adjusted in 1802, and the branch now under consideration, took the name of the street on which it was then situated. Its present name was assumed some years after.

Rev. Benjamin Montanye was the first pastor of this people for a few years. Successor to him was

Rev. John Williams, who assumed the pastoral office in 1798, in which he continued till his death, in 1825, a period of 27 years.¹

Rev. S. H. Cone, D.D., now with the First Church, was the immediate successor of Mr. Williams. He was settled in 1823, in which he continued 18 years.

Rev. Elisha Tucker, the present incumbent, was settled in 1841.

SOUTH CHURCH was organized in 1822.

Rev. Charles G. Sommers has been their spiritual guide from the beginning, one quarter of a century; a rare specimen of pastoral longevity, for this transition state of our under shepherds.

This church is situated in the lower or old part of the city, and I name it in this place, on account of its *down town* location.

THE ABYSSINIAN CHURCH is the next in point of age among the city churches now in existence. It bears date from 1806.

Rev. Sampson White is the present pastor. Who have been his predecessors in office, I have not learnt.

MULBERRY STREET, now called TABERNACLE CHURCH, was originally gathered under the ministry of

Rev. Archibald McClay, D.D., in 1809, who continued in the pastoral office about 30 years.

THE TABERNACLE CHURCH now occupies the same building, and bears date from the time of its reorganization in 1839.

Rev. W. W. Everts became the pastor of this Church under its new head, where he continued about four years.

Rev. Edward Lathrop is the present incumbent. This is now the largest baptist church in the city.

I did expect some details of this old Mulberry establishment, under both its *old* and *new* heads, especially of the *free seat* system, the good effects of which, Deacon Wm. Colgate has been desirous I should publish. But as no materials have come to hand, there is no alternative but at this point they must be omitted. If anything on the subject is received in season, I will incorporate it in my remarks on the best method of regulating houses of worship.

NORTH BERIAH, or McDUGAL STREET CHURCH was organized in 1809.

Rev. Duncan Dunbar is the present pastor. Mr. Dunbar's name appears

¹ Mr. Williams was a native of Wales, and landed in this city in 1796. *Rev. W. R. Williams, D. D.,* is his son.

in connection with the church at St. John, N. B., and the South Church in Boston.

STANTON STREET. This body was organized in 1823, under the name of the Union Church.

Rev. Samuel Eastman was its first pastor for about six years.

Rev. George Benedict was settled here in 1831, where he continued ten years.

Rev. Stephen Remington is the present incumbent. Mr. R. was formerly pastor of a Methodist church, in Lowell, Massachusetts.

NORTH CHURCH, bears date from 1827.

Rev. J. H. Brouner, the present pastor, has been in office from soon after the church was formed.

AMITY STREET. This body was formed by a colony from Oliver Street, in 1832.

Rev. William R. Williams, D.D., has been its pastor from the beginning.

ZION'S CHURCH was organized in 1832.

Rev. John T. Raymond was its first pastor.

Rev. Stephen Dutton is their present spiritual guide.

SIXTEENTH STREET CHURCH was organized in 1833. This is in an upper, and new part of the city.

Rev. Alonzo Wheelock, the present pastor, has been with them from the beginning.

BEREAN CHURCH is dated 1838, but no account of its origin has been received.

Rev. John Dowling, D.D., late of the Pine Street Church, Providence, Rhode Island, is the present incumbent.

CANNON STREET CHURCH also bears date from 1838.

Rev. Z. Grenell, now in Western New York, was the founder, and for a few years the pastor of this people.

Rev. Henry Davis is the present incumbent. This church is said to have the largest sabbath school in the city.

NORFOLK STREET CHURCH was formed in 1841, by a colony from Stanton Street.

Rev. George Benedict, the pastor of the old body, was at the time of its formation, stationed over this new interest.

LAIGHT STREET CHURCH. This is a new interest, organized in 1842.

Rev. W. W. Everts, former pastor of the Tabernacle Church, went off with a colony of his large community, which at that time had increased to nine hundred members, to take the care of the flock over which he still presides. This church has purchased a commodious house of worship, which was formerly occupied by Dr. Cox, of the Presbyterian church. It is in a location where the baptists had long desired to commence operations. The church began with about seventy members; it has increased to upwards of three hundred.

FIRST CHURCH, Brooklyn, was organized in 1823. Their pastors or supplies for some of the first years, were Hawley, Catt, Lazell, and probably others.

Rev. James L. Hodge is their present pastor. Mr. H. is a native of Scotland.

PIERREPONT STREET, do., bears date from 1840. This body, I believe, has had a number of changes in its pastorship, but no account of them has been received.

Rev. E. E. L. Taylor is the present incumbent.

A new interest, called the **SOUTH CHURCH**, has lately been formed in this city, which will be noticed in the recapitulation.

Churches in the suburbs of New York and Brooklyn, and near those cities.

But few communities of our society come under this head, most of which are young and small. I shall enumerate only those of Staten Island, Jersey City, Williamsburg, and Harlem, seven in all, which in the aggregate, do not amount to more than some of the city churches, besides the Tabernacle.

The **FIRST STATEN ISLAND CHURCH** was organized in 1785, and of course is ten years older than any church now in being in the city, except the 1st. This church arose under the ministry of Elkanah Holmes, who became its first pastor, which relation he held about twenty years. After him Nicholas Cox, James Bruce, Samuel Carpenter, R. F. Randolph, T. B. Stephenson, A. R. Martin, and probably others, as pastors or supplies, have for different periods officiated with this people.*

Rev. Samuel White is the present incumbent.

Of the rest of these churches, as well as of a number in this city, I have no materials from which to construct my historical narratives. Their statistics will be exhibited in the following table.

Recapitulation of the churches of New York, Brooklyn, and their vicinities.

Churches.	Dates.	Ministers.	Members.
First Church,	1762	S. H. Cone,	589
Oliver Street,	1795	Elisha Tucker,	610
Abyssinian,	1803	Sampson White,	424
North Beriah,	1809	Duncan Dunbar,	301
South Church,	1822	C. G. Sommers,	459
Stanton Street,	1823	S. Remington,	555
Ebenezer,	1825	L. G. Marsh,	113
North Church,	1827	J. H. Brouner,	307
Laurens Street,	1828	L. Barker,	77
Amity Street,	1832	W. R. Williams,	267
Zions Church,	1832	Stephen Dutton,	444
Welsh Church,	1833	Theophilus Jones,	54
Sixteenth Street,	1833	A. Wheelock,	623
Berean,	1838	J. Dowling,	412
Cannon Street,	1838	Henry Davis,	633
Tabernacle,	1839	Edward Lathrop,	808
Sixth Street,	1840	—	50
Norfolk Street,	1841	George Benedict,	687
Bethesda,	1841	C. J. Hopkins,	98
Laight Street,	1842	W. W. Everts,	320
Eleventh Street,	1843	S. A. Corey,	179
Bap. Seamans' Bethel,	1843	J. R. Stewart,	80
Fourth Street,	1843	J. T. Seeley,	253
Providence,	1846	K. Arvine,	99
Hope Chapel Church,	1846	David Ballamy,	100
First Brooklyn,	1823	J. L. Hodge,	657
Pierpont Street, do.,	1840	E. E. L. Taylor,	362
South Baptist, do.,	1845	E. W. Dickinson,	50
First Staten Island,	1785	Samuel White,	150
North Church, do.,	1841	J. T. Seeley,	147
First Ch. Jersey City,	1839	William W. Smith,	104
Jersey City,	1844	William Moore,	56
Grand Street, do.,	1845	A. Haynes,	48
First Williamsburg,	1839	A. P. Mason,	167
Harlem,	1844	—	36

Total, churches 35, ministers 32, members 10,319

* Allen's Register for 1836.

Closing remarks on New York.

This State unquestionably contains the largest baptist population of any in the Union, and different from the other great States where the numerical strength of the denomination ranks high, they all work together with harmony and efficiency. All the Associations in the State, with the exception of two very small ones, are enrolled in the State Convention Minutes, and lend their support to all benevolent operations at home or abroad. Sabbath schools, Bible classes, and evangelical efforts generally, are encouraged and supported from one end of this great State to the other.

Relative to the doctrinal sentiments which have generally been ascribed to Wickenden, Wightman, and their associates, who were the pioneers of the baptist cause in the city and vicinity, I strongly suspect that if the truth could be known, that they were sounder in their faith than has been generally supposed. Valentine Wightman, the founder of the first baptist church in Connecticut, has always been reported an orthodox divine. The same may be said of Nicholas Eyres, one of the first converts to the baptist faith under Wightman's ministry, and who subsequently became a distinguished pastor in Newport, Rhode Island.

We must bear in mind that all were then set down as Arminians, who did not come up to the highest point of hyper-Calvinism. Our old ministers in this region half a century since, would have denounced as unsound in the faith, the great mass of our community of the present day, both in Europe and America, Fuller and Hall among the rest.³

As to Mr. Wickenden's ministry, about the middle of the 17th century, I have good reasons to believe that by suitable efforts, something more may be learnt respecting it than is now known.

Newtown, on Long Island, was probably the scene of his labors; this I infer from a communication lately received on this subject, which may be seen in the note below.⁴

List of correspondents in the State of New York.

I. M. Allen, J. Dowling, W. R. Williams, G. B. Utter, N. D. Benedict, P. Robarts, R. Babcock, R. Taggart, J. S. Gifford, N. Fox, J. O. Mason, G. Beebe, E. Baldwin, T. O. Judd, J. W. Crumb, I. Benedict, A. Barton, J. N. Webb, J. Lawton, S. Bloss, E. Marshall, John Smitzer, L. Porter, J. B. Olcott, E. L. Benedict, B. R. Swick, L. Rathburn, F. Glanville, J. McClallen, I. Bennett, E. J. Scott, L. P. Grant, J. F. Bishop, J. L. Richmond, J. Johnson, H. B. Ewell, J. N. Granger, P. B. Peck.

This list includes only those who have communicated facts more or less extensive, for my history.

Many others have written me, on the subject of agencies for the sale of my work, and other matters incidentally connected with my undertaking.

Mr. Peck, of Owego, furnished me a good article of his own Association, the Broome and Tioga, which was compiled according to my directions, in my Circulars; it contains the number of churches, and the names of the ministers at the time of its formation—do., of those first on the ground, viz.: J. Lawton, J. Peck, A. Bennett, F. Purrinton, &c.; and some sketches of the history of the oldest churches—their pastors, branches, &c., but it got mislaid until the stereotypers had gone beyond me, and it was too late to put the account in its proper place.

³ I should be pleased if any records or documents of any kind pertaining to the old church formed in 1724, which used to meet on *Golden Hill*, near to *Cart and Horse Street*, can be found. I hope some of our historical brethren will look after them.

"*Cart and Horse Street* was so called from a noted and conspicuous sign with this inscription hanging on it; it is now called *William Street*."—*Jubilee Discourse*, p. 9.

This is now one of the greatest thoroughfares in the city.

⁴ A gentleman of New York city, who is under an appointment to make out the early history of Newtown and the adjoining parts on Long Island, has informed me that he has found the story of Mr. Wickenden's being apprehended, &c., among the old papers which have come under his inspection, by which the date of the transaction is definitely fixed at an earlier period than our old writers have heretofore placed it. His letter I forwarded to a gentleman, from whom I expected some aid in investigating this item of old baptist history; but, unfortunately for me, it has been mislaid, so that I cannot give the facts now in an explicit manner. But I shall look after the matter, and communicate the result of my inquiries in some other mode.

CHAPTER XII.

NEW JERSEY.

SECTION I.

Early settlement of this State—first Baptists emigrants from Wales, Ireland, &c.—History of some of the oldest churches—Middletown—Piscataway—Cohansey—Cape May—Hopewell—Scotch Plains—Morristown, and others.

THIS State was distinguished in early times, and when the baptist cause in this country was then in its infancy, for containing a number of old and very respectable churches, and for a number of ministers of peculiar eminence and great efficiency of character. The first settlers generally, as in all other cases in the times now under consideration, whether ministers or laymen, emigrated from Europe, and most from Wales; but in process of time, a number of ministers who acquired great reputation in other States to which they removed in early life, were raised up among them; the most of which were John Gano, James Manning, Hezekiah Smith, Charles Thompson, the Suttons, and others.

According to Morgan Edwards' account of the early history of the denomination in the State, about 1660, some few baptists were found among the first settlers, and by different arrivals they continued very slowly to increase for about thirty years, by which time they had gained sufficient strength to organize in a church capacity.

As the first bill of rights, under the administration of Lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret, established a full liberty of conscience to all religious sects that should behave well, this favorable feature in the government of this new colony induced many men of different opinions to flee from the oppressions of other regions, to enjoy the mild shade of religious toleration, which, in the good old Jerseys, had always been enjoyed. Among these were the Tunkers, from Holland, and the Rogerenes, from Connecticut.

MIDDLETOWN CHURCH. This body was formed in 1668, of how many members, does not appear, but the following eighteen persons were the principal, if not the only male members, viz.: Richard Stout, John Stout, James Grover, Jonathan Brown, Obadiah Holmes, John Buckman, John Wilson, Walter Hall, John Cox, Jonathan Holmes, George Mount, William Cheeseman, William Layton, William Compton, James Ashton, John Brown, Thomas Whitlock, and James Grover, Jun.

For upwards of twenty years from the organization of this body, but little is known of their history, and the first information we gain respecting them, they were in a difficulty so serious about two of their gifted brothers, by the name of Bray and Oxison, as to call for the aid of a council from the churches of Cohansey, Pennepeck, and Welsh Tract, whose ministers then were Messrs. Timothy Brooks, Abel Morgan, and Elisha Thomas, by whose friendly advice their affairs were placed in a favorable train of adjustment, and in a short time harmony was restored.

At this time, which was in 1712, their number was about 90.

Rev. John Brown was the first preacher here, but as he was not ordained, he could not have officiated in a full sense in the pastoral office. The most we can learn of him is that he gave the lot on which the first meeting-house was built.

Rev. James Ashton, who is supposed to have been ordained by Thomas Killingsworth many years before, was the first pastor of this people in the proper sense of that term, although they had traveled in a church capacity more than twenty years. They had a number of licensed, and perhaps some ordained preachers among them, by whom the ordinances of the gospel were administered; if not, they must have had recourse to the few elders whose locations were remote from them, as their additions were considerable considering the unfavorable circumstances under which they were placed, and the sparseness of the population who could have any inclination to espouse the baptist cause.

Rev. John Barrows was Mr. Ashton's successor, who was a native of Taunton, in England, where he was ordained. His settlement in Middletown was in 1713, where he maintained a successful ministry through a long life, and where he died in a good old age.

The following incident is all I can learn respecting the ministry of this pious man, who is said to have been unusually grave in his deportment, while at the same time he was very familiar and accessible. The narrative is thus related by Mr. Edwards:—

"To a young man of thoughtless habits, who passed him in the road with great speed, in going to a race, he said, 'If you considered where you were going, you would slacken your pace.' On he went for a while, but presently he turned back to inquire the meaning of this strange salutation. He was willing to listen, his sport was abandoned, and a sound conversion was the issue of this casual, but well-turned remark. 'There,' said the minister, was a bow drawn at a venture, and a sinner shot flying!"

Rev. Abel Morgan, who was a native of Welsh Tract, in Delaware, where he was born April 18, 1713, and where he acquired a good education for the times, at an academy kept by Rev. Thomas Evans, at which place also he was ordained in early life, succeeded to the pastorate with this flock, where he continued till his death, in the 73d year of his age.

This man was among the most noted baptist ministers of the times. "The great, the incomparable Abel Morgan!" was the language of Dr. S. Jones when speaking of this eminent divine. The most I can learn of his public labors was that he held two public disputes on the subject of baptism, the first at Kingswood, to which he was challenged by Samuel Harker, a presbyterian minister; the second was at Cape May, with Dr. Samuel Finley, afterward president of Princeton College.

Rev. Samuel Morgan was the next pastor, where he continued about six years.

Rev. Benjamin Bennet was the next in office here, where he continued about twenty-five years; after him, were *Messrs. Elliot, King, and Robert.*

Rev. D. B. Stout, the present pastor, has been in office here since 1836.

This church, besides sending out many materials for the aid of new Constitutions, has now upwards of three hundred members, and is in a prosperous condition.

PISCATAWAY CHURCH. This church was organized in 1689, by the assistance of Rev. Thomas Killingsworth, and was the second one formed in the State. As its records were destroyed in the revolutionary war, its early history is not easy of acquisition. But from public records, from those of the seventh-day baptist church in the same place, which originated from this in early times, and still maintains a respectable standing, and from the town book, the following sketches have been gathered. A long list of names of the early settlers of

¹ Century Sermon, pp. 7, 8.

the country has been preserved, which, compared with those which appear on the records of these two churches, leads us to the conclusion that a portion of them were of the baptist order.

It is a current tradition that the first members of this church emigrated hither from a place of the same name in New England, which they gave to their new location, and this supposition is made the more probable from the fact, that there were baptists in that place about this time, who fled in different directions to avoid the persecutions to which they were exposed, and that this part of Jersey was written *New Piscataway* in the town book, and in the printed folio which contains the original Jersey papers.³

Rev. John Drake was the first pastor of that people, where he was ordained at the time of the church's full organization, having preached among them from the commencement of the settlement of the place. His ministry was long and useful, having been maintained with much reputation and success for about half a century. Mr. Drake's descendants are numerous and respectable in all this region of country, and the famous *Sir Francis Drake* is claimed by them as their ancient progenitor.

Rev. Henry Loveall, whose name will frequently appear as we go down the States, was, for a short time, admitted to the ministry in this church; here he was ordained as an assistant to the aged pastor. His stay, however, was of short duration, as the blemishes of his character were soon discovered, and he soon left them for more southern regions.

Rev. Benjamin Stelle, one of the magistrates of the town, was ordained to the pastoral office, in which he continued a number of years.

Next to him, was his son,

Rev. Isaac Stelle, who was ordained in 1752, as an assistant to his father, then old and infirm. His ministry, which was distinguished for popularity and usefulness, continued about thirty years. Mr. Stelle was a native of the city of New York, where he was born in 1718. His travels were abundant among the American churches, much in company with *Rev. Benjamin Miller*, *John Gano*, and other laborious and successful pioneers in those early times.

Rev. Reune Runyon became the pastor of this community in 1783, where he continued with much credit and success for nearly thirty years. These three last ministers were descendants from the protestants of France.

Rev. James McLaughlin officiated here for the four following years.

Rev. Daniel Dodge, now of Philadelphia, for about thirteen years.

Rev. D. D. Lewis was settled in the pastoral office in 1834, where he still resides, with a large and prosperous charge.

COHANSEY CHURCH. This body, like the one last described, had the misfortune to have its early records destroyed; but from traditions collected by *Morgan Edwards*, it appears that about three years previous to the constitution of the church, which was in 1690, *David Shepard*, *Thomas Abbot*, *Wm. Button*, and others, members of a baptist church in Tipperary, in Ireland, settled in this place. Two years after *Obediah Holmes* and *John Cornelius*, from R. I., and *Thomas Killingsworth*, from England, came to reside near them. These men, with a few who had been baptized by *Rev. Elias Keach*, formed themselves into a church at the time above referred to.

Rev. Thomas Killingsworth took the oversight of the church at the time of its formation, and continued its pastor until his death, in 1708. According to *Mr. Edwards*, this eminent elder was probably from *Norwich*, England, and was ordained previous to his arrival in this country, as his name appears among officiating ministers in other places during the infancy of the first churches. Besides his duties as a minister, he was a Judge of the court of the county, and the same may be said of *Obediah Holmes*, who was a local preacher, and officiated occasionally in the sacred functions, as long as he lived. *Mr. Holmes* was a son of the famous man of the same name, whose cruel sufferings at *Boston*, *Mass.*, have already been related.

³ *M. Edwards' Hist. Bapt., New Jersey.*

Rev. Timothy Brooks was the next pastor, and so continued, till his death in 1710. He, with a number of his brethren, emigrated hither, from Swansea, Mass., before the church was formed, and they had kept a separate society for many years on account of difference of opinion relative to predestination, singing of psalms, laying on of hands, &c. This party fell into the church at the time Mr. Brooks became their pastor.

Their next pastors were *Wm. Butcher*, or *Boucher*, as it is sometimes written, *Nathaniel Jenkins*, *Robert Kelsey*, *Henry Smalley*, *Peter Siminon*, and *Isaac Moore*, which brings the history down to upwards of one hundred and fifty years from the establishment of the church.

Rev. Mr. Smalley's ministry was long and successful, being but one year short of half a century. He originated from the church in Piscataway, and was ordained to the pastorship in this body in 1790, and was in all respects a minister entitled to confidence and esteem.

Rev. E. D. Fendall, the present incumbent, was, formerly, pastor of Cedarville church in the vicinity, which is a branch of this prolific mother of churches. His settlement here was in 1843, and under his ministry the church has thus far had prosperity and enjoyment. Churches have been constituted from old Cohansey on every hand, and Pittsgrove, Canton, Bridgton, and Cedarville, have been built up, wholly, or in part, by dismissions from this important establishment.

This church, like a number of the old communities in this State, was well endowed by its early patrons, and different from many others, these bequests have been in part, at least, retained to the present time.³

These three churches, whose history we have thus far given, were among the first constituted members of the old Philadelphia Association, and it is pleasing to reflect that, amidst all the changes of time, the dilapidations of churches, and the inroads of heresy, and fanaticism in other communities, which once appeared fair and strong, that these bodies have maintained a regular standing, and each of them now are sound in the faith, respectable in size, and in a flourishing condition.

The affairs of a few more of the oldest churches will be related in detail before we proceed to the history of the Associations as such.

CAPE MAY. This church was formed in 1712, but the foundation of it was laid more than thirty years before, by the settlement in the place of a few members of the denomination, who kept meetings at their own houses, where they were occasionally visited by some of the neighboring ministers, but, for the most part, their worship was conducted among themselves without any ministerial aid.

Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins, a native of Wales, was their first pastor; the duration of his ministry is not given in the old accounts, nor can I learn anything more of his history than what is contained in the following extract from a speech he made in the General Assembly, of which he was a member in 1721, when a bill was brought in to punish such as denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Inspiration of the Scriptures, &c. In opposition to which, Mr. Jenkins stood up, and with the warmth and accent of a Welshman, said:—

“ I believe the doctrines in question, as firmly as the promoters of that ill-designed bill; but will never consent to oppose the opposers with law, or with any other weapon, save that of argument, &c. Accordingly, the bill was suppressed, to the great mortification of those who wanted to raise, in New Jersey, the spirit which so raged in New England.”

³ From Mr. Fendall, the present pastor, I am informed that they have a fund of \$1800. From him I also learn that the church at Cedarville, in their first operations, where he was then pastor, met with a kind of treatment from the pedobaptists of the place entirely different from what, in the good old Jerseys, our brethren, from time almost immemorial, have received. But as no secular power was pledged in favor of sectarian petulance, it could not work much harm, nor be of long duration.

Rev. Nathaniel Jenkins, son of the first pastor, *Samuel Heaton*, *John Sutton*, *Peter P. Vanhorn*, *David Smith*, *Artis Seagrave*, *John Stanliff*, *Jonathan German*, *Jenkins David*, *Thomas Robinson*, *Samuel Smith*, and *Peter Powell*, have, in succession, had the charge of this ancient church, which brings their history down to 1843.

Rev. Isaac Moore, their present pastor, was settled among them at the time last named.

HOPEWELL, DO. This church had its origin in 1715, but seems to have had no permanent pastor for upwards of thirty years, or until the settlement of

Rev. Isaac Eaton, which was in 1748; he continued in this station till his death, in 1772.

Mr. Eaton was distinguished for being the first man in this country among the baptists who established an Academy for the purpose of promoting ministerial education. An account of this early effort in the good cause will be given under the head of Literary Institutions. In this church it is supposed originated the plan for the formation of R. I. College. It is certain that Mr. Eaton was its early friend, and that Manning, Smith and others of his pupils were among the first and most active promoters of the measures which brought it into being.

Rev. Oliver Hart, who fled hither from Charleston, S. C., on account of the troubles of the revolutionary war, took the oversight of this people in 1790, where he continued till his death, a period of fifteen years.

Rev. James Ewing was Mr. Hart's successor for nine years. And next to him was

Rev. John Boggs, their present aged pastor, who has been in office here almost forty years.

John Gano, *Hezekiah Smith*, *Charles Thompson*, with a number of other ministers of much eminence in their day, originated from this church.

Jonathan Stout, who settled in this place early in the 18th century, was considered the founder of this religious community, and of the settlement at Hopewell; and the church in early times was remarkable for the number of the name it contained. In 1790 Mr. Hart, who was then its pastor, was of opinion that about half the number who had joined the church were of the name, besides about as many more of the descendants of this patriarchal man, of other names, in consequence of intermarriages with other families.

"The family of the Stouts," says Mr. Edwards, "are remarkable for their number, origin, and character, both in church and state. Jonathan Stout and family were the seed of the Hopewell church, and the beginning of the Hopewell settlement; and of the fifteen of the first members, nine were Stouts. The church was constituted at the house of a Stout, and for about forty years previous to the time that their first house of worship was erected, their meetings were held chiefly at the dwellings of Stouts. In 1790 the two deacons and four elders were of this name. One of the main pillars of this church of the Stout family, lived to see his children multiplied to 117 souls; and the most remarkable part of this story is that this numerous race sprung from one woman, and she as good as dead."⁴

SCOTCH PLAINS. This is one of the branches of the ancient church at Piscataway, and was formed of fifteen members in 1774; of course its early history is in that of the mother body.

Rev. Benjamin Miller became the pastor of this church soon after its formation, in which office he continued till his death, a period of upwards of thirty years.

Mr. Miller's funeral sermon was preached by his affectionate friend *John Gano*. Between these two ministers there had long been a private agreement, that the funeral sermon of the first who died should be preached by the sur-

⁴ The mother of Mr. Stout was a native of Holland, and was shipwrecked on the Jersey shore as the vessel in which she was a passenger was about to enter the port of New York, where she and her husband, who were young, were assaulted by the Indians and left for dead. But the woman survived, and, by other red men, was carried to New York, then called New Amsterdam, where she was afterwards married to Richard Stout, and thus became the mother of an immense connection, which is now spread over the country.

vivor, provided he had word of the death; and Providence so ordered matters that this promise was fulfilled. Mr. Gano was now a chaplain in the American army, and soon after Lord Cornwallis' surrender, he was going to visit his family when he heard of Mr. Miller's death. "Never," said Mr. Gano, "did I esteem a ministering brother so much as I did Mr. Miller, nor feel so sensibly a like bereavement as that which I sustained by his death."

Rev. William Vanhorn, son of the Rev. P. P. Vanhorn, officiated here about twenty years.

Rev. Thomas Brown, a brother of the Rev. O. B. Brown, of Washington, D. C., served the church about the same length of time.

Rev. John Rogers was here for eleven years, and after him was

Rev. William E. Locke, who was the pastor here in 1845.

The first church in the city of New York, for a few years, as we have seen in her history, hung in colonial dependence on this mother body, and by it was dismissed for the purpose of setting up a distinct organization. Lyons Farms, Mt. Bethel, Sampton, and probably some other of the neighboring churches, originated from this ancient community.

Dr. Manning, the first president of Brown University, originated from this church, and by it was dismissed to the church in Warren, R. I., while the college was in that town.⁵

MORRISTOWN. As early as 1717 one David Goble, with his family of the baptists' persuasion, removed to this place from Charleston, S. C., and soon ministers of the same order began to preach at their house; a small company, after many years of patient effort, were collected as a branch of old Piscataway, which in 1752 was formed into a distinct church.

Rev. John Gano officiated here either stately or occasionally for about three years, soon after its constitution; after him a great number of ministers supplied them, mostly by the year, until the settlement of their present pastor, among whom Tompkins and Walton were the first; Runyon and Vanhorn made the longest stay.

Rev. W. H. Turton, now their minister, was settled in 1839. In a small historical document compiled by him, I find the following singular entry in the minutes of the church, a number of years from its commencement.

" June 21st, 1769.

" The first-day baptist church meeting in Morristown, and county of Morris, and province of East Jersey; holding believers' baptism by dipping (or immersion only), at our monthly meeting for business on the said 21st of June, taking into consideration the state and circumstances of our church, and for good regulations and government thereof, and the continuance and support of the Gospel among us, we do elect and choose five men, being members of the said church, as a *Vestry*; &c. And the said persons are to be continued in the office during their good behavior, or till death."

To this vestige of episcopacy, as it is afterwards defined, belonged about the same duties as are generally performed by deacons or committees.

DIVIDING CREEK, in Cumberland Co., was constituted in 1761. It is now in a feeble state, and the object in giving it a place among the ancient churches, is to relate the following singular and amusing narrative in connection with the history of

Rev. Samuel Heaton, its first pastor. He was a native of Wrentham, Mass., and settled in this State in early life. Being a zealous adherent of the pedobaptist cause, he proposed to have his first child initiated into the church according to established forms. But his wife was averse to the measure, and would not consent until some plain text of Scripture could be adduced in favor of the practice. Rev. Mr. Sweesey was the minister to whom the husband repaired, to help him to the text which his better part imperiously required. But the candid divine frankly admitted the fact that no text of the kind could

⁵ The original letter of dismission, with a long list of signatures, is in my possession.

be found, but showed him how the proofs were made out. This, of course, threw him off the track, and soon he became a baptist member and preacher.⁶

SALEM was formed in 1755, and their first pastor was
Rev. Job Shepard, a descendant of David Shepard, from Ireland.

Since his death, they have had in succession John Sutton, Abel Griffith, Peter P. Vanhorn, Isaac Skillman, D. D., once settled in Boston, Mass., H. G. Jones, Thomas Brown, Joseph Shepard, C. J. Hopkins, Thomas Wilks, Samuel Nightingale, Samuel Smith, Silas C. James, and

J. W. Gibbs, their present pastor.

Many of these ministers were of very short continuance, for besides this long list of names, they have been without a pastor an unusual portion of the time. But at present the church has become large, and appears in a prosperous condition.

Having said thus much of these ancient churches, I shall now pursue my usual course, and give the remaining history of the State in connection with the Associations which are wholly or in part within its bounds.

SECTION II.

Associations—New Jersey—Central New Jersey—Essex—Delaware River—East New Jersey—Closing remarks.

NEW JERSEY ASSOCIATION.

THIS is the oldest institution of the kind in the State, having been organized in 1811, and then embraced all the churches of the *Central, Western, and Southern* parts of New Jersey. It consisted at first of fourteen churches and 1,700 members. Its progress has been regular and harmonious, and it now holds a place among our active and efficient institutions of the kind; and after sending off a colony to form the next Association to be named, it now consists of 32 churches, 38 ordained ministers, and 4,688 members.

The old churches of Cohansey and Cape May, belonging to this body, have already been described. I shall now give a brief account of some of the other churches comprehended within its bounds.

MANAHAWKIN, in Monmouth county. The history of this church is thus related. In 1760, James Haywood, a native of Coventry, England, settled in the place; at the same time, or soon after, a few members from Piscataway and Scotch Plains became his neighbors and associates in supporting a small baptist meeting, which grew into a church in 1770, principally by the aid of Elder Miller, then pastor of the Scotch Plains' church.

In process of time this body became reduced to three members, and the question was seriously entertained by the Philadelphia Association, to which the church belonged, whether it was still alive, or a new organization was

⁶ This transaction coming to the knowledge of Robert Calver, a *Rogerens* baptist, induced him to publish an advertisement in the newspaper, offering twenty dollars reward to any that would produce a text to prove infant baptism. Rev. Samuel Harker took him up and carried the text to the advertiser; Calver would not allow that infant baptism was in it; Harker sued him; it seems the court were of Calver's mind, for Harker was cast, and had court charges to pay. After that, Calver published another advertisement, offering a reward of forty dollars for such a text, but none took him up, as Mr. Harker's attempts failed.

It does not appear that the court had any bias in favor of baptist sentiments; their decision, was, no doubt, made according to law and evidence, and as what is wanting cannot be numbered, no other verdict could be rendered.

In former times, and even before the puritan courts of New England, where baptist sentiments have been tried and condemned, the issues have been according to legal statutes, rather than plain bible statements.

needful. Very properly this question was settled in the affirmative, and soon after, this gospel quorum, who were all females, received into their fellowship twenty new members, who were the fruits of a late revival, and who had before been baptized and stood ready for this union.

Under the patronage of the B. S. Convention, Messrs. Mulford, Park, Quin, and Sexton, have ministered to this people to their comfort and advantage.

Rev. Daniel Kelsey became pastor here in 1839, and from the borders of despair and extinction they have become a flourishing body, with a good house of worship.*

PEMBERTON is a church of fourscore years' standing, having been constituted in 1764; but for a long course of years it was feeble and small, and had temporary and transient supplies.

Rev. J. G. Collom, their present pastor, was settled in 1839, and the church is now a large and efficient body.

UPPER FREEHOLD is also an ancient community, dating its existence from 1766. It was first called Croswick, from the name of a creek which runs through the neighborhood. According to Mr. Edwards, baptists began to settle in this place in the beginning of the 18th century, and for a long time had the occasional services of the old ministers who had the care of the infant churches and all incipient movements on their hands. Among them were Messrs. Killingsworth, Griffith, A. Morgan, and J. Jones. Their first pastor was

Rev. David Jones, whose history will be more fully given in the account of the Great Valley church, Pa. After him were Messrs. Blackwell, Stephens, Loufborough, Harpending, Cooper, Challis, and Beck.

Samuel Stillman, D.D., afterwards of Boston, whose name is familiar with all who are acquainted with baptist history, preached about two years to this people, previous to the organization of the church.

Rev. A. Armstrong is their present pastor; he was settled in 1845.

The following churches have been formed since the commencement of the present century.

BURLINGTON. This town was the resort of baptists in very early times, as the yearly meetings of the churches which afterwards constituted the Philadelphia Association were sometimes held here, and probably a branch then existed in the place; but the present church was not formed until 1801.

The late Dr. Staughton was their pastor for about three years. In succession they have had Messrs. McLaughlin, Allison, Kennard, Welch, Allen, Aaron, and Ketchum.

Rev. E. W. Dickenson, their present pastor, was settled in 1840.

MT. HOLLY CHURCH bears date from 1801; but the succession of its pastors I am not able to give.

Rev. T. O. Lincoln, now at Manchester, N. H., was its late pastor. *Rev. Samuel Cornelius*, its former pastor, is a resident member.

CAMDEN CHURCH was formed in 1818. Messrs. Cooper, Kitts, Hopkins, Campton, Sexton, Hall, T. C. Teasdale, N. B. Teasdale, and Smith, have officiated here, up to the settlement of

Rev. Thomas R. Taylor, their present pastor, in 1842.

BORDENTOWN was constituted in 1821. *Rev. Samuel W. Lynd, D.D.*, now of St. Louis, Mo., served them for two years; after him was Thomas Larcomb for a short time, and John C. Harrison, their late pastor, who has been with them for the last eleven years.

These last churches being near to Philadelphia, have frequently had the early services of a number of men who have filled eminent places in other scenes of labor.

* *Rev. Mr. Kelsey's* letter to the author.

TRENTON and LAMBERTON, was organized in 1805; and although it is situated at the capital of the State, the church has not flourished so well as many others in a less favorable location. In the first place, in conformity to the mistaken policy too often pursued by our people, their house of worship was placed between the two places, which were about a mile apart, and thus both were discommoded. And again, Rev. William Boswell, who was their minister for about eleven years, became tinctured with the New Jerusalem doctrine, which caused a division in the church, and a material hindrance to their peace and prosperity.

Rev. M. J. Rhees, late Secretary of the B. Pub. Society, and now pastor of the Second Church in Wilmington, Delaware, was nine years pastor of this body.

Rev. L. F. Beecher served them for one year. After this another division was effected under a Mr. Young, from England, by whom a new church was formed on the plan of open-communion.

Rev. Levi G. Beck has lately succeeded to the pastoral office, and notwithstanding all their trials and divisions, the church now is in a flourishing condition.

HADDONFIELD was formed in 1818, of about ten members.

Rev. John Sisty, who was then a resident of Philadelphia, took the oversight of this small community at the first, and continued with them twenty years. Since his removal, they have had for their pastors Rev. Messrs. Park, and Wilson.

Rev. Martin Eastwood, their present spiritual guide, was settled here in 1843.

VINCENTOWN CHURCH is of recent origin, having been constituted in 1834. For a number of years the ministers of Pemberton and Mount Holly preached in this place, and by their occasional labors, laid the foundation for this new establishment, which completed a good house of worship two years after the church was formed.

Rev. J. M. Carpenter has been the pastor of this people from the beginning, and under his ministry the church has gained more than a hundred members.

The remaining churches in this body, Pittsgrove, and Jacobstown, are some what ancient; Evesham, Woodstown, Bridgetown, Allowaystown, Second Cape May, Canton, and Moorstown, are generally large, while the others are young and small.

The FIRST CHURCH, CAPE MAY, is the largest in this Association.⁷

CENTRAL NEW JERSEY ASSOCIATION.

The origin, and some sketches of the history of this body has been supplied by Rev. C. Bartollette, one of its oldest members.

“For nearly twenty years after the formation of the Association last described, it embraced nearly all the churches south and west of the centre of the State. Those in the east and north belonged to New York and Hudson River Associations; it was found difficult to get the churches all represented in the Associations; and for the want of some more local bond of union, much apathy in benevolent action was thought to result. It was conceived by some, that an Association in the centre of the State would conduce to the general interest of the cause. Accordingly, circulars were sent to several churches, whereupon, seven of them, by their representatives, met at Hightstown, on the 25th of October, 1828, who, with the assistance of the brethren present, were formed

⁷ In 1846, it reported 264; Second do., 240; Burlington, 242; Cohansey, 241; Dividing Creek, Wm. Bacon, 232; Pemberton, D. S. Parmelee, 231; Bridgetown, C. E. Wilson, 231; Camden, 221; Trenton and Lambertson, 216; Mount Holly, —, 196; Haddonfield, 188; Allowaystown, Wm. Maul, 173; Marlton, J. M. Challis, 172; Upper Freehold, 161; Moorestown, J. M. Challis, 141; Woodstown, —, 139; Vincentown, 138; Jacobstown, J. E. Rue, 118; Pittsgrove, E. Kala, Jr., 102; Canton, —, 101.

into a regular Association, with the anticipation of others uniting. But it was soon found that there were two or three ministers with us dissatisfied with our movements on missions and other kindred objects; this seemed to impede our progress, and the continually unpleasant discussions which took place paralyzed our best energies, till the year 1835, when two churches withdrew because we would not expunge from our Minutes all reference to Bible, Mission, and other Societies. Last year, another church was left out for the same reason. We have increased from seven churches to twenty. Three having withdrawn, leaves us seventeen at present. We began with six hundred and seventy-seven members, and five ministers; we now number two thousand and seventeen members, and eighteen ministers. Nearly all the churches added to us have been newly formed."*

HIGHTSTOWN, at first called *Cranbury*, was constituted of members from Middletown, in 1745.

Rev. James Carman was their first pastor, and after him,

Rev. Peter Wilson came into office here, in 1782, in which he continued thirty-five years. The church had long been in a feeble condition and destitute of pastoral care, but under his ministry it became a large and prosperous body, and in about twenty years, contained about four hundred members, and from it have gone out a number of branches in the surrounding regions.

Rev. John Segur was the next pastor, for eighteen years.

Rev. C. W. Mulford, their late pastor, was settled in 1836.

AMSWELL. This appears to be the largest church in this body; it was formed in 1798.[†]

Rev. C. Bartolette was in the pastoral office here a number of years.

Rev. C. W. Mulford, the former pastor at Hightstown, appears of late to have been transferred to this station.

NOTTINGHAM SQUARE was constituted in 1812, and was more than twenty years destitute of any regular pastoral attention, but it has continued to increase, and now contains about two hundred members.

Rev. S. Stites, their present pastor, was settled in 1837.

SANDYRIDGE was formed in 1818, and was many years dependant on other ministers for what preaching they enjoyed.

Rev. Joseph Wright, their first pastor, continued with them ten years.

Rev. George Young, their present minister, was settled in 1843.

MANASQUAN, WEARTS' CORNER, FREEHOLD, and SECOND KINGWOOD are bodies of considerable size. The others are generally small.

The ministers of this Association, besides those already named, are *Messrs. Barrass, Cox, Purdun, Curren, Wright, Hadock, Maul, Clark, Sproul, and Elliot*. This was the statement in 1843. A number of them, I see, by the last Minutes, have changed their location.

SUSSEX ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1833, of but four churches, three of which had belonged to the old Warwick community, and withdrew on account of the anti-missionary spirit of that body. The county in which most of the churches are situated, gives name to the Association.

FIRST WANTAGE is the oldest church in this Association, and was constituted in 1770; it arose out of a company of *Separates*, who emigrated hither from Mansfield, Conn., soon after the great *New Light Stir* in that region.

The following ministers have officiated here for different periods of time, viz. :

* *Rev. Chas. Bartolette's* letter to the author, 1843.

† In the Minutes for 1846, it reported 296; Hightstown, 284; Nottingham Square, S. Stites, 206; Sandy Ridge, G. Youngs, 176; Kingswood, C. Cox, 157; Freehold, J. Beldin, same; Manasquan, —, 104; Wearts' Corner, J. Wright, same.

Messrs. Cox, Finn, Southworth, Hall, Hagan, Fletcher, Jackson, Moore, and Fay.

Rev. Silas Southworth was with them twenty-five years, and was well esteemed as a good and useful man.

Rev. Sanford Leach was settled here in 1843.

Rev. D. F. Twiss is returned as the present incumbent.

HAMBURG CHURCH was constituted in 1798, and in 1843 it was said to be the largest church in the State, although, for much of the time, in former years, it was in a feeble and declining condition. In 1845, it reported upwards of four hundred, but the last account makes it much less.¹⁰

Rev. Thomas Teasdale was the pastor of this body from its commencement till his death, in 1827, a period of twenty-nine years.

After him were *Messrs. Park, Frost, and James Spencer.*

Rev. William H. Spencer, the late overseer of this community, was settled in 1838.

Rev. John Davis, by the last account, occupied this pastoral station.

SCHOOLY'S MOUNTAIN. "The rise of the first-day¹ baptists in this poor mountain," says Morgan Edwards, "was owing to Mr. Samuel Heaton, who, with three brothers from Wrentham, Mass., came hither to set up iron works; he being convinced of believers' baptism, in the manner related under Dividing-creek, p. 586, went to Kingwood to receive that baptism; the administrator was Malakiah Bonham. After Mr. Heaton had broken ground, the said Bonham, Mr. Crofsley and others visited these parts, and baptized about twelve persons," who, according to the above named author, were constituted into a church, in 1753, but this ancient body had been once or twice reduced so low as to be accounted dead; these changes have been the cause of the different dates which have been given to this mountain community. Its latest organization was in 1832, and was effected by Mr. Quinn, a missionary in the service of the State Convention, and who ascertained that a valuable farm had been bequeathed to this dormant church, by one of its late members.

The Churches of NEWTON and ORANGE, under the care of *elders Adams and Barrett*, are the next in size in this body.

"This remote and mountainous region," says Mr. Leach, the only minister here, who has made communications to me of its history, "far removed from commercial notice or influence, has been wonderfully blessed with the out-pourings of the Spirit, since the severe, but successful contest was closed with the antinomian and anti-effort principles, which, for a time, threatened to lay everything prostrate in coldness and inactivity."

DELAWARE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1835. This is a small body, of less than five hundred members, and was got up, as I am informed, by a few men who were averse to all efforts of a missionary kind; it, however, embraced a few of the old and once efficient churches in this part of the country, the most distinguished of which are Hopewell and Kingswood, in this State, and Southampton, in Pennsylvania.

The history of Hopewell has already been given.²

KINGSWOOD originated from Hopewell, and was constituted in 1742, but the foundation of it was laid, according to Mr. Edwards, twenty years before, by the settlement of a number of baptist families in the neighborhood.

Rev. Thomas Curtis was the minister here for a few years; after him, were *Rev. Messrs. Bonham, D. Sutton, Nicholas Cox, G. A. Hunt, J. McLaughlin, J. Ellis, D. Bateman, W. Curtis, and J. W. Wigg.*

Rev. William House is their present minister.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 274; First Wantage, 181; Schooly's Mountain, 130; First Newton, T. Cole, 111.

¹ The Rogerene baptists were at Schooly about seventeen years before.

² In 1845, it reported 137; Kingswood, —, 128; Southampton, A. Earl, 116.

EAST NEW JERSEY ASSOCIATION

Is of recent origin, having been organized at New Brunswick, November 4, 1842. From their first Minutes, which were forwarded to me by their clerk, Rev. S. J. Drake, I will make the following extract, which shows the manner of its origin.

"Agreeable to a recommendation of the New York B. Association, at its last session, messengers from several of the churches belonging to that body, but located in New Jersey, met in Convention, at New Brunswick," &c.

Fourteen churches were represented in this Convention, and, in due order, this new body was formed.

Within its bounds are the churches of Middletown and Piscataway, the oldest in the State, whose history has already been given, as has also that of Morristown, another ancient community. Middletown is now the largest in this body.³

A brief account of a few other churches of long standing, together with some of more recent date, will now be given.

LYONS FARMS was formed in 1769; it originated from Scotch Plains Church, and was organized by the assistance of Messrs. Miller, Gano, and Walton.

Rev. *Ebenezer Ward*, from New England, was their first pastor; after him a great variety of ministers officiated in the place, many of whom were but yearly supplies. Peter Bryant, James Wilcox, and Peter Sparks, made the longest stay.

Rev. *William Leach* was settled in 1843.

MOUNT BETHEL, NORTHFIELD, and SAMPTON, are also old communities, which are now under the care of Messrs. Cox, Church, and Baker. All the remaining churches of this newly formed body, have been constituted since the commencement of the present century. A number of them occupy important locations, and deserve something more than a passing notice.

NEWARK. This flourishing town is nine miles from the city of New York; the church was formed in 1801; most of the members were from Lyons Farms.

Rev. *Charles Lahatt* served them a few years at first, and after him their spiritual shepherds were generally of short continuance; among them was Dr. Sharp, now of Boston, who was called from this place to his present important location. The names of the other ministers who have been in office here, are P. Thurston, J. Lamb, D. Jones, D. Putnam, E. Loomis, C. F. Frey, P. L. Platt, J. L. Anderson, D. Dodge, W. Lynn.

Rev. *H. V. Jones*, their present pastor, has been in office a few years.

NEW BRUNSWICK was formed in 1816; and was served for the two first years by Rev. J. Johnson.

Rev. *G. S. Webb* became their pastor in 1821, and continued with them twenty-two years, when he removed to his present location, in Philadelphia.

Rev. *G. R. Bliss* is reported as their present pastor.

FIRST PLAINFIELD was organized in 1818, of members principally from Sampton church.

Rev. *Jacob F. Randolph* took the oversight of the church at the beginning, and continued with them ten years.

Rev. *Daniel F. Hill* was his successor for the same length of time.

Rev. *S. J. Drake*, their present pastor, was inducted into office in 1839.

This church has been favored with great additions for a number of years past, and now, as appears by their last returns, is large and flourishing.

³ In 1846, it reported 343; Newark, 331; First Plainfield, 296; Second do., D. T. Hill, 259; Piscataway, 219; New Brunswick, 204; Paterson, 202; Sampton, E. M. Barker, 178; Rahway, W. Rollinson, 157; Scotch Plains, 155; Northfield, J. H. Waterbury, 136; Mount Bethel, M. R. Cox, 111

PATERSON CHURCH was constituted in 1825. This is also a place of business and growing importance.

Rev. D. D. Lewis officiated here for six years, from the beginning of the church; after him Messrs. Denison, and Grenell occupied the ground until the settlement of

Rev. George Young, which took place in 1841.

Rev. C. H. Hosken, late of West Troy, assumed this station in 1845.

Remarks on the History of the Baptists in New Jersey.

By the foregoing narrative, we see that the denomination gained an early, important and permanent standing in this State, where religious freedom has always prevailed, and that these old churches were so well founded in faith and practice, that they have maintained their standing amidst all the changes and fluctuations of time, and the inroads of error of various kinds.

Perhaps in no State in the Union were churches so liberally endowed as those which were formed in early times in this government. A portion of these endowments have been preserved, but the greater part of them were lost by what Morgan Edwards denominated 'that sacrilegious thing called *continental money*.'

A considerable number of these old churches were often, and in some instances for a long course of years, destitute of settled pastors, or of the aid of spiritual guides; but in going over their histories, I have been deeply impressed with the fact of their steady and uniform course in the midst of these privations, and of the convincing proof which it affords, of the intelligent and valuable materials of which they were composed. Probably the best solution of this singular but pleasing fact, may be found in the extraction of most of the first settlers; they were generally from Wales, and brought with them all those excellent traits of character, which are peculiar to the Cambrian people.

This State has been the nursery of the denomination from very early times; her ministerial sons went out in all directions, and some of them became much distinguished for their talents and usefulness, in the places to which they removed. John Gano, and James Manning, were natives of old Jersey; Hezekiah Smith, although a native of New York, yet Princeton was his *Alma Mater*, and the old Hopewell Church sent him into the ministry. John Gano also proceeded from this ancient community. Manning was a son of the church at *Scotch Plains*, from which he was dismissed to the church at Warren, Rhode Island, after he had resolved to settle in that town as president of Rhode Island College, and pastor of the Warren church, both then in their infancy.

The original letter of dismission is before me, of which the following is a copy:—

"The Church of Jesus Christ meeting at the Scotch Plains, in the County of Essex, Province of East New Jersey, professing Believers' Baptism, laying on of hands, Election of Grace, effectual Calling, and final perseverance in Grace, &c.

"To the Church of Christ of the same faith and order, in Warren, in the Government of Rhode Island, do send our christian salutation:

"Dear Brethren: Whereas our Revd. and Respected Br., Mr. James Manning, hath by your call removed his residence from amongst us, and now abides with you, and hath requested of us a letter of Dismission in order to join with you: and hoping it will be more for his comfort and your advantage so to do;—We therefore recommend him as an orderly, zealous professor, and hath been called and regularly ordained in this church to the Ministry of the Gospel, in which his Proficiency and Profiting has appeared to many: and we doubt not, when joined with you by virtue of this dismission, as he will be discharged from our immediate oversight, you will receive him, and make use of him in Love, and all the relative duties of his important station. We are joined in our prayers for him and you, that the Glorious Head of the Church would bless you all with every Gift, Grace, and Prosperity, through Jesus Christ our common Lord, Amen."

"November ye 25th, Anno, 1764.

BENJAMIN MILLER, pastor."

Concurred in by

John Stites,
Samuel Drake,
R. Hemberg,

Heze. Woodruff,
John Whitehead,
Daniel Perrine,

Richard Hall,
Ichobad Valentine, Jr.,
Lambert Decamp,

Samuel Brooks,
Joseph Drake,
Daniel Peirson,
Abraham Hampton.

The two Suttons, John, and David, Charles Thompson, long a distinguished minister at old Swansea, Massachusetts, and the neighboring town of Warren, Rhode Island, were natives of this State. To these might be added a long list of ministerial sons, in ancient and modern times, who have done much for the promotion of the baptist cause in many of the Atlantic and Western States.

The first school "for the education of youth for the ministry," among the American Baptists, was begun at Hopewell, in this State, by *Rev. Isaac Eaton*, a distinguished minister of his day. This school was opened in 1756, and continued eleven years. Towards the support of it, a fund of 400 pounds was raised by the Philadelphia Association, which was mostly annihilated by the ravages of continental money. Among the ministers who received the rudiments of their education at this Academy, were *J. Manning, S. Jones, H. Smith, I. Skillman, D. Thomas, J. Davis, W. Williams, R. Keith, C. Thompson, D. Jones, J. Sutton, D. Sutton, J. Talbot, J. Blackwell, J. Powell, W. Worth, L. Bonnell.*

A considerable number of Mr. Eaton's students engaged in secular business; of this class was the late Judge Howell, of Providence, R. I.

It is said Rhode Island College, now Brown University, was first projected by the friends of this New Jersey Academy, and that old Hopewell was the identical place where the plan for the future Institution was first laid. Would my limits permit, I would give an interesting account of the doings of the pupils of this infant seminary, in most of the northern, and some of the southern and western states, as classical tutors, eminent pastors, or evangelical pioneers.

Although the old Jersey Baptists took the lead in literary and theological tuition among the denomination in this country, yet at present they seem to be destitute of any institution which they can call their own.

For more than a century after the first churches in the Jerseys arose, they all belonged to the Philadelphia and New York Associations. At present they have four of these communities wholly within the State; the small Delaware river company is partly in Pennsylvania.

A few of the churches near New York city, belong to the New York and Hudson River Associations.

Correspondents in New Jersey. *Rev. J. M. Carpenter*, of Vincenttown, has been my principal contributor for this State. He is a matter of fact man, and has taken unusual pains to ascertain the history of all the churches, and the successions of their pastors in this government. Of the eighty odd churches, occupying a space of territory of about two hundred miles in length, very few of them of any date have escaped his notice. With Morgan Edwards' history for early times, and Mr. Carpenter's materials for all succeeding periods, would my limits allow it, I could give a minute account of nearly every baptist community in this commonwealth, and of the almost interminable changes which have been made in their pastoral relations.

The New Jersey pastors, in early times, were generally distinguished for pastoral longevity, but in later years, in most cases, their spiritual shepherds have been about as transient and changeable as in other parts of the country.

Mr. C. has constructed a number of historical and statistical tables, which exhibit a great amount of labor and research, and very minute details of all the internal affairs of our denomination in this State.

One table shows the annual number of baptisms from 1761 to 1845, a period of eighty-four years. The whole amount was upwards of twenty-one thousand.

In another table he gives the names of all the ministers of our society who have been *settled* or *lived* in the State for the same length of time. Added to the names of each are marks which designate who are dead—have removed from their bounds—still remain—or have forfeited their religious and ministerial character. The number is 297.

Historical communications have also been received from *S. Leach, C. Bartolette, W. H. Turton, W. M. Fahnestock, E. D. Fendall, D. Kelsey.*

Baptist State Convention. This body has long been a distinguished auxiliary in the baptist operations in this State. Its history, however, must be deferred to my next volume.

CHAPTER XIII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

SECTION I.

Summary view of the rise of Associations in the State—Different companies who settled here—History of some of the oldest churches.

THIS State, originally settled by the Quakers, under the guidance of the famous William Penn, whose father was an English baptist. For about a century after our denomination began to occupy some portions of its territory, they were distinguished more for their order and intelligence than their numerical importance. Their churches were few, and generally small, and their operations were limited to a few locations, at no great distance from the metropolis.

Most of the churches and Associations in this commonwealth have been organized since the commencement of the present century.

The Philadelphia Association stood alone about 70 years, when the old Red Stone community arose in the western extremity of the State.

Twenty years after, another confederacy of infant churches was formed in the upper part of the State, on the Susquehanna river, near the line of the State of New York, called the Chemung Association. All the other institutions of the kind in Pennsylvania, and with but few exceptions, the churches of which they were composed, have come into being within thirty or forty years past; most of them have not existed half that time. The whole number of these bodies now in active operation, in connection with the State Convention, is fifteen. Besides these, there are a few others, which are much reduced in number, or are crippled in their operations by infusion of principles adverse to the benevolent and evangelical enterprises of this active age.

I shall give some account of the various companies of baptists of different kinds, who settled in what is now denominated the Key Stone State.

The first company, from Rhode Island, in 1684.

It is a singular fact, and not a little gratifying to Rhode Island baptists, that adventurers from this little colony should be the first to propagate their peculiar faith, not only among the Dutch in New York, but also among the Quakers of Pennsylvania.

The history of this first company of baptists which located in this government, is thus given by Morgan Edwards, in his history of the Pennsylvania baptists. "In 1684, Thomas Dungan removed from Rhode Island, and settled at a place called Cold Spring, in Bucks county, between Bristol and Trenton." This baptist preacher and pioneer, was probably accompanied with associates of his own faith, in his removal, to what was then regarded as a long journey to the south. Here he founded a church of his own order, which in the end was absorbed by the next company I shall name.

Elder Dungan's settlement in this colony was but three years after William Penn obtained his patent of Charles II., and one year after the death of the founder of Rhode Island government.

This Mr. Dungan was the minister who baptized and ordained Elias Keach, a son of the famous Benjamin Keach, whose history we shall relate.

Most of the names associated with this Rhode Island elder, are common in this State, which naturally leads us to the inference that a colony of his brethren went with him, when he removed, or soon gathered around him on the banks of the Delaware.

"Of this venerable father," says M. Edwards, "I can learn no more than that he came from Rhode Island about the year 1684: that he and his family settled at Cold Spring, where he gathered a church, of which nothing remains but a grave-yard and the names of the families which belonged to it, viz.: the Dungans, Gardners, Woods, Doyles, &c.; that he died in 1688, and was buried in said grave-yard; that his children were five sons and four daughters, who formed connexions with families by the names of Wing, of R. I., Drake, West, Richards, Doyle, and Kerrels. To mention the names, alliance, and offspring of these," says Mr. Edwards, "would tend towards an endless genealogy. Sufficeth it that the Rev. Thomas Dungan, the first baptist minister in the province, now (1770) existeth in a progeny of between six and seven hundred."

The church founded by Mr. Dungan was broken up in 1702.

The second company of Welsh Emigrants, who settled at Pennepeck, or Lower Dublin, 1686.

The history of this company or church, says M. Edwards, will lead us back to the year 1686, when one John Eaton, George Eaton, and Jane his wife, Sarah Eaton, and Samuel Jones, members of a baptist church, residing in Llanddewi and Nautmel, in Radnorshire, whereof Rev. Henry Gregory was pastor; also, John Baker, member of a church in Kilkenny, in Ireland, under the pastoral care of Rev. Christopher Blackwell, and one Samuel Vaus, from England, arrived and settled on the banks of Pennepeck, formally written Pemmapeka. In the year 1687, Rev. Elias Keach, of London, came among them, and baptized one Joseph Ashton, and Jane his wife, William Fisher and John Watts, which increased their number to 12 souls, including the minister. These 12 did, by mutual consent, form themselves into a church in the month of January, 1688, choosing Mr. Keach to be their minister, and Samuel Vaus to be deacon. Soon after, the few emigrated baptists in this province and West Jersey joined them; also those whom Mr. Keach baptized at the Falls, Cold-spring, Burlington, Cohansey, Salem, Penn's Neck, Chester, Philadelphia, &c. They were all one church, and Pennepeck the centre of union, where as many as could met to celebrate the Lord's Supper; and for the sake of distant members, they administered the ordinance quarterly at Burlington, Cohansey, Chester, and Philadelphia, which quarterly meetings have been transformed into three yearly meetings and an Association. Thus, for some time, continued their Zion with lengthened cords, till the brethren in remote parts set about forming themselves into distinct churches, which began in 1699. By these detachments it was reduced to narrow bounds, but continued among the churches as a mother in the midst of many daughters. At their settlement, and during the administration of Mr. Keach, they were the same as they are now with respect to faith and order; but when their number increased, and emigrants from different churches in Europe incorporated with them, division began to take place about various things, such as absolute predestination, laying-on-of-hands, distributing the elements, singing psalms, seventh-day Sabbath, &c., which threw the body ecclesiastic into a fever. In the year 1747, a tumult arose about the choice of a minister, which issued in a separation. But this and the other maladies were healed, when the peccant humors had been purged off, and the design of Providence accomplished, which design is expressed in these notable words: *There must be divisions among you, that they who are approved may be made manifest.*—1 Cor., xi., 19.

Mr. Keach, their first minister, who was son of the famous Benjamin Keach, of London, arrived in this country, a very wild youth, about the year 1686. On his landing, he dressed in black and wore a band, in order to pass for a minister. The project succeeded to his wishes, and many people resorted to hear the young London divine. He performed well enough till he had advanced pretty far in the sermon, then, stopping short, he looked like a man astonished. The audience concluded he had been seized with a sudden disorder; but, on asking what the matter was, received from him a confession of the imposture, with tears in his eyes and much trembling. Great was his distress, though it ended happily; from this time he dated his conversion. He heard of Mr. Dungan. To him he repaired to seek counsel and comfort, and by him he was baptized and ordained. From Coldspring, Mr. Keach came to Pennepeck, and settled a church there, as before related; and thence traveled through Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, preaching the Gospel in the wilderness with great success, inasmuch that he may be considered as the chief apostle of the baptists in these parts of America. He and his family embarked for England early in the spring of the year 1692, and afterwards became a very famous and successful minister in London. Sometime before embarking, he had resigned the care of the church to

Rev. John Watts, whose history will be given when we come to the full account of this old church.

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The third company, the Keithian or Quaker Baptists, in 1691.

The history of this singular community, and the transformation of a portion of them into the advocates of baptist sentiments, I shall relate in the language of M. Edwards, my guide in all matters of this kind:

"Soon after the settlement of Pennsylvania, a difference arose among the Quakers, touching the sufficiency of what every man has within himself for the purpose of his own salvation. Some denied that sufficiency, and consequently magnified the external Word, Christ, &c., above Barclay's measure. These were headed by the famous George Keith, and therefore called *Keithians*. The difference rose to a division in the year 1691, when separate meetings were set up in divers parts of the country, and a general one at Burlington, in opposition to that of Philadelphia. This year they published a *Confession of Faith*, containing twelve articles, much in Barclay's strain, and signed by George Keith, Thomas Budd, John Hart, Richard Hilliard, Thomas Hooten, and Henry Furnis, in the behalf of the rest. They also published the *reasons of the separation*, &c., signed by the same persons and others, to the number of 48. About the same time, and afterward, were published several other pieces. The design of these publications was,

"1st. To inform the world of the principles of the Separate Quakers.

"2d. To fix the blame of the separation on the opposite party.

"3d. To complain of the unfair treatment, slanders, fines, imprisonments, and other species of persecution, which they endured from their brethren.

"Whether these complaints be just or not, is neither my business nor inclination to determine. If just, the Quakers have also shown, 'That every sect would persecute, had they but power.' I know but one exception to this satirical remark, and that is the baptists; they have had civil power in their hands in Rhode Island government, for an hundred and thirty-six, (now upwards of two hundred,) years, and yet have never abused it in this manner, their enemies themselves being judges. And it is remarkable that John Holmes, Esq., the only baptist magistrate in Philadelphia at the time referred to, refused to act with the Quaker magistrates, against the Keithians, alleging, 'That it was a religious dispute, and therefore not fit for a civil court.' Nay, he openly blamed the court, held at Philadelphia, Dec. 6—12, 1692, for refusing to admit the exceptions, which the prisoners made to their jury. However, the Keithian Quakers soon declined; their head deserted them and went over to the Episcopalians. Some followed him thither; some returned to the Penn Quakers; and some went to other societies. Nevertheless, many persisted in the separation, particularly at Upper Providence; at Philadelphia; at Southampton; and at Lower Dublin. These, by resigning themselves to the guidance of Scripture, began to find water in the commission; bread and wine in the command; community of goods, love feast, kiss of charity, right hand of fellowship, anointing the sick for recovery, and washing the disciples' feet; and therefore were determined to practise accordingly.

"The society of Keithians most forward in these matters, was that kept at the house of Thomas Powell, in Upper Providence; which forwardness, it is said, was owing to one Abel Noble, who visited them, and was a Seventh-day Baptist minister when he arrived in

this country. The time they began to put their designs in practice, was Jan. 28, 1697, when the said Abel Noble baptized a public Friend, whose name was Thomas Martin, in Redley Creek. Afterwards Mr. Martin baptized other Quakers, to the number of 16. To them joined one William Beckingham, who broke off from the church at Cohansey. These 17 persons did, October 12, 1697, incorporate; and proceeded to choose a minister by lot. Three were put in nomination, William Beckingham, Thomas Budd, and Thomas Martin. The lot fell on the last, who, the same day, administered the Lord's Supper to them, for the first time. Shortly after, 15 more of the Quakers were baptized, some of whom lived in other parts of the country. But in 1700 a difference arose among them, touching the Sabbath, which broke up the society. Such as adhered to the observation of the Seventh day, kept together at Newtown, where some of their posterity are to this day. The rest lay scattered in the neighborhood, till Mr. Abel Morgan gathered together 15 of them, and formed them into a society, now called the *church of Brandywine*, belonging to the Philadelphia Association.

"Another society of Keithian Quakers, who kept together, was that of Philadelphia, where they built a meeting-house in 1692. Of these, two public persons were baptized in 1697, by Rev. Thomas Killingsworth, of Cohansey. Their names were William Davis and Thomas Ruter. The first joined Pennepeck; the other kept preaching in Philadelphia, where he baptized one Henry Bernard Hoster, Thomas Peart, and seven others, whose names are not on record. These nine persons united in communion, June 12, 1698, having Thomas Ruter to their minister. They increased, and continued together for nine years. But some removing to the country, and the unbaptized Keithians falling off, the society in a manner broke up in 1707; for then the few that remained invited the regular baptists to join them, and were incorporated with them.

"A third society of Keithian Quakers was at Southampton, in Berks county; and a fourth at Lower Dublin. But many of these societies soon also found water in the commission, and were baptized; and having become baptists, they were soon divided again, on the disputed point respecting the Sabbath. Those who adhered to the observance of the First-day Sabbath, in both societies, united with the church at Pennepeck.

"Thus have we seen that the Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists: they were also called Quaker Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress, and manners of the Quakers. We have seen also, that the Keithian or Quaker baptists ended in another kind of transformation into Seventh-day Baptists, though some went among the First-day Baptists and other societies. However, these were the beginning of the Sabbatarians in Pennsylvania. A confession of faith was published by the Keithian Baptists in 1697: it consists chiefly of the articles in the Apostles' creed. The additions are articles which relate to baptism by immersion, the Lord's Supper; distinguishing days and months by numerical names, plainness of language and dress, not swearing, not fighting," &c.

But, in process of time, all their peculiarities disappeared, and they were fully conformed to baptist manners and rules.

The old Second street church in Philadelphia now occupies the same identical spot where these *Keithian baptists* built their house of worship in this city. The foundations of some of the other old churches in this State were laid by this people.

The fourth company, Mennonites, in 1692.

The full history of this people in this State will be given under one head for the whole country. At present, from Mr. Edwards, I will give the following sketches of their commencement here.

"Some Mennonite families were in the province as early as the year 1692, who came hither from New York government, which at first belonged to the Dutch, and was called New Netherlands, extending from the river Delaware to the river of Connecticut. They settled in the neighborhood now called Germantown and Frankfort, &c. Other families soon followed; and after them many came directly from Europe, insomuch that May 23, 1708, there was a church settled at Germantown, consisting of 52 members, which exists to this day (1770), and is not only the first in the province, but, in some sort, the mother of all the rest. In about 16 years after, this church had branched out to Skippek, Canestogo, Great Swamp, and Monatony, and become five churches, to which appertained 16 ministers, viz.: Rev. Messrs. Jacob Gootschalk, Henry Kolb, Martin Kolb, Cleas Johnson, Michael Zeigler, John Gorgas, John Conerads, Cleas Rittinghausen, Hans Burghaltzer, Christian Heer, Benedict Hirschy, Martin Beer, Johannes Bowman, Velter Clemer, Daniel Langanecker, and Jacob Beghtly. The present (1770) state of the Mennonites in this province is as follows: 1st. Their churches, which contain many branches, are 13. 2d. The meeting-houses belonging to them are 42. 3d. Their ordained ministers or bishops are 15. 4th. Their probationary or licensed preachers are 53. 5th. The families are about 810, which, allowing 5 to a

family, contain 4,050 souls; whereof 1,448 persons are baptized and members of their churches. This account, I believe, is pretty exact, except the county of Lancaster hath introduced any error into it; for in that county I have not met with as much readiness to give me the information I sought as in the other counties, owing, I believe, to a suspicion that a knowledge of their state would, some way or other, be to their prejudice."⁴

The fifth company,—the Tunkers—and the Seventh-Day Baptists, at Ephrata, 1719.

"The first appearing of these people in America was in the fall of the year 1719, when about 20 families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves, some to Germantown, some to Skippeck, some to Oley, some to Conestogu, and elsewhere. This dispersion incapacitated them to meet for public worship, and therefore they began to grow lukewarm in religion. But in the year 1723, Messrs. Baker, Gomery, Gantz, and the Trautes visited their scattered brethren, which was attended with a great revival, insomuch that societies were formed wherever a number of families were within reach one of another. But this lasted not above three years. They settled on their lees again, till about thirty families more of their persecuted brethren arrived in the fall of the year 1728, which both quickened them again and increased their number everywhere. These two companies had been members of one and the same church, which originated at Schwarzenau, in the year 1708. The first constituents were Alexander Mack and wife, John Kipin and wife, George Grevy, Andreas Bloney, Lucas Fetter, and Joanna Nethigeim. These had been bred Presbyterians except Kipin, who was a Lutheran, and being neighbors, they consorted together to read the Bible and edify one another in the way they had been brought up, for as yet they did not know that there were any baptists in the world. However, believers' baptism and a congregational church soon gained upon them, insomuch that they had determined to obey the Gospel in these matters. They desired Alexander Mack to baptize them; but he, deeming himself in reality unbaptized, refused. Upon which they cast lots to find who should be administrator. On whom the lot fell hath been carefully concealed. However, baptized they were in the river Eder, by Schwarzenau, and then formed themselves into a church, choosing Alexander Mack to be their minister. They increased fast, and began to spread their branches to Merienborn and Epstein, having John Naass and Christian Levy to their ministers in those places. But persecution quickly drove them thence, some to Holland and some to Creyfelt. Soon after, the mother church voluntarily removed from Schwarzenau to Serustervin, in Friesland, and from thence migrated towards America, in 1719. And in 1729, those of Creyfelt and Holland followed their brethren.

"Thus we see that all the Tunker churches in America sprang from the church at Schwarzenau, in Germany; that that church began in 1708, with only seven souls, and that in a place where no baptist had been in the memory of man, nor any now are. In 63 years that little one became a thousand, and that small one a great nation."

The EPHRATA COMPANY arose out of a division of the Tunkers, principally on the question of the Sabbath. The portion which went off with Conrad Beissel, became the decided advocates of the 7th-day principles, and under this famous leader, they planted a flourishing town, near Lancaster, to which they gave the name above mentioned. The place was also called Tunkerstown, with reference to the originators of this community.

The whole history of the Tunkers, and of the interesting branch of them at Ephrata, will be related under the appropriate heads.

The SIXTH COMPANY—The Red Stone settlement and Association, in the western part of the State, about 1770.

This company, which began its operations in the commencement of the war of the revolution, and which suffered prodigious hardships and privations for many years, laid the foundation for the important institutions which have risen up in this section of the State.

The SEVENTH, or WYOMING COMPANY, on the Susquehanna, about 1785.

People of our denomination began to settle in this region, soon after the close of the American war, on a tract of land then denominated *The Wyoming country*.

These baptist pioneers came hither principally from Warwick and Canaan, N. Y., under Ebenezer Green, Jacob Drake, James Finn, Roswell Goff, and others. Under their ministrations arose the old Chemung Association, and by the evangelical labors of these early adventurers, and their coadjutors or successors, Thomas Smiley, Davis Dimock, Joel Rogers, and others, the foundations were laid for the Associations which have since been organized in this section of the State, each of which will be described in their regular order.

⁴ Edwards' History of the Baptists in Pennsylvania, pp. 90-93.

SEVEN OLD CHURCHES.

A list of a few of the old churches in Pennsylvania.

Names.	Date.	Pastors.	Members.
Pennepeck, - - -	1689	Samuel Jones, - - -	49
Philadelphia, - - -	1698	Morgan Edwards, - - -	149
Great Valley, - - -	1711	John Davis, - - -	110
Brandywine, - - -	1715	- - -	29
Montgomery, - - -	1719	John Thomas, - - -	95
Southampton, - - -	1746	Samuel Jones, - - -	56
Konoloway, - - -	1754	Joseph Powell, - - -	46

Such was the state of these seven old churches, as appears by the Minutes of the Philadelphia Association for 1769, which is the oldest copy in my file. They began to print them but a few years before. Some brief sketches of these ancient bodies will now be given.

PENNEPECK, or LOWER DUBLIN CHURCH. Some items of the planting of this body, by a company from Wales, in 1689, has been given in the history of the second company of baptists in Penn's colony.

Rev. Elias Keach, who afterwards returned to England, was reported as their first pastor. Successor to him was

Rev. John Watts, who was born November 3rd, 1661, at Lydd, or Leed, in the county of Kent; he came to this country about the year 1687; was called to the ministry in 1688, took on him the care of the church in 1690; continued in the care thereof to August 27, 1702, when he died of the small pox, and was buried at Pennepeck, having had Mr. Samuel Jones as his assistant. Mr. Watts was a sound divine, and a man of some learning, as appears by a book he wrote, entitled *Davis Disabled*. There was an order for printing this book, dated August 3rd, 1706, but it was not executed. He also composed a Catechism, or little system of divinity, which was published in 1700. Mr. Watts was succeeded by

Rev. Evan Morgan, who came to this country very early, and was a man of piety and parts. He broke off from the Quakers, along with many others of Mr. Keith's party, in 1691; he was baptized in 1697, by one Thomas Rutter, and the same year renounced the relics of Quakerism, and was received into the church. In 1702, he was called to the ministry, and ordained October 23rd, 1706, by Rev. Messrs. Thomas Griffith and Thomas Killingsworth. He died February 16, 1709, and was buried at Pennepeck, after having had the joint care of the church for upwards of two years.

The succeeding pastors of this church, whose united ministrations continued about sixty years, were *Samuel Jones, Joseph Wood, Abel Morgan, Jenkin Jones, and P. P. Vanhorn*.

Rev. Samuel Jones, D.D., late pastor here, was a native of Wales, where he was born in 1735, and was ordained the pastor of this church in 1763, where he continued about half a century, with great reputation and usefulness. For about thirty years he kept an academy on his own premises, in which many were educated not only for the ministry, but for the other learned professions.

Dr. Jones through most of his life, was in every sense of the word a leading man among the baptists; his literary vocation made him always prominent in the education department, and his sound judgment, great stability, and moral worth, always gave him an important place in all their councils, whether in his own vicinity, or in remoter regions.

He was one of the first projectors of Rhode Island College, now Brown University, and was present with the little company in Newport, when incipient measures were adopted for its promotion; and the same may probably be said of the Warren Association, which was formed a few years after.

Dr. Jones continued in this pastoral station till his death, in 1814, a period of fifty-nine years.

Since his removal, this ancient community has had for its pastors in succession, *Jacob Gregg, Joshua P. Slack, David Jones, and J. M. Challis*.

FIRST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

The history of this ancient and very important body, is thus related by Morgan Edwards, who, as will be seen in the following narrative, was one of its able and efficient pastors.

“In the year 1686, one John Holmes, who was a Baptist, arrived and settled in the neighborhood. He was a man of property and learning, and therefore we find him in the magistracy of the place in 1691, and was the same man who refused to act with the Quaker magistrates, against the Keithians. He died Judge of Salem Court. In 1696, John Farmer and his wife, members of a baptist church in London, then under the pastoral care of the famous Hansard Knollys, arrived and settled in the place. In 1697, one Joseph Todd, and Rebecca Woosoncroft, came to the same neighborhood, who belonged to a baptist church in Limmington, in Hampshire, England, whereof Rev. John Rumsay was pastor. The same year, one William Silverstone, William Elton and wife, and Mary Shepard, were baptized by Thomas Killingsworth. These nine persons, on the second Sunday of December, 1698, assembled at a house in *Barbadoes lot*, and coalesced into a church for the communion of saints, having Rev. John Watts to their assistance. From that time to the year 1746, they increased, partly by emigrations from the old country, and partly by the occasional labors of Elias Keach, Thomas Killingsworth, John Watts, Samuel Jones, Evan Morgan, John Hart, Joseph Wood, Nathaniel Jenkins, Thomas Griffiths, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, John Burrows, Thomas Shelby, Abel Morgan, George Eaglesfield, William Kinnersley, and others. From the beginning to the last mentioned time (1746), they had no settled minister among them, though it was a period of forty-eight years. The first that might be properly called their own, was *Jenkin Jones*; the rest belonged to other churches.

“They did, indeed, in 1723, choose George Eaglesfield to preach to them, contrary to the sense of the church at Pennepeck; but in 1725, he left them, and went to Middletown. About the year 1746, a question arose, whether Philadelphia was not a branch of Pennepeck? and consequently, whether the latter had not a right to part of the legacies bestowed on the former? This, indeed, was a groundless question; but for fear the design of their benefactors should be perverted, the church, then consisting of 56 members, was formally constituted, May 15, 1746.

“The place where these people met, at first, was the corner of Second and Chesnut streets, known by the name of *Barbadoes lot*. The building was a store-house; but when the Barbadoes company left the place, the baptists held their meetings there. So also did the Presbyterians, when either a baptist or presbyterian minister happened in town; for, as yet, neither had any settled among them. But when Jedidiah Andrews, from New England, came to the latter, the baptists, as has generally been their lot, were, in a manner, driven away. Several letters passed between the two societies on the occasion, which are yet extant. There was also a deputation of three baptists appointed to remonstrate with the presbyterians for so unkind and rightless a conduct; but to no purpose. From that time forth, the baptists held their worship at a place near the *draw-bridge*, known by the name of *Anthony Morris's brew-house*; here they continued to meet till March 15, 1707, when, by invitation of the *Keithians*, they removed their worship to Second street, where they hold it to this day. The Keithian meeting-house was a small, wooden building, erected in 1692. This the baptists took down in 1731, and raised on the same spot a neat brick building, 42 feet by 30. This house was also taken down in 1762, and a more spacious one was erected on the spot, 61 feet by 42, which was also built of brick, at the expense of £2,200.

“In 1734, an incident occurred which had like to have deprived the church both of their house and lot; for then one Thomas Pearl died, after having made a conveyance of the premises to the Church of England. The vestry demanded possession, but the baptists refused, and a law-suit commenced,

which brought the matter to a hearing before the Assembly. The episcopalians being discouraged, offered to give up their claim for £50. The offer was accepted, and contention ceased.

"This church experienced a painful division in 1711, occasioned by the turbulent spirit of an Irish preacher, who was among them, along with Mr. Burrows. His name was Thomas Shelby. When he had formed a party, he shut Mr. Burrows and his friends out of the meeting-house, who, henceforth, met at Mr. Burrows' house, in Chesnut street. This was the situation of affairs when Mr. Abel Morgan arrived, in 1711. But his presence soon healed the breach, and obliged Shelby to quit the town, which he did, in 1713, and went to Carolina, and there he died, the same year, but not before he had occasioned much disturbance. The ministers which this church have had, from the beginning to the year 1746, are mentioned above, and some of them have been already characterized. The following are the ministers they have had since that time.

"*Rev. Jenkins Jones.* He was born about 1690, in the parish of Llanfernach, and county of Pembroke, and arrived in this country about 1710. He was called to the ministry in Welsh-Tract, in 1724; removed to Philadelphia in 1725, and became the minister of the church at that place only, at the time of its re-constitution, May 15, 1746; for, theretofore, he had the care of Pennepeck also. He died at Philadelphia, July 16, 1761, and was there buried, where a tomb is erected to his memory. Mr. Jones was a good man, and did real service to this church, and to the baptists' interest. He secured to them the possession of their valuable lot and place of worship before described. He was the moving cause of altering the direction of licenses, so as to enable dissenting ministers to perform marriage by them. He built a parsonage-house, partly at his own charge. He gave a handsome legacy towards purchasing a silver cup for the Lord's Table, which is worth upwards of £60. His name is engraven upon it."

Rev. Ebenezer Kennersly, a companion of Dr. Franklin in philosophical studies, and who was distinguished in his day for great improvements in the science of electricity, was a cotemporary with Mr. Jones, during a part of his ministry.

Rev. Morgan Edwards was the next in office, which he entered in 1761. He was born in Trevithen, Wales, in 1722; was educated at the baptist Seminary, Bristol, England, then under the care of Rev. Mr. Foskett. He entered the ministry in the sixteenth year of his age. After he had finished his academical studies, he went to Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he continued seven years, preaching the gospel to a small congregation in that town. From Boston, he removed to Cork, in Ireland, where he was ordained, June 1, 1757, and resided nine years. From Cork, he returned to England, and preached about twelve months at Rye, in Sussex. While there, Rev. Dr. Gill,⁵ and other London ministers, in pursuance of letters from Philadelphia, urged him to pay a visit to this then vacant church.

The full account of this distinguished man must remain for my biographical volume, but it is proper here to say that for talents, industry and usefulness, he was preëminent in his day.

He was, emphatically, a pioneer in the history of the baptists, an early friend, and an ardent promoter of the Rhode Island College, having made extensive journeys in nearly all the colonies, to collect funds for this then infant institution. Indeed, every new enterprise which had the interest of the denomination in view, met with his cordial assent, and received his vigorous co-operation.

William Rogers, D.D., succeeded Mr. Edwards in the pastoral office, in which he continued about three years. He was born in Newport, R. I., in 1751, and was one of the four students who composed the first class of Rhode Island College, while that Institution was located in Warren.

⁵ It is said that the church in Philadelphia sent to Dr. Gill to assist them in obtaining a pastor; but that they required so many accomplishments to be united in him, that the Dr. wrote them back that he did not know as he could find a man in England who would answer their description; informing them, at the same time, that Mr. Morgan Edwards, who was then preaching in Rye, in the county of Sussex, came the nearest of any one who could be obtained.

Dr. Rogers was a chaplain in the American army during five years of the Revolutionary war.

In 1789, he was appointed a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, in which he continued upwards of twenty years.

Dr. Rogers was an intimate friend of Dr. Rippon, of London, and maintained an extensive correspondence with his brethren in America, Europe, and India.

Rev. Thomas Ustick became the pastor of this people in 1782, they having remained in a scattered and destitute condition during most of the Revolutionary war.

Mr. Ustick was born in the city of New York, August 30, 1753. He was baptized by John Gano, the pastor of the First church there, when but a little more than thirteen years of age.⁶ After having graduated at Rhode Island College, in 1771, he spent a number of years in Stamford and Ashford, Conn., and at Grafton, in Mass., from which last place he removed to this city, where he continued the much esteemed and useful pastor of this ancient community about twenty-one years. And here he closed his earthly labors, in April, 1803, in the fiftieth year of his age.

Rev. William Staughton, D.D., succeeded Mr. Ustick, in 1805, and continued here about six years, when he resigned his charge to become the pastor of the new church in Sansom street, under which head a more full account of him will be given.

Under his ministry, the house of worship was enlarged, and nearly three hundred were added to the church by baptism.

Rev. Henry Holcombe, D.D., the next pastor, was invested with the office in 1811.

He was born in Prince Edward Co., Va., February 22, 1762, and was carried to South Carolina when a child. His first settlement as a minister was with the church on Pipe Creek, in this State.

In 1791, he became pastor of the old church at Euhaw, then of Beaufort, and from this place he removed to Savannah, Ga., where he continued until near the time of his removing to this church.

Dr. Holcombe's ministry in this place continued about 15 years. His labors were very efficient, and many were baptized by him.

Rev. Wm. T. Brantley, D.D., was the next in office here, where he continued until he was transferred to the pastorship of the First church, in Charleston, S. C.

Rev. George B. Ide, the present incumbent, was settled in 1840.

GREAT VALLEY CHURCH was constituted in 1711, by people from Wales. Its seat is 18 miles west from Philadelphia. It was once handsomely endowed with lands and funds; what is the present state of its temporalities I have not been informed.

Rev. Hugh Davis, a native of Wales, was its first pastor.

Rev. John Davis was his successor for many years; he was a Welshman by birth.

Rev. David Jones was a long time in the pastoral office with this ancient community. His name disappears from the Minutes in 1820, and in that year

Rev. Thomas Roberts is returned as pastor. His name had been associated with Dr. Jones for a number of years before, probably as co-pastor with him.

Rev. Thomas J. Kitts is returned as the pastoral incumbent in 1822. *Rev. John T. Jenkins, do.*, in 1824, and *Rev. David L. Fletcher*, next in office; and how many other changes they have had I have not fully ascertained.

Rev. Chas. B. Keys was returned as pastor in 1844.

⁶ At the baptism of this young disciple, the following incident occurred. Mr. Gano, in giving out the hymn for the occasion, parodied the second verse thus:—

"His honor is engaged to save
The youngest of his sheep," &c.

'Why,' said the child, 'did you not say *meanest*? for so I truly am.'

604 BRANDYWINE, MONTGOMERY, AND SOUTHAMPTON CHURCHES.

BRANDYWINE CHURCH bears date from 1715. A part of its constituent members came from one of the Keithian companies which had existed in the place. Of its early shepherds I have but little information. It was a small company, and appears to have been much of the time without a settled pastor.

Rev. Abel Griffith appears on the Minutes in this capacity, in 1775.

Rev. Joshua Vaughan was his successor for many years. After him, for more than twenty years, it is returned vacant.

Rev. Joseph Walker is the present pastor of this ancient community.

MONTGOMERY CHURCH was also founded by Welsh baptists, and was constituted in 1719.

Rev. Benjamin Griffith was its first pastor; he was born in the Principality, in the county of Cardigan, in 1688. The duration of his ministry here I am not able to state. Successor to him was

Rev. John Thomas,¹ whose native place was Radnor, in Wales, where he was born in 1703. Mr. Thomas must have sustained an old-fashioned pastorate, as his name continues on the Minutes against this church until 1783, when

Rev. David Loufborough is returned as occupying this station, but disappears at the end of five years.

Rev. Silas Hough came into the pastoral station in 1804, in which he continued about seventeen years.

Rev. Samuel Smith was his successor for about four years.

Rev. Thomas T. Robinson appears in this pastorate in 1831, where he continued about seven years.

Rev. Wm. Mathews, 1841, was his successor for about three years, when

Rev. Wm. A. Mathews, the present incumbent, came into office.

SOUTHAMPTON CHURCH was formed in 1746, by members from Pennepeck and the remains of an old Keithian community, which had existed on the ground nearly half a century.

Rev. Joshua Potts was its first pastor, where he continued fifteen years. After him they had in succession, as pastors or supplies, Thomas Davis, Dr. Samuel Jones, Erasmus Kelly, William Van Horn, David Jones, Thomas Messenger, which brings us down to 1810, when the name of

Rev. Thomas B. Montanye first appears on the Minutes as the pastor of this ancient community. His ministry continued twenty-seven years.

Rev. James B. Bowen was reported as pastor in 1831.

This ancient community united in forming the Delaware River Association, where it now belongs. An account of its present condition has been given in the history of New Jersey.

Isaac Eaton and Oliver Hunt, two of our most eminent ministers in their day, originated from this church.

KONOLOWAY CHURCH, the only one remaining of the seven named in my first list, was in a remote situation among the mountains, relative to which very little information has been received.

¹ The history of William Thomas, the father of John, is somewhat peculiar, and is thus given by Mr. Mathias. He arrived in this country about 1712, being entirely destitute of all worldly means, and in debt for all the expenses of the passage, of himself and family; notwithstanding, when he left his native place, he was possessed of ample means to plant himself in circumstances of affluence in his new location. This calamity befel him in consequence of a most flagrant act of misconduct on the part of the commander of the vessel in which his property was shipped, who sailed before the time set for him to come on board. He took passage on credit, as early as possible, but on his arrival, he had the mortification to find the captain had absconded, and all was lost; and to add to his grief and vexation, he identified his goods and clothes, &c., in the possession of new owners, which could never be recovered.

But being a man of energy, robust in person, and of great decision of character, he at once applied himself to industrious efforts, as many others in similar circumstances have done, and in process of time, became a man of large possessions in lands in different places; built a meeting-house on his own premises, at his own expense, in which, for a number of years, he officiated in the ministry, and now, with many of his family, reposes in his own grave-yard, in Hillstown, where a suitable monument is erected to his memory.

NEW BRITAIN CHURCH was formed from the Montgomery, in 1754. Their three first pastors were Joseph Eaton, William Davis, and Joshua Jones, all native Welshmen.

Rev. Heman Lincoln, 2d, is their present pastor.

HILLTOWN CHURCH also originated from the old Montgomery, of which it was formerly a branch. It was constituted a distinct body in 1781.

Rev. John Thomas was its first pastor. Successor to him was

Rev. James McLaughlin, whose name first appears in the Minutes in 1791. His ministry continued thirteen years, when he was succeeded by

Rev. Joseph Mathias, who is the present incumbent. This venerable elder was settled in 1806, and, of course, has occupied this one field of labor upwards of forty years. Mr. Mathias' long continuance in one pulpit is a practice altogether out of fashion for modern times.

To this good brother I am indebted for a greater amount of historical matter than I am able to incorporate in my present narratives. He has gone over the whole ground occupied by the old Welsh churches in this region, where they lived in patriarchal simplicity with ministers generally of their own nation. Mr. Mathias is himself of Cambro-British descent, and is entirely familiar with all matters pertaining to the history of this interesting group of the baptist community. His communications contain a great amount of biographical materials, which will afford me essential aid in the construction of my proposed work on that subject. By the aid of this diligent researcher, I shall be able to exhibit many important facts respecting the early and later pastors of these churches, which have not appeared in any productions that I have seen.

SECTION II.

ASSOCIATIONS AND GENERAL DIVISIONS.

Philadelphia Association—Central Union—Chemung—Susquehanna—Abington—Bridgewater—Bradford—Wyoming.

IN the farther prosecution of the history of this State, I shall describe the Associations under three divisions, viz.: *Eastern, Central, and Western.*

FIRST, OR EASTERN DIVISION.

The Associations named in this section, I shall describe in the order in which they are arranged.

PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION.

The formation of this oldest body of the kind in this country was an important era among the American Baptists; the location was central—the few ministers who promoted the measure were among the most talented in the denomination at that time—the churches were well founded, and soon the infant confederacy became the rallying point to the few isolated churches in all directions, north and south. Their advice was sought in all matters of difficulty, and their doings served as a model for all succeeding institutions of the kind. Its ministers were sent for and traveled to assist in founding and renovating churches as far as Virginia and the Carolinas. Its influence was exerted with good effect in favor of their brethren who suffered persecution, both in the Old Dominion and among the puritans of New England.

“This Association,” says Dr. Samuel Jones, “originated in what they called General, and sometimes Yearly meetings. These meetings were instituted as early as 1698, and met alternately in May and September, at Lower Dublin, Philadelphia, Salem, Cohansey, Chester, and Burlington; at which places there were members, though no church or churches were constituted except Lower Dublin and Cohansey. At these meetings their labors were chiefly confined to the ministry of the word and the administration of gospel ordinances. But in

the year 1707, they seemed to have taken more properly the form of an Association, for then they had delegates from several churches, and attended to their general concerns. We therefore date our beginning as an Association from that time, though we might, with but little impropriety, extend it back some years.

"They were at this time but a feeble band, though a band of faithful brothers, consisting of but five churches: viz., those of Lower Dublin, Piscataway, Middletown, Cohansey, and Welsh Tract. There were at that time but these five in North America, except Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

"Here it may not be amiss to take some notice of the first ministers in succession in each of the constituted churches, as a brief memorial of those venerable fathers, that were the instruments of propagating the gospel in these parts of the New World.

"The church of Lower Dublin had for their first minister Rev. Elias Keach, son of the memorable Benjamin Keach, of London. He returned to England in 1692, and was succeeded by the noted John Watts, who departed this life in the year 1702, in the midst of his days and growing usefulness—the fortieth year of his age, and twelfth of his ministry. So was the will of God. After him they had Samuel Jones, Evan Morgan, and Joseph Wood; and in the year 1712 came over sea, by invitation, Abel Morgan, who had been pastor of a church at Blaene Gerent, in South Wales. He is said to have been indefatigable and abundantly useful in his ministry. He supplied Lower Dublin and Philadelphia, besides visiting other places. He wrote and published the first Welsh concordance of the Holy Scriptures that ever was published in that language. This good man was called home to reap the fruit of his labors, and much lamented, in the year 1722."⁸

The remaining part of this centennial discourse, so far as the churches and ministers are concerned, is incorporated in the history of the first baptists in these two old States.

It was something more than half a century from the commencement of associational operations before their minutes were printed, which was finally done principally by the influence of Morgan Edwards, then an active member of the body. I have an imperfect file of their Minutes, which goes to near the time when the printing began. They do not vary much from similar documents at the present time, except that, like old records of this kind in early times, a considerable space is generally occupied in designating supplies for destitute churches.

In the minutes for 1769, among the delegates were Hezekiah Smith and John Gano; and their doings show a strong solicitude for the welfare of R. I. College, then in its infancy, and collections and appropriations for ministerial education."

"In 1774, by request, Bro. John Gano gave an account of his travels to the southward by appointment of the Association. By which it appears that he had been indefatigable in his labors, and that a minister traveling annually on the plan proposed, may answer very valuable purposes."

Contributions for R. I. College are again recommended.

This year it would seem, for the first time, was adopted the plan of appointing a person the year beforehand, to prepare a general or circular letter to the churches, as previous to that time such epistles had been written during the meeting.

Rev Abel Morgan was the mover of this plan, which all Associations have since adopted. At the same time it was proposed that some doctrinal subject should be discussed in this annual letter.

In 1775, an application was made for the Association to ordain an itinerant minister to officiate among them; but so cautious were they of doing anything which could be construed into an assumption of power, that they declined

⁸ Century Sermon, pp. 5, 6.

the proposal, and advised the church to a different and more consistent course. At one time this Association extended from Northeastown, in the State of N. York, to Ketchikan, in Virginia, a distance of about four hundred miles. And as soon as other bodies of the kind began to arise, they all sought the correspondence and friendly and paternal intercourse and assistance of this ancient and influential community.

The Associations which have been formed wholly or in part, directly from the old Philadelphia, are as follows:—New York, Warwick, New Jersey, Baltimore, Central Union, and probably it has contributed towards the formation of some others.

Granting supplies to destitute churches was an important item in the annual doings of this, and all old bodies of the kind, before any systematic operations of a missionary character were matured.

In the minutes for 1776, such supplies were granted to the churches of Upper Freehold, Oyster Bay, Lyons Farm, New Mills, Cow Marsh, Baltimore Town, Talbot Township, and Peekskill. The days are all named in the same manner as our ministers now in some parts of the country make their appointments beforehand, and from the long list of names I should judge that every minister in the Association officiated for some one or more of these places.

The Moderators and Clerks of this Association since 1760, have been as follows:—

Benj. Griffeth, Benj. Miller, Morgan Edwards, I. Eaton, Saml. Jones, J. Gano, A. Morgan, I. Stelle, O. Hart, S. Waldo, Jas. Manning,	I. Skillman, Wm. Rogers, Thos. Ustick, David Jones, B. Allison, Jas. Ewing, Heze. Smith, Wm. White, T. B. Montonye, H. Smally, Wm. Staughton,	Jos. Mathias, Silas Hough, H. G. Jones, J. P. Peckwith, Thos. Roberts, Thos. Griffin, E. Cushman, Thos. J. Kitts, Jos. Walker, Saml. Smith, Wm. E. Ashton,	G. B. Perry, J. H. Kennard, Jas. Taylor, J. S. Jenkins, A. D. Gillette, R. Babcock, D. Dodge, Wm. Shadrach, Geo. Higgins, G. S. Webb, J. M. Linnard, Total, 44.
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The clerks for the same time have been

P. P. Van Horn, A. Morgan, I. Stelle, S. Jones, M. Edwards, J. Manning, Wm. Rogers, Wm. Van Horn, Thomas Fleeson, Thos. Ustick,	John Stancliff, B. Allison, Thos. Meminger, P. Wilson, Wm. Staughton, S. Hough, W. White, H. G. Jones, J. Boggs, Geo. F. Curwin,	J. P. Slack, Wm. E. Ashton, John Walker, H. Keeling, J. C. Murphy, J. S. Jenkins, David Jones, Jos. Walker, T. J. Kitts, S. Siegfried,	R. Gardiner, J. S. Walter, G. B. Perry, Levi Tucker, Geo. McLeod, W. Jewell, A. D. Gillette, now the stated clerk. Total, 37.
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They must have adopted the principal of rotation in office to a very full extent, if the whole list were made out. My file is very deficient, especially in early years.⁹ Mr. McLeod was in the clerkship eight years in succession, and was reported on the Minutes as the standing clerk.¹⁰

⁹ The statistics of the churches in Philadelphia will be given in the table for the city. Those in this Association which will not come under that head, are as follows: viz., Lower Dublin, Thomas Roberts, 278; Chestnut Hill, R. F. Young, 241; Lower Marion, H. G. Jones, 237; Newtown, —, 133; Glen Run, E. M. Phillips, 123; Roxborough, T. Winter, 152; Lower Providence, John Curren, 148; West Caln, F. W. Josinsky, 137; Reading, J. Hammet, 146; Hilltown, 150; New Britain, 129; Ridley, C. C. Park, 91; Bolligomingo, J. W. Hayhurst, 126; Great Valley, J. F. Brown, 133; Montgomery, 96; Bethesda, 101; Boakleyville, E. Barra, 97; Peques, J. S. Jenkins, 93.

¹⁰ By the kindness of Mr. Gillette, it is made complete from 1812; before that period, about half of them are missing. I should be glad to obtain them.

CENTRAL UNION ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1832. It occupies a portion of the same ground over which the Philadelphia community had extended its operations, and a few of the churches in the surrounding country, which formerly belonged to that ancient community, united in the organization of this new interest. Some of the city churches did the same, but at present I believe they have all come back to the mother institution, except the old Second Street, which still belongs to the new connection.

The churches generally in this body, have been organized within the present century, and most of them are of recent origin.

The VINCENT CHURCH, in the neighborhood of *Chester Springs*, next to the First Philadelphia, is the oldest in this body. The following interesting account of the progress of this ancient society, has been sent me by

Rev. J. V. Allison, its present pastor, who was settled with them in 1843.

"The Vincent Baptist Church is said to have been constituted in 1770.¹⁰ None of its records, however, are of earlier date than the commencement of the 19th century, and it is thought by some, that the constitution took place in 1769. For many years it did not enjoy the labors of a pastor, and was only occasionally visited by ministers of the Gospel. Under these circumstances its progress was very slow.

"In April, 1819, Rev. Charles Moore accepted a call to the pastoral charge. At that time the members numbered seventy-one, and that number now began gradually to increase.

"In November, 1827, a number of the members received letters of dismission, for the purpose of organizing another church, which is known as the *Bethesda* Baptist Church, and belongs to the Philadelphia Baptist Association.

"In December, 1829, Rev. Enos M. Philips, and Rev. John Tucker, were licensed to preach the Gospel. Br. Philips is now pastor of the Glen Run Baptist Church. Br. Tucker has since connected himself with the denomination called by themselves the *Church of God*, and by others Winebrennarians, a people whose principles are very nearly the same as those of the Free Will Baptists.

"In April, 1830, Rev. Josiah Philips, received a license to preach the Gospel.

"In February, 1833, forty-nine members were dismissed, for the purpose of being organized into a new church, which took the name of the *Windsor* Baptist Church. Rev. Josiah Philips was for several years pastor of the Windsor Church, and was succeeded by the present pastor, Rev. Thomas S. Griffith.

"In October, 1833, Rev. Wm. Steadman was licensed to preach.

"In November, 1841, fifteen members were dismissed, who joined with nine from Windsor and two from Bethesda, in forming the *East Nantmeal* Church.

"In April, 1842, Father Moore resigned the pastoral office, having held it twenty-three years. He preached steadily for the church three years before he accepted the pastorate, and one year subsequent to his resignation; making the time of his labor with the church twenty-seven years. Old age and infirmities, furnished the cause of his resignation. He still resides in the neighborhood of the church, and preaches occasionally, and is loved and respected by the church and community.

"A legacy of two-thirds of a farm, which was sold for upwards of \$1,300 dollars, was left to the church, many years since, by Mr. Daniel Evans, for the purpose of supporting the ministry. The interest of the above sum is strictly appropriated as a part of the pastor's salary.

"Two young men, members of the church at present, are making preparation to enter upon the work of the Gospel ministry.

"An unusually large proportion of the present members of the church are very aged.

"The church and neighborhood are remarkable for the peace and harmony that have prevailed for many years.

"We cherish and assist, to some extent, all the benevolent institutions of the day. In the Spring, we hope to send a delegate to the Triennial Convention, which is to meet in Philadelphia."¹

This old and retired congregation appears to have been a fruitful nursery both of ministers and churches.

The FRANKFORT CHURCH is close on the northern bounds of the metropolis. It was constituted in 1807.

Rev. David Jones, Jun., appears to have been its first pastor. After him appear on the minutes, the names of Daniel D. Lewis, Wm. Wilson, John C. Murphy, in succession for about twenty years from its beginning. Most of the

¹⁰ Asplund dates it 1771.

¹ The above communication was made in 1843.

time, however, it seems to have been destitute of a pastor. As I have no file of the Minutes of this Association, I have no means of ascertaining its pastoral supplies for many years past.

Rev. C. W. Mulford was reported as its pastor in 1836.

HOLMESBURG CHURCH was formed from the old Pennepeck, in Lower Dublin, in 1832. The seat of it is ten miles north of Philadelphia, and in the neighborhood of the mother institution.²

Rev. D. L. McGear was its pastor in 1844.

The churches in Norristown, Phoenixville, Williston, West Chester, and Radnor, are large institutions, but no items of their history have come to hand.

The NORRISTOWN CHURCH, *Samuel Aaron*, pastor, except the First Philadelphia, whose number will be given in the table of the city churches, appears to be the largest in this body.³

I shall proceed in a northern and north-west direction from Philadelphia, where, within a half century past, a group of six Associations have been organized, for the most part in the counties of Luzerne, Susquehanna, Wayne, Bradford, and Lycoming. The region of the State in which they are situated is bounded by New York on the east and north. Two of this group have nearly or quite become extinct; the others are in active operation, and are united in sustaining the evangelical enterprises in which the great body of the denomination in this State are engaged. As they are all in the same section of the State, I shall follow their history in a chronological order, and begin with the

CHEMUNG ASSOCIATION,

Which was organized in 1796, of five churches, viz.: Chemung, Romulus, Fredericktown, New Bedford, and Braintrim. Its principal ministers, in early times, were Roswell Goff, and Thomas Smiley, who were distinguished pioneers in this then uncultivated region. The origin of this body is thus described in my 1st vol., p. 596:—

The oldest church, and the mother of a number of the rest, is the one called *Chemung*, which was founded in 1791, in the following manner. Soon after the war, Mr. Ebenezer Green and others from the Warwick church, in New York, settled on the west branch of the Susquehanna at a place called the *Black-hole*. There they kept up a meeting till they were visited by James Finn, who baptized some among them. Being disappointed about their lands, they soon removed in a body to the *Chemung Flats*, then just beginning to be settled. There they were soon joined by many others from different parts, among whom was Mr. Roswell Goff, who began to preach among them, and under whose ministry they were soon gathered into a church, at the time above mentioned. Mr. Goff was born in Spencertown, N. Y., in 1763, and was baptized at Deer Park, at the age of 25.

Mr. Smiley was born in Dauphin county, Pa., May 29, 1759; he was brought up a Seceder, a rigid sect of Scotch Presbyterians; and was baptized by James Finn, in this region, about the year 1792. In the disputes about lands in this region, in 1800, Mr. Smiley, on account of having some governmental papers about him, was dragged out of bed, in the dead of the night, by a band of what was called the *Wild Yankees*, with their faces blacked, and who, with pistols at his breast, compelled him first to burn his papers, and then tarred and feathered him. Besides this, they threatened his life, on account of his adhering to the Pennsylvania side, which led him to flee for safety to White Deer Valley, on the west branch of the Susquehanna, now in the county of Northumberland. Here he founded a church, in 1806, over which he still presides, but travels much as a missionary in the surrounding parts, under the patronage of the Philadelphia Association.

This account was prepared in 1811.

This old community, which for many years exerted a wide-spread and salutary influence in an extensive region in this part of the State, has become very small, but it still exists.

ABINGTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1804, with three churches, viz.: Abington, Mount Pleasant, and Palmyra. Bethany joined it after a few years, and by slow degrees they continued to increase until they gained a good measure of maturity and strength.

² The flourishing village in which this church is situated, received its name from the descendants of Obadiah Holmes, the victim of puritan persecution in Massachusetts, about two centuries ago. With some of them I was well acquainted in former years.

³ In 1844, it reported 328; Williston, A. H. Taylor, 221; Phoenixville, —, 202; Vincent, 200; Windsor, 193; West Chester, —, 155; Rodnor, J. N. Hobart, 145; Frankfort, —, 115. No information has been forwarded of any of the churches, except from Mr. Allison, of Vincent.

The aged *elder John Miller*, who was on the ground at the time, gives the following account of the early movements of this body :—

"In Feb., 1802, I came to Abington, and commenced preaching the June following—my wife was the fifth woman in the neighborhood—a few young men had come to the place to get farms—a reformation commenced that summer, and in Nov., 1802, the church at Abington was constituted with fifteen members; six of them were baptized the same day, by Elder Samuel Sturdevant. I was ordained the same day the church was formed.

"On Dec. 25, 1804, the churches above named, met by their delegates, at Abington, and the day following the Association was organized.

"For the three first years, we published our Minutes by writing them; we began to print them in 1807, and then our acquaintance and correspondence began to be enlarged amongst other churches and Associations.

"The church at Abington has been a flourishing body of christians, for the greater part of the time, since it was gathered," &c.

Mr. Miller gives the following account of his pastoral relations with this people, and of his general operations in this region of country.

"I have lived to see thirteen general reformations within the bounds of the church—I believe I have baptized about a thousand persons during my ministry. A part of some, and the whole of other churches, amounting, in all, to seven, have been established from this their mother's house.

"The antinomian bustle affected us considerably, for a short time, but it has mostly passed away, like the fog at the rising of the sun. Our congregations have been, and still are large.

"The first ministers at the constitution of the Association, were elders Wm. Purdy, of Palmyra, Elijah Peck, and Epaphras Thompson, of Mount Pleasant, John Miller, of Abington, and Samuel Sturdevant, of Braintrim, Luzerne Co. Most of the first ministers have fallen asleep. I am the only one of that company left, now in my 73d year.

"The Greenfield, Clifford, Lenox Falls, Poustown, Eaton, and Blakesley, all originated from Abington.

"When I first settled in Abington, it was called Tunkock."

Elder John Miller is still the aged pastor of the Abington church, where he has officiated upwards of forty years. The narrative above related was prepared by him for my use, and forwarded to

Elder Henry Curtis, pastor of the Bethany church, who has added some account of his labors in this interesting field, from which I shall make the following extract :—

"In 1832, I accepted a call to become the pastor of the Bethany and Clinton churches, the former place being, at that time, the county seat for the county of Wayne. The Clinton church was, formerly, a branch from that at Mount Pleasant.

"In about fifteen months from the time of my settlement with them, a precious revival of religion was enjoyed in each church, and, also, a new interest had began to be formed at Paupaek-eddy, on the Lackawaxen, thirteen miles from Bethany, which has since led to the establishment of a new church, as a colony from Bethany. This new church has been blest with additions, from time to time, until they have become able to erect a suitable house of worship, where, but a few years ago, it might truly be said, Satan held his seat. The labors of elder D. F. Leach, from the State of New-York, was much blessed to their prosperity latterly, for several years. In 1834, I relinquished the charge of Clinton, and confined my stated labors chiefly to Bethany and Honesdale, the latter being a flourishing village, located at the junction of the Delaware and Hudson Canal and Railroad. Bethany church continued to experience the smiles of prosperity, mingled, occasionally, with the shades of adversity, until the winter of 1842, when the Spirit from on high was poured out in an overwhelming manner, and great numbers were hopefully converted to God. Elder Lewis Raymond, then of Cooperstown, N. Y., came to our aid, and a series of meetings was held successively, in Bethany and Honesdale, which were much blest in both places. In the latter place, a new church was immediately constituted, principally of a branch from Bethany church, which has since become enlarged, and prospered under the labors of elder Davis D. Gray. They have recently erected a beautiful and commodious house of worship. In the year 1839, my labors became divided between Bethany and Damascus churches, the latter seventeen miles from the former, situated on the Delaware river, and embraces a goodly number of pious, substantial, and lovely christians. In laboring for this church, I can truly say, I have enjoyed some of the happiest seasons of my life; here God poured out his Holy Spirit in 1840-41, in a most glorious manner, and about two hundred souls, it was thought, were hopefully brought to the knowledge of the truth. The church was much enlarged and strengthened by the addition of new converts, and a new branch was set off at Ten Mile river, thirteen miles below Damascus. They have been fed and nourished under the labors of elder D. F. Leach, and are now supplied by elder J. P. Stalbird, who has been recently ordained among them. During

the thirteen years of my ministerial life in this county, there have been added to the churches under my care, three hundred and thirty-five by baptism, and other churches of our order have also received signal tokens of Divine favor."

"The churches of this Association are moderately Calvinistic in their sentiments, taking the word of God, however, as their only infallible guide, and are, generally speaking, well united in affection and love, and feel desirous of casting in their mite in sending the gospel to the destitute.

"Our annual sessions are uniformly pleasant and harmonious, and since the organization of the American and Foreign Bible Society, a new impulse has been given to exertion in endeavoring to send the word of God, 'faithfully translated,' to the heathen, while considerable effort has been put forth in suppling home destitution."

ABINGTON CHURCH is now the largest in this body.⁴

SUSQUEHANNA ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1818, by the name of an Association, but the confederacy had existed many years before, under the appellation of a conference, or yearly meeting.

The foundation for the baptist interest now under consideration, was commenced about a half a century since, under the ministry of elder Jacob Drake, whose history has, in part, been given under the head of New York, p. 551.

This laborious and very successful minister, with his family, and a number of his brethren, removed to this then new region of Pennsylvania, and settled at Exeter, on Susquehanna river, in the county of Luzerne, toward the close of the last century. The company attached to him organized themselves into a church soon after their settlement in their new and wilderness location. This church soon spread out into many branches, which occupied different stations for about a hundred miles on the Susquehanna river. All these branches were regarded as so many parts of the one great body whose centre was at Exeter, the residence of their general shepherd; monthly meetings were held in each location, and a yearly meeting went the rounds of these branches in the same manner as Associations are accustomed to do. The names of the principal branches of this large confederacy were Exeter, sometimes called Northumberland, Plymouth, Braintrim, Harford, Wilkesbarre, Bridgewater, Huntington, Dallas, Middletown, Choconet and Auburn; in most, if not all these places, distinct churches afterwards were formed.

Elders Davis Dimock, Griffin Lewis, and Joel Rogers, were, for many years, distinguished laborers in this extensive church. Many other preachers and exhorters in their own locations, or in the wide range of missionary ground which was spread out before them, most zealously and assiduously lent them aid, to carry forward the evangelizing efforts which their more prominent brethren were pledged to promote.

But this wide-spread community has been superseded by a different system of operations. The *Susquehanna Association*, as such, ceased to exist many years since. A few churches, which still adhered to the old plan of yearly meetings, kept up their annual conventions, and, probably, do so to the present time; but it is composed of only three small churches, which, in the aggregate, contain less than a hundred members, and, as they publish no Minutes, it is difficult to give any account of them as an active body.⁵

BRIDGEWATER ASSOCIATION

Was organized of eight churches, which came off from the old Susquehanna, in 1826. The names of the constituent churches, were Bridgewater, Middle-

⁴ In 1845, it reported 307; Bethany, 196; Damascus, H. Curtis, 149; Honesdale, D. D. Gray, 112; First Clifford, Charles Miller, 106; Greenfield, —, 101.

⁵ Of no one Association in this State, except the old Philadelphia, have I had such an ample supply of materials for its history, as of the old Susquehanna. Those who have supplied them, are men of much candor and intelligence, whom I highly esteem, and who are entitled to much respect by the baptist public. But as they have not been entirely agreed in their doctrinal sentiments, or in the best method of managing Associational concerns, my views of prudence will lead me not to report their communications or names, only as they will be given in my list of correspondents for the whole State.

town, Choconett, Auburn, Braintrim, Windham, Eaton, and Northumberland; most of which were in the county of Susquehanna, and near the New York line. This body is on old ground for our denomination, as a number of the churches of which it is composed are situated in places where the branches of the great community which was gathered under the ministry of elder Drake and his associates, existed in very early times.

The names of the ministers generally, who were concerned in the formation of this institution, I have not learnt. Elder Davis Dimock was one. He was many years the pastor of the old church where the Association was organized, and from which it took its name. His labors, however, were not confined to the church over which he presided, as was customary in that age and region; he spent much of his time on missionary ground, or in visiting the feeble and pastorless churches which were scattered in all the surrounding country.*

The BRIDGEWATER CHURCH, which bears date from 1819, is the largest in this body.⁷

Rev. A. L. Post, its present pastor, has filled the office but a few years.

BRADFORD ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835, of the following churches, viz.: Smithfield, Canton, Columbia and Wells, Springfield, and Troy.

D. M. Root was the moderator, and John Doty the clerk of the first meeting.

Rev. Levi Morse, the pastor of the church at ATHENS, on the Susquehanna river, in the county from which this body took its name, has sent me some items of the history of this young interest, also of his own church. From his communications the following extracts are made:—

"Quite a number of the churches here are young, but the baptist interest is reviving. Meeting-houses have been erected within a year or two at Rome, Towanda, Springfield, Ridgefield, and Athens. Our house at Athens was dedicated in July last; our church arose under my labors, while a student at Hamilton; it was organized 1843. I was settled in 1844, since which time, under the influence of religious revivals, we have increased from 28 to 70 members. * * * * *

In answer to any inquiries on the subject, Mr. Morse observes, "The Associations which surround us, are Broome and Tioga, (N. Y.) on the north and north-east; Chemung river, also, N. Y., on the north-west. Tioga on the west, Wyoming on the south and south-east, and Bridgewater on the east. The last three are all in Pennsylvania."

SMITHFIELD CHURCH, *N. Otis* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁸

WYOMING ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Bridgewater, in 1842. This also is on the ground over which the old Susquehanna extended its operations in early times, and a number of the churches in this body, I see, bear the names of the branches which were gathered under Elder J. Drake, and his evangelical associates.

The OLD BRAINTRIM COMMUNITY stands at the head of the list of the churches in this body. It is also the largest among them.⁹

Rev. Davis Dimock, the oldest pioneer of this region, is its pastor.

* From this aged and laborious minister I have had full details of baptist operations in this part of the State, in a wide circuit around, for about forty years past, and, among other things, no inconsiderable portion of his autobiography has been sent me, which, according to my plan, I cannot incorporate in my present narratives. One fact, however, I will take the liberty to mention; it appears that this laborious pastor and missionary, this successful planter of churches in northern Pennsylvania for almost thirty years, in conjunction with his sacred functions, officiated as one of the judges of the court of the county in which he resided.

⁷ In 1845, it reported 412; Gibson and Jackson, J. B. Worden, 167; Liberty, P. Frink, 93.

⁸ In 1845, it reported 157; Monroe and Towanda, G. M. Spratt, 99; Troy, J. W. Parker, 94.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 200; Northumberland and Exeter, G. W. Scofield, 128; Union, —, 116; Lehman, J. Clark, 113; Eaton, Wm. Freer, 112; Windham, I. B. Lake, 99.

CENTRAL DIVISION.

Under this head I shall include the Juniata, Northumberland, Centre, Conemaugh, and Tioga Associations.

Northumberland might have been placed in the Eastern division, as it is a part of the group of communities which arose on the great Susquehanna; but as this division is the smallest, I have associated it with them, to help them out as to numerical strength.

JUNIATA ASSOCIATION.

This is comparatively an old community, but the date of its formation I have not been able to obtain. In 1830, according to Allen's Register, it contained nine churches, five ministers, and between three and four hundred members.

In 1845, it had become reduced to five churches and about 150 members. In the time of its greatest enlargement, its churches were scattered quite across the State from north to south, but most of them were in the counties of Juniata, Cumberland, Adams, Huntingdon, &c., among the mountains. A number of the churches formerly in this connection have united with other bodies which have arisen up around them.

This community has not been reported in our statistical tables for many years past, on account of its reputed defection on the subject of missions and other benevolent institutions.

NORTHUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1821. The town of Northumberland is situated in the county of the same name, at the junction of the east and west branches of the Susquehanna River. This community occupies the southern extremity of the ground over which Elder Drake's company extended its operations for a number of years, soon after the commencement of the present century.

I very much regret that no communications have come to my hand relative to the rise and progress of this body. It is the largest institution of the kind of our order in the interior of the State.

The MADISON CHURCH, J. G. Miles pastor, was the largest in this body, by the latest returns I have received.¹⁰

Rev. E. Kincaid, the missionary, resides in this town, and was moderator of the Association in 1844.

LEWISBURG, the seat of the newly projected Baptist College for Pennsylvania, is within the bounds of this Association.

CENTRE ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1831; it consisted at first of only three churches, viz.: Birmingham, Milesburg, and Williamsburg. These churches had withdrawn from the Juniata community, on account of their anti-effort principles. This Association is literally, as its name imports, in a central region of the State, in the counties of Centre, Huntingdon, Cambria, Clearfield, and Jefferson. Although its numerical strength is not great, yet the churches composing it extend about fifty miles from north to south, and more than a hundred from east to west.

From the three correspondents named below I am furnished with the history of the rise and progress of nearly all the churches in this community; but as most of them are of recent origin, and partly on missionary ground, I do not find any considerable amount of materials for the construction of general history.

¹⁰ In 1844, it reported 238; Jersey Shore, Charles Tucker, 216; White Deer, J. Edminster, 140; Rush, J. H. Worrell, 139; Danville, J. S. Miller, 107; Muncy, J. E. Bradley, 97; Ecrwick, W. S. Hall, 96.

¹ Samuel J. Greene, of Milesburg, Wm. M. Jones, of Huntingdon, David Williams, of Shirleyburg.

The MILESBURG CHURCH, *E. Haydock* pastor, was gathered under the ministry of Rev. C. Phileo, while acting as a missionary under the patronage of the Hamilton M. Society, N. Y. This was in 1822. All the others have been planted within a few years past.

HOLLYDAYBURG CHURCH, *E. Westcott* pastor, bears date from 1833. This is the largest body in this Association.²

LEWISTOWN CHURCH, *David Williams* pastor, was organized in 1840. Mr. Williams, I see by the Minutes, also officiates as the pastoral supply of Lockport and Shirleysburg, which was formed about the same time.

Although our brethren here find a strong pedobaptist influence operating against them, yet they are making good progress, and have confident expectations of future success.

TIOGA ASSOCIATION.

This is a small body, formed in 1842. It is situated mostly in the county from which it takes name, in the northern part of the State. It was organized with seven churches, in the village of Tioga.

Rev. George Spratt, the pastor of the Covington church, was the moderator of the first meeting. *Rev. Tobias Tinkham*, since dead, was the clerk. These facts I learn from the Minutes.

Mr. Spratt has given me some items of information as to the struggles which our denomination has to make to plant their sentiments in this new region, where, notwithstanding all opposition, they are making encouraging progress.

The EAST SULLIVAN CHURCH, of which *Rev. Myron Rockwell* is pastor, is the largest in this body. In 1844, it reported 92.

WESTERN DIVISION.

This carries us over the mountains into Western Pennsylvania, where the baptists began to plant churches and propagate their opinions about three-quarters of a century ago, and where now, in this ultra montaine region, we find the denomination spread over a wide extent of territory, from the line of Virginia on the south, to the State of New York and Lake Erie on the north. This great field is bounded by Ohio, and a portion of Virginia on the west.

In this section of the State are the following Associations, viz. : Red Stone, Monongahela, Pittsburg, Beaver, Clarion, French Creek, and Connebaugh.

In this arrangement, I have had respect, as much as possible, to geographical contiguity, and the genealogy of the different bodies.

RED STONE ASSOCIATION.

In my first volume, p. 598, I find the following description of this ancient fraternity, which, according to the best information I could obtain on the spot more than thirty years since, was organized in 1776.

"This Association is in the western part of this State, and adjoining Ohio. Some few of its churches are in that State, and others are in Virginia. The centre of the Association is no great distance south of Pittsburg. One of its oldest churches was gathered in 1770, under the ministry of elder John Sutton. It was, at first, called Great Bethel, now Uniontown, and is upwards of fifty miles south of Pittsburg, in the county of Fayette. This church was the mother of many others which arose around it. Mr. Sutton was a native of New Jersey, and was one of five brothers, who were baptist preachers. Two of them removed to this country with him. He settled in the Red Stone country, when it was in a wilderness state, and was long a laborious and much respected preacher, throughout an extensive circle of churches, which were planted either wholly or in part by his means. The time of his death is not known, but it is believed to have been not far from the year 1800.

"Contemporary with this evangelical servant of God, was the pious and successful John Corbley, who was made to drink deep of the cup of affliction."

² In 1845, it reported 248; Logans Valley, A. K. Bell, 196; Milesburg, 152; all the others are under 100.

Then follows a somewhat extended account of the overwhelming calamity which befel Mr. Corbley by the massacre of his wife and five children, on a Sabbath morning, as they were going on foot to the place of worship. By my request, a full biography of this successful pioneer in this then dangerous wilderness, has been sent me by a committee appointed by the Goshen church, now in the Monongahela Association. Mr. Corbley was the pastor of this church twenty-eight years. Here he died, in 1803, at the age of 70. This biographical sketch, as a matter of course, is reserved for my future volume on the subject. But I will add here the following items: this distinguished man was a native of England, where he was born in 1733,—came to this country in very early life—paid for his passage by four years' service in Pennsylvania—became a baptist preacher in Virginia, where he suffered maltreatment and imprisonment in the times of persecution in the old dominion—settled in Western Pennsylvania, in 1768, and became the coadjutor of Sutton and others in planting the first churches of our order in that region. In the church above named, there are now, of his posterity, one daughter, ten grand-children, and six great-grand-children.³

For half a century or more, the old Red Stone Association was regarded as a very important institution in the whole baptist connection, and embraced the talent and enterprize of our society in this great field of labor. In my statistical table for 1812, it is reported as containing thirty-three churches, twenty ministers, and upwards of thirteen hundred members.

Rev. Charles Wheeler, now at the head of the literary institution in Western Virginia, called Rector College, and *Rev. Alexander Campbell*, the founder of the community denominated Campbellites, or Reformers, were once members of this body. In a copy of its Minutes for 1818, I find Mr. Wheeler was the moderator, and Mr. Campbell clerk; by him, also, the introductory sermon was preached. At that early period, so far from having any scruples as to the *mission system*, so called, which, it is said, have since alienated the feelings, and paralyzed the efforts of this then *effort-making* people, they exhibit an aggregate of more than two hundred dollars, contributed by female missionary societies, for the express purpose of aiding the Foreign Mission cause.

In Allen's Register for 1836, this body is represented as being reduced about one-half from the last statement; it is now said to be much smaller, but as I have none of its late Minutes, and it is not reported in our statistical tables, its present situation I am unable to define. On account of its former character and standing, and of the references which will be frequently made to it in the history of the bodies which sprung from it, wholly, or in part, this brief narrative seemed to be required.

Among the ministers of distinction for talents and usefulness in the old Red Stone fraternity, in its last days, and whose labors were long and laborious in this connection, were the Suttons, Corbley, Patton, Luce, Spears, Fry, Phillips, Broomfield, Estep, Wheeler, and Stone.

MONONGAHELA ASSOCIATION.

This is an immediate offspring of the one last named, and as it is, for the most part, on the same ground which that old institution occupied exclusively, so far as baptists were concerned, for half a century, a portion of its churches, of course, were coeval in their origin with those of the earliest dates in the mother body. It was organized in 1834, and is situated in the south-western corner of the State, in the counties of Alleghany, Washington, Green, Fayette, Sommerset, and Westmoreland, and a few of the churches are, I believe, in Virginia.

As this Association holds the third rank as to numerical strength, in the whole State, I very much regret that I am not able to give my usual sketches

³ The names attached to the document are elder Levi Griffith, Jonathan Garard, Thomas Wright, and John Mordock.

of some of the most important churches. In the estimation of those around them, they are those of Georgetcreek, Goshen, Connellsville, Washington, Ten Mile Creek, Mt. Pleasant, Pleasant Grove, and Flatwoods.

The churches of Goshen, Turkeyfoot, Pigeon Creek, Ten Mile Creek, Forks of Cheat, Indian Creek, and probably some others, were founded by the Suttons, Corbley, and their associates or immediate successors.

The SECOND, or GRANT STREET CHURCH, *Pittsburg*, is the largest in this body.⁴ An account of this church will be given when we come to the city in which it is situated.

I have been disappointed in not receiving communications from a number of brethren whom I have personally addressed on the subject of the history of this Association.

In answer, however, to my general requests, as published in my Circulars, some accounts have been received.

In 1843, this Association adopted a Resolution, which was printed in their Minutes, to the effect "that each of its churches be requested to prepare a brief narrative of their rise, progress, &c." In compliance with this request, a few of them have done so. The substance of which I will now relate.

"On examining the records of the church at Big Whiteley Creek, in the neighborhood of the

GOSHEN CHURCH, it appears that Jacob Vanmeter and family settled at Muddy Creek, about six miles north of the present seat of this old community, in 1769. Four years after, viz.: in 1773, the Goshen Church, so long under the pastoral care of John Corbley, was gathered, of thirty members. The names of Daniel Fristoe, John Corbley, James and Isaac Sutton, are associated in these early transactions."

Elder James Sutton held the pastoral office here about two years, when he was succeeded by

Elder John Corbley, who sustained it until his death, in 1803.

For about sixteen years subsequent to the death of Mr. Corbley, we have no means of ascertaining who were the regular pastors of this church, but from the best information we can obtain, it was supplied by Amos Mix, Thomas Hervey, and Benjamin Stone.

Elder James Seymour was in office here for fifteen years, from 1819. After him for eight years, they had as pastors or supplies Milton Sutton, William Wood, J. W. B. Teasdale, J. Curry, and F. Downey.

Rev. Levi Griffith, the present incumbent, was settled in 1842.

"Since the constitution of old Goshen, as near as can be ascertained, there have been added to her 335 members.

"She has built four meeting-houses; three have decayed; their present house, dedicated in 1843, is a brick building, of good dimensions.

"From this church four others have been set off (names not given), and a large number have removed from its bounds, to Ohio and Kentucky."

TEN MILE CREEK—*South Fork*. This church was organized of members dismissed from the neighboring churches, in 1836, under the ministry of Dr. Abraham Bowman.

Rev. Isaac Petit is their present pastor. They also have a good house of worship.

PLEASANT GROVE. The church here was formed in 1840. The seat of it is about eight miles south-west of the town of Washington.

Rev. Levi Griffith is their present pastor. This church too, has a good house of worship, recently built.

PITTSBURG ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1840, in the city whose name it bears; the churches composing it are situated in different directions around the city, but mostly south

⁴ In 1846, it reported 375; Mount Moriah, C. Rossell, 260; Alleghany, H. Silliman, 198; Goshen, W. Wood, 128; Washington, —, 122; Connellsville, J. W. B. Teasdale, 121; Mount Pleasant, 120; Donegal, A. G. Eberhart, 116; Flatwoods, Wm. Wood, 108; Turkeyfoot, Wm. H. Hickman, same. In the Minutes of 1846, is appended a sermon on ministerial education, by Mr. Teasdale, pastor of the Grant Street church, Pittsburg, Pa.

and east. Most of the members of this young institution appear to be of recent origin; a few of them, however, such as Peters Creek, Uniontown, and it may be some others, are among the oldest in the country. We have seen in the history of the old Red Stone community, that the churches just named, were planted by Sutton, Corbley, and their coadjutors, in their earliest evangelizing efforts in this region.

Rev. David Philips, a native of Wales, was the pastor at Peters Creek for many years.

Dr. James Estep, who has long occupied important pastoral stations in Western Pennsylvania, is the present pastor of this people.

Rev. Isaac Wyman was reported as the official incumbent at Uniontown, in 1845.

Baptist churches in the city of Pittsburg and vicinity.

The **FIRST CHURCH** was constituted in 1812, of fourteen members, including

Rev. Edward Jones, who became the first pastor, where he continued two years.

Rev. Messrs. Obediah Newcombe, from Nova Scotia, and *John Davis*, from England, each for short periods of time officiated as the pastors of this infant community.

Rev. Sidney Rigdon, from Ohio, became the next incumbent. This man caused them much trouble, and under his ministry the church was nearly annihilated. While occupying this station, Mr. Rigdon began to propagate some of the distinguishing sentiments of the *Mormons*, among which people he afterwards became a leader of much notoriety.

Rev. Joshua Bradley next took the charge of this scattered flock, where he continued but one year. This brings us down to 1827, when

Rev. Samuel Williams was called to this pastoral charge, in which he has continued to the present time.

This church suffered the loss of their house of worship by the great conflagration which occurred in April, 1845. It has since been rebuilt.

SECOND, OR WELSH CHURCH, was organized with a few brethren of this class, in 1827.

Rev. Jacob Morris was their first pastor. After him, was

Rev. Wm. Owens, who was reported as their spiritual guide a short time since. They have a good house of worship in Chatham street, where public worship is conducted in their native tongue.

THIRD, OR ALLEGHANY CHURCH. This body is in what is called Alleghany city, over the river. It arose out of a disbanded body, which was got up in the city in 1830. The present community was organized in 1835. This church has a new house of worship of a superior order, for this people and region.

GRANT STREET CHURCH is a new interest, having been constituted in 1842.

Rev. T. C. Teasdale, late of New Haven, Conn., is the present incumbent.

Although this church is connected with the Monongahela Association, yet for the sake of describing all the Pittsburg churches together, I have put it in this place.

The first church in this western metropolis, has been a prolific mother of kindred institutions, as from it have originated not only the others in the city and vicinity, but the principal part of the constituent members at Wheeling, Brownsville, Centerville, and Mt. Hope, went out from this increasing body. It is still the largest in this Association.⁵

⁵ In 1845, it reported 377; Second do., 145; Peters Creek, 140; McKeesport, 111; Mars Hill, Greenawalt, 104; Freeport, E. M. Miles, 96.

BEAVER ASSOCIATION.

This is the oldest body of the kind in Western Pennsylvania, except the Red Stone, having been organized in 1809. It was at first composed of Providence, Concord, Sharon, New Lisbon, and Bethesda churches, in Pennsylvania, and the Valley of Achor, in Ohio. Carmel, Hopewell, Union, and Unity churches, fell into the confederacy soon after it was formed.

The principal ministers in this body in early times, were Spears, Frazer, Jones, West, Clark, and Stoughton. Although it has never been large, yet from it have gone out wholly or in part, the French Creek, and Clarion, in Pa., and the Portage and Trumbull Associations, in Ohio.

The churches now are generally small, a very few of them amounting to a hundred members. Those which come up to, or near this number, are mentioned in the note below.* The churches in this Association are in the counties of Beaver, Mercer, and Butler.

CLARION ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838, with five small churches; many of them are young and small, viz.: Zion, Mahoning, Brookville, Curwensville, and Gethamine.

The ministers who were instrumental in raising a baptist interest in this new region of country, were Nathaniel Tibbetts, from the State of Maine, Samuel Stoughton, Samuel Miles, and Thomas Wilson.

ZIONS CHURCH was constituted in 1821, at which time there was no other community of our denomination within forty-five miles of it, and their minister who visited them once a month, was compelled to ride that distance, and ferry the Alleghany river on his route. In 1845, this young body had increased to twenty-five churches, and upwards of a thousand members.

The church called *Zion*, just referred to, *Elder Thomas E. Thomas* pastor, contained about two hundred members; all the others were below a hundred, and a large portion of them were quite small. They are for the most part in the counties of Clarion, Clearfield, Jefferson, and Indiana.

FRENCH CREEK ASSOCIATION.

This institution bears date from 1823. It is situated in the north-west corner of the State, in the counties of Erie, Crawford, and Mercer.

As a full account of the rise and progress of this Association has been sent me by its Corresponding Secretary, I shall insert it in the language of the writer:—

“On the 12th day of June, A. D., 1822, a number of brethren convened in the town of Waterford, Erie Co., Penn., and organized a Conference, and took into consideration the propriety of forming a new Association, to be composed of parts of the Grand River Association in Ohio, the Beaver Association, in Pennsylvania, and the Holland Purchase Association, in New York. They met again on the 18th of September of the same year, and again on the 11th of June, in 1823. At the last named meeting, the Conference agreed to assume the name of the French Creek Baptist Association, and celebrated their first anniversary on the second Wednesday of June, 1824. The ministers first connected with the Association, were Jeduthan Gray, George Miller, Jesse Brown, and Oliver Alford, all of whom, except Father Alford, have gone to their rest. The Association, at its first session as such, numbered two hundred and forty-four members.

“The extent of country which they then occupied, was somewhat less than it now is, being at present dispersed over a field about 60 miles square. The Association was first organized with eight churches, viz.: Waterford and McKean, Springfield, Carmel, Lebanon, Conneant, Mead, Concord, and Plumb.

“The introductory discourse was preached on this occasion, by Elder Joshua Woodworth, now living at Mecca, Trumbull Co., Ohio, from John iii. 16, 17.

“During the first five years after their organization, there were added five new churches to the Association, and a net gain of 152 members, making in all at this time (1829) 396 members. During their next term of five years, their increase was 149, and total number at the

* Sharon, Wm. B. Barris, 112; Salem, J. H. Hosen, 113; Zion, —, 115; Providence, Thos. Daniels, 101; Beaver city, Jacob Morris, 97; Achor, Ohio, Rees Davis, 96.

close of that time, 545. For the next term of five years, closing with the session of 1839, their nett increase was 722, making a total of 1,267. Since that time the nett increase is 167, making in all at the present time, 1,434 members. The greatest number baptized in one Associational year is 212. The greatest number in one church, 45.

"During the early years of the Association, the moderator and clerks were generally chosen from among the correspondence present, but for a few years past, they have invariably been members of the Association. The number of ministers is considerably less than the number of churches, and has always been so, while at the same time the influence of these few has been greatly circumscribed, by the circumstances under which they have been compelled to labor. Very few have ever received anything like an adequate support; yet the appearances seem to brighten in this respect, and we hope the time is not far distant, when our brethren will come up to their duty in this matter. This Association has always been a missionary body, yet it has never done what it should, to aid in carrying forward the great enterprises of Christian benevolence."

The above communication was made by Rev. Franklin Kidder, of Rockdale, near Meadville, of which church he was pastor, in 1843. This brother, I see, was the moderator of this Association in 1845. I have made no alteration in the article, except to express the doctrine of ministerial support in a little stronger terms than he had done.

But few of the churches in this community have attained much age or numerical strength. The Erie Church, Z. Smith pastor, is the largest among them.⁷

CONNEMAUGH ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1844, and is the smallest body in the State, except some decayed ones, which have already been named. It contains but seven small churches, and about two hundred and fifty members. It is situated in the middle region of West Pennsylvania, between the Monongahela and Clarion Associations, in the counties of Westmoreland and Indiana.

We have now, in a literal sense, gone through the length and breadth of this State, and followed the progressive steps of the denomination to its utmost boundaries on the west.

We must now come back to the metropolis, and finish up the historical sketches of the churches, and then be prepared to travel on to more southern regions.

SECTION III.

Churches in Philadelphia and suburbs, with their succession of pastors—recapitulation of the whole—closing remarks.

FIRST, OR SECOND STREET CHURCH. The history of this community, on account of its antiquity, has already been related more extensively than can be done in any other case.

SECOND CHURCH. This was formed with twenty members from the First, in 1803. It is situated in that part of the city called the Northern Liberties.

Rev. William White was first in the pastoral office, in which he continued thirteen years.

Rev. James McLaughlin was his successor, for five years, from 1817. Successor to him, was

Rev. Thos. J. Kitts, for fourteen years, from 1823.

Rev. Daniel Dodge came into office here in 1839, in which he still continues. Mr. Dodge is a native of Nova Scotia, where he was born, in 1776. Of course, he has passed the bounds allotted for the ordinary duration of human life, and is much older than our churches in modern times allow their spiritual shepherds to be. Mr. Dodge has occupied a number of important pastoral stations in the Middle States, as my narratives will show.

⁷ In 1845, it reported 157; Georgetown, J. Hicks, 101; Carmel, —, 94; Concord and Bloomfield, —, 91.

THIRD CHURCH was constituted of thirty members, mostly from the **First**, in 1809. This body arose in an opposite direction from the **Second church**, in *Southwark*, then considered almost out of the city, on its southern side.

Rev. John P. Peckworth, a native of England, one of its constituent members, became the first pastor, where he continued thirteen years.

Rev. Wm. E. Ashton was settled here in 1823, and remained in this pastorate twelve years. Successor to him, was

Rev. Charles B. Keyes, who occupied this pastoral station two years, from 1837. Next to him, was

Rev. George Higgins, who held on but one year, when he was transferred to a new interest in *Southwark*, where he still continues.

Rev. Edward Covell succeeded Mr. Higgins, in 1842. His continuance did not amount to two years, when

Rev. G. S. Webb, the present pastor, came into office. Mr. Webb was many years in the pastoral station in *New Brunswick, N. J.*

FIRST AFRICAN CHURCH bears date from 1809. This was the fourth baptist community organized in this city. It began with twelve members from the old nursery at *Second Street*.

Rev. Henry Cunningham, of *Savannah, Geo.*, for some time, at first, had the spiritual oversight of this people. Successor to him, was

Rev. John King, of *Virginia*, who served them as pastor for two years, when his name disappears from the Minutes; and, for a long time, this community appears to have been without a spiritual guide.

Rev. James Burrows was their pastor in 1844, which office he appears to have occupied about twelve years.

FIFTH, OR SANSOM STREET CHURCH was constituted in 1811.

Rev. Wm. Staughton, D.D., was its first pastor, and continued in office about thirteen years, when he was transferred to the presidency of the *Columbian College*, at *Washington, D. C.*

Rev. John L. Dagg, D.D., now president of *Mercer College*, *Penfield, Geo.*, was pastor here about seven years.

Rev. A. D. Gillette was the next in office, about three years.

Rev. Messrs. Joseph A. Warne, J. L. Burrows, and *Wm. Shadrach*, each officiated with this people, for short periods. Mr. Shadrach has lately resigned, and assumed an agency for the new college at *Lewisburg*.

NEW MARKET STREET CHURCH. This was the sixth church of our order formed in *Philadelphia*. The numerical mode of distinction, however, was not adopted in this case. Nor is it strictly maintained in all the succeeding formations.

"This church was constituted on the 10th of September, 1817, with seventy-six members. For nearly four months, the church met for worship in the Commissioners' Hall, in *Third Street, Northern Liberties*; during which period, their present commodious house was erected in *New Market street*, and was dedicated on the first day of *January, 1818*. Since that period, this church has experienced various interchanges of prosperity and adversity; but through the mercy of God, it has continued and increased in numbers. During fourteen years the pastoral office was filled in succession by *Jacob Gregg, Thomas Griffin, Elisha Cushman, and John R. Dodge*. Mr. Dodge resigned in 1831. The church then being dependant on casual supplies, obtained, in part, the services of *Joseph H. Kennard*, who was then *General Agent of the Missionary Association of Pennsylvania*. Mr. Kennard continued to supply the church as often as the duties of his agency permitted, until the commencement of 1832, when, on account of his successful and acceptable labors, he was unanimously called to fill the pastoral office. The church has since experienced a continued refreshing from the presence of the Lord. During the last fifteen months, upwards of one hundred and fifty were added to it by baptism; sixty-two of whom were received in the last three months; and the work of grace is still progressing. At the meetings of the church, it is no uncommon thing to see twenty or thirty persons anxiously inquiring what they shall do to be saved. The present number of members is about four hundred, who are generally fervent in spirit, much united in love, and steadfast in the faith, as maintained by the regular baptist churches."

Mr. Kennard continued in this station till 1838, when he went off with a colony to form the new interest which will soon be reported. He was succeeded by

Rev. William Shadrach, who continued in this pastorship until 1841, when he became agent for the Pa. Bap. Missionary Convention, and afterwards pastor of the Grant Street Church, Pittsburg.

Rev. J. B. Everts, and *G. B. Perry*, each for one year, occupied this station, when

Rev. Wm. L. Dennis, the present incumbent, came into office, in 1844.

CENTRAL CHURCH was formed in 1831, and for four years was without a pastoral supply.

Rev. J. J. Woolsey's name appears on the Minutes, as the presiding officer here in 1835, where he continued about five years. Next to him was

Rev. J. W. Hayhurst, for about four years, from 1840.

Rev. L. Fletcher was the pastor here in 1845.

NORTH SEVENTH ST. CHURCH also bears date from 1831.

Rev. John R. Dodge is reported on the Minutes as the first pastor. Who have been his successors in office, I have not been able to learn.

This church has probably since changed its name.

Who is the present incumbent, I am not able to say.

UNION COLORED CHURCH was organized in 1832.

Rev. Daniel Scott came into office here soon after the church was formed, where he still continues.

SCHUYLKILL CHURCH appears first on the Minutes, in 1834.

Rev. Jonathan G. Collom is entered as pastor, the year after.

Rev. J. Creswell, and others, have officiated here as pastors or supplies.

Rev. R. B. Lozley is reported as the present incumbent.

NORTH CHURCH was constituted in 1843.

Rev. J. B. Stiteler is the present pastor.

SPRUCE ST. CHURCH was organized in 1836.

Rev. Rufus Babcock, D.D., was the pastor here for about six years. Next to him was

Rev. T. O. Lincoln, for about two years.

Rev. George Kempton, the present incumbent, was settled in 1844.

MOYAMENSING CHURCH first appears in 1836.

Rev. Alexander Burden was its first pastor.

Who is the present incumbent, I have not learned.

Thus far I have followed the rise of the Philadelphia churches in a chronological order, as accurately as the Minutes and other documents which I have been able to obtain have enabled me to do. Their principles of notation as to their churches I do not fully understand. We have got up to twelve, but the next organization begins with two short of this number.

THE TENTH CHURCH was organized by a colony from New Market St. in 1838.

After feeling my way amidst doubt and uncertainty in my attempts to spell out the rise and progress of most of the churches of our order in this city up to this time, with no church records, or documentary evidence except the Minutes of Associations to guide me, I am now happily arrived to two communities, bearing the numerical appellations of the Tenth and Eleventh churches, who did up their business in the beginning in regular style.

This church has had an unusually prosperous course, and after sending off a number of colonies in a very few years from the commencement of its operations, is now the largest of our order in this city or State.

The origin of this body is thus related, in the *Church Members' Book or Memento*, published the same year in which it was formed. I shall copy it in their own terms:—

“The circumstances connected with the origin of the Tenth Baptist Church, are replete with interest:

"The Lord had been pleased to pour out of his Spirit from time to time, upon the mother church in New Market street. Revival followed revival. Scores were added, and of such as we trust will finally be saved. Within the period of two or three years, the church had almost doubled its number, and the stated congregation was large to overflowing. At this interesting crisis the church felt that the time had fully arrived when it became necessary for her to extend the borders of her habitation, the house being too small to accommodate the church and the congregation that usually assembled to hear the Word. A number of the brethren, who had had their attention already directed to the interesting and rapidly improving district of our city, long known under the vernal name of Spring Garden, where baptist preaching was almost unknown, now felt it to be their duty, with the approbation of the church, to erect another standard of Christ in this extensive and destitute section of the city.

"At a stated meeting of the church, this subject was placed, by a harmonious vote, in the hands of a committee, consisting of the Pastor, and brethren Reuben Jarman, Wm. Hooven, John D. Taylor, Jonah Harpel, Wilson Jewell, John Caswell, Israel E. James, and C. A. Wilson, to ascertain the practicability of such a movement, and prepare a report embodying the views of the brethren. During the month the committee had several sittings, and finally agreed upon the following Preamble and Resolution, which were presented to the church and unanimously adopted, at their stated meeting held July 11, 1836."

The resolutions above referred to, give decided encouragement to the contemplated measure, and after fully maturing their plan, on the 1st of January, 1838, this body was publicly recognized in due form, by a suitable delegation from the city churches. It began with 169 members, and so rapid was its increase that it was soon *able* and *willing* to spare a number of new colonies for the construction of other churches, as our subsequent narratives will show.

Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, the founder of this community, is still their spiritual guide.

ELEVENTH CHURCH. This body was formed by a colony from Sansom Street, in 1838, who went off harmoniously with their former pastor, to found this new interest.

This body, too, has published a church book, in which their whole history, so far as their early movements are concerned, are given in very minute detail,*

In the formation of this community, much maturity of planning, on the part of the colonizing party, and cordiality of feeling on that of the mother body, are very apparent. The letter of this newly formed church to the Philadelphia Association, where it became a member, at their annual session, in Oct., after their organization, recounts the principal items of their early history. From this epistle, the following extracts are made:—

"The Eleventh Baptist Church, of Philadelphia, }
To the Philadelphia Baptist Association, Oct., 1838. }

RESPECTED BRETHREN:

"On the nineteenth day of April last, an Ecclesiastical Council, composed principally of members of this Association, united in organizing us by due form and ceremony, as a church of the Lord Jesus Christ. In presenting them our letters of dismission from the Fifth Church, we assured them that we adopted the abstract edition of your venerable Confession of Faith, and that we regarded it as a summary of doctrines contained in the Holy Scriptures, which are our only rule of life and guide to eternal happiness. Five hundred copies of this summary have been published, and circulated principally among the members of our church and congregation. Our Trustees procured a neat and commodious room at the corner of Chesnut and Eighth streets, and provided it with suitable accommodations for our large assemblies, where we have enjoyed the means of grace, and are happy to say they have been attended with the Divine blessing; a deep solemnity and holy joy seems to have impressed the hearts of many among us. Inquirers for salvation have clustered around our pastor almost weekly, and the pleasing number of thirty have united with us by baptism, as professed followers of Christ, a majority of whom, are either teachers or scholars in our Sabbath School.

"Our number, when constituted, was one hundred and fifty-five. We have received by baptism, thirty; and, by letter, seven; and have dismissed, by letter, one; by death, one. Total, one hundred and ninety members. Our Sabbath School numbers one hundred and fifty

* This church book, in addition to the ordinary facts which naturally occur in such cases, contains the whole correspondence which passed between the company who had formed the project of getting up a new baptist institution for the city, out of the old Sansom Street community, and their pastor elect—*The act of incorporation—By-Laws—Confession of Faith—Discipline—General directions to Members—Names, &c.*, making a 12mo. volume, of 143 pages.

In the documents pertaining to the history of this organization, I find a solution of my difficulty, which I lately suggested as to the rule of numbering the baptist churches in Philadelphia. The two churches of colored members, of an older date, were not counted.

scholars, and twenty teachers; they have a library containing upwards of four hundred volumes. We have contributed one hundred dollars to the Foreign Mission Society, one hundred to the Pennsylvania Baptist Convention, and about fifty dollars to the American Home Mission Society. We support one young man in preparing for the ministry."

Rev. A. D. Gillette, the first in office here, is the present incumbent.

THE TWELFTH CHURCH was formed in Kensington, from the Tenth, in 1840.

Rev. Messrs. F. Ketchum, and *D. Mead*, in succession, officiated with this people for a few of the first years.

Rev. C. B. Keyes is the present incumbent.

THIRD COLORED CHURCH was organized in 1841.

Rev. Joseph Henderson appears to have been the pastor of this people from soon after the time it was formed.

SECOND CHURCH, Southwark, was formed from the first, in that district, not, however, in the most harmonious and agreeable manner, in 1841.

Rev. Geo. Higgins assumed the spiritual oversight of this people from the beginning. He had been pastor of the First church here, in former years.

THE NORTH and BROAD STREET CHURCHES were formed by colonies from Mr. Kennard's great community, but I have no information relative to the circumstances of their formation, and the same may be said of the remaining churches in this great city and its contiguous districts. In the following summary statement I shall exhibit all the items pertaining to them, as accurately as my information will enable me to do.

Recapitulation of the churches of Philadelphia and suburbs.

Churches.	Date.	Pastors.	Members.
First, or Second St. church,	1698	Geo. B. Ide, - - -	692
Second Church, - - -	1803	D. Dodge, - - -	376
Third do., - - -	1809	Geo. I. Miles, - - -	234
First African, - - -	1809	Richard Vaughn, - - -	257
Fifth Church, - - -	1811	Wm. Shadrach (since resigned),	432
New Market Street,	1817	Wm. L. Dennis, - - -	445
Central Church, - - -	1831	— - - - -	86
Union Colored, - - -	1832	Danl. Scott, - - -	200
Spruce Street, - - -	1836	Geo. Kempton, - - -	294
Moyamensing, - - -	1836	Alex. Burden, (estimated at)	.....
Tenth Church, - - -	1838	J. H. Kennard, - - -	950
Schuylkill, do. - - -	1838	B. R. Loxley, - - -	34
Eleventh do., - - -	1838	A. D. Gillette, - - -	564
Twelfth do., - - -	1840	C. B. Keyes, - - -	133
Third Colored do., - - -	1841	J. Henderson, - - -	61
Second Southwark,	1841	Geo. Higgins, - - -	347
Passyunk Church, - - -	1842	— - - - -	32
West Philadelphia, - - -	1842	E. M. Levy, - - -	58
Shiloh Church, - - -	1842	J. Durham, - - -	80
North Church, - - -	1843	J. B. Stiteler, - - -	63
West Kensington, - - -	1844	Fred. Ketcham, - - -	173
Broad Street Church, - - -	1844	J. L. Burrows, - - -	242
Mount Tabor do., - - -	1844	Richd. Lewis, - - -	94
German Church, - - -	.....	C. Fleischman, (estimated),	50
Blockley Church, - - -	1804	John S. Baker, - - -	166
African Church, - - -	.....	Wm. Jackson, - - -	61
Total, - - - - -			6152

It is very likely that there may be some inaccuracies in some of these dates. I have had no aid from the pastors, and, most unfortunately for me, the dates of the churches are not given in the Minutes, as is done in New York, Hudson River, and most of the eastern Associations. In many cases, I have had no guide, only when the names of the churches first appeared on the Minutes.

Closing remarks. From the foregoing narratives, we see that the first appearance of any baptists in this State was about half a century after they began to make something of a stir among the puritans of New England, and that a colony of our order, from the Rhode Island government, planted the first church in Penn's Province, on the banks of the Delaware, some thirty miles to the northward of Philadelphia. But that the permanent settlers here, of the denomination, came mostly from Wales; and that by them, a few churches were planted at no great distance from the metropolis, which have continued to the present time.

It also appears that more than three-fourths of our numerical strength in Pennsylvania has come into existence since the commencement of the present century, and that many of our churches and Associations in this State have arisen up in remote situations, on what was but lately regarded as missionary ground, and where the State Convention still finds it needful to extend its influence and patronage.

A large tract of the most fertile regions of Pennsylvania are occupied by a German population, whose principles are all adverse to those of the baptists. Among this great mass of the citizens of this State, as yet, but little has been done by the advocates of our peculiar opinions.

We, furthermore, discover that our missionaries and evangelical pioneers have done much to penetrate some of the most rugged and desolate regions of the State, as it respects both their moral and geological character.

Philadelphia in *eastern*, and Pittsburg in *western* Pennsylvania, are the principal cities in their respective regions; they are about three hundred miles apart. The principal strength of the denomination lies in these two ends of the State. The midland regions, whether among the German or English population, until within a few years past, has been very much neglected. In many whole counties, no baptist churches of ours, or, indeed, of any order, are to be found.¹⁰ The same may be said of many of the large and populous towns which lie scattered along in the fertile valleys as we go from the old settlements in the east, towards the mountains.

In Lancaster, Harrisburg, and, perhaps, a few other important inland towns, we find a few small baptist communities, which are still in a state of feeble infancy; they have been got up, and are partly sustained by the active operations of the

CONVENTION of the State for Domestic Missions. This institution has done much to enlarge and sustain the interests of our denomination in this State.

WESTERN CONVENTION. • A *Mass Convention* was held at Peters Creek, in Nov., 1846, as an incipient measure, I suppose, for a new organization for Western Pennsylvania. It was well attended, and their doings exhibit a good degree of enterprize and activity.

The Mennonites, of both the *old* and *new* connection, I believe, are somewhat numerous in this State. *The Tunker baptists*, also, occupy some portions of it; the same may be said of the *Free Will baptists*, the *Christian Society*, and the *Campbellites* or *Reformers*.

The Seventh-day baptists, as we have seen in the commencement of this chapter, were among the oldest settlers, and still exist here to some extent.

But a new order of *dippers*, called by themselves, *The church of God*, by others, the *Winebrennarians*, from their founder by the name of Winebrener, is probably much the largest of any of the minor sects who adopt anti-pedobaptist principles. They are said to be much like the Free Will baptists in their doctrinal views, and have made their converts, in a great measure, from the German pedobaptists.

Of each of these different parties I shall give the substance of all the information I can obtain, at the close of this volume.

¹⁰ In the Minutes of the B. S. Convention for 1846, the names of twenty-seven county seats are given, which were without a baptist church.

Baptist Literature. Although Edwards, Jones and others, in former years, and Staughton and his associates, in later times, took unwearied pains to promote the interest of Rhode Island College, at the east, and Columbia College, at the south, yet it was not until a late period, that the baptists in this State projected an institution of their own.

The Lewisburg University, whose affairs will be more fully described under the head of *Literary Institutions*, seems to engross much of their attention, and if they all unite in the enterprise, it will certainly go ahead.

A List of correspondents on historical matters.

Rev. Joseph Mathias, of Hilltown, Bucks Co., about thirty miles from Philadelphia, has done more than any one besides in this business; but, as I have already said, his communications being principally of a biographical nature, have been laid by for future use. Next to him, Davis Dimock and Joel Rogers are among my largest contributors. Their statements, generally, have respect to the early and continued doings of what I have denominated the *Wyoming Company*, and occupy a period of about half a century. In this northern region of the State, I may mention in this list, the names of John Miller, Henry Curtis, Levy Morse, George Spratt, A. Ketchum.

On the southern side of the State, in a western direction, are H. G. Jones, Jr., J. S. Jenkins, T. S. Griffith, S. P. Harris, J. V. Allison, U. B. Bingham, H. West, and elder John Herr, of the new connection of Mennonites.

In the central region, are D. Williams, Wm. M. Jones, S. J. Green, Wm. Frampton, F. Kidder, B. Williams, S. Williams, T. C. Teasdale, Levi Griffith, J. C. Hughes; besides a number of committees, some of whose names have been mentioned, others were not given.

The communication of *T. S. Griffith*, respecting the Brandywine church, in Chester Co., formed in 1842, ought to be mentioned. The old church of this name, I have described. As I found two churches of this name on the Minutes of the two Associations of Philadelphia and Central Union, without any distinction, I knew not how to account for it, and thought it the safest course to say nothing about it, as I am not able to notice all the churches. But on a closer examination of Mr. Griffith's letter, of 1844, I find the church in the Central Union is wholly a new interest in the county of Chester, which has lately risen up in a place which was formerly noted for its immoral and irreligious character.

Rev. J. S. Jenkins, pastor of the Pequea Church, in Lancaster Co.—Respecting the communication of this attentive correspondent, I ought to give some explanation. It is a valuable document, and contains the history of a number of the churches in this region, besides his own. It will be carefully preserved for future use, when I hope to be able to be more particular in my accounts of the churches, generally, than I am able now to do.

CHAPTER XIV.

DELAWARE, MARYLAND, AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

SECTION I.

DELAWARE.

Early history—most important churches, Welsh Tract—Duck Creek, or Brynston—Wilmington—Second Church, do.—Delaware Association—Sad decline of the baptist interest in this State—Concluding remarks.

ALTHOUGH the number and influence of the denomination in this State, for many years, has been very small, yet it was, for a long time, equal in proportion to the population, to any of the Middle States; and the community at Welsh Tract, in early times, held a respectable stand among the American baptists; it was one of the five churches which formed the Philadelphia Association; its ministers were among the most active in all baptist operations, and the whole concern was not behind any of the members of that quintuple alliance. In all old historical details at the north or south, reference is often had to this ancient church, and the ministers who officiated there, or emigrated to other regions, were highly esteemed.

My business as a general historian of the baptists is to relate all important facts relating to their rise and progress or decline, in all countries and ages; and although but a short article can, according to my rules of proceeding, be constructed on this small territory, where the interest of our denomination, at present, is much more diminutive than its geographical dimensions, yet the whole story ought, in justice, to be told of the former good condition of the few churches here established, which now are in a decayed and feeble state.

The comparison will naturally lead to the inquiry as to the cause of this unusual deterioration in our denominational affairs.

My second volume commences with the history of the baptists in this State; a few of the first paragraphs I will transcribe:—

" Delaware became an independent State in 1776; it contains three little counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; in the first, there was a baptist society as early as 1703; they settled near Iron Hill; from thence, their sentiments took a spread northward, as far as London Tract, in Pennsylvania; north-east, to Wilmington; east, to Bethel; west, to Elk river, in Maryland; southward, to Duck Creek, in this State; and to Pedee river in South Carolina.

" This society was from Wales, and about the year 1733, eight or ten families more, from the same country, made a settlement at Duck Creek, in Kent county, from whence their sentiments spread to Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and to Georgetown, in Maryland.

" About the year 1788, Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes, who had been laboring on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, in Maryland and Virginia, came to the county of Sussex, and made many proselytes, and planted two or three churches.

" Delaware, at present, contains seven or eight churches, and one small Association, which bears the name of the State.

" WELSH TRACT CHURCH. 'To come to the history of this modern church,' says Morgan Edwards, 'we must cross the Atlantic and land in Wales, where it had its beginning, in the following manner: In the Spring of the year 1701, several baptists, in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, resolved to go to America; and as one of the company, Thomas Griffith, was a minister, they were advised to be constituted a church; they took the advice; the instrument of their confederation was in being in 1770, but is now lost or mislaid; the names of the confederates follow: Thomas Griffith, Griffith Nicholas, Evan Richmond, John Edwards, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Richard David, James David, Elizabeth Griffith, Lewis Edmond, Mary John, Mary Thomas, Elizabeth Griffith, Tennet David, Margaret

Mathias, Tennet Morris. These sixteen persons, which may be styled a *church emigrant*, met at Milfordhaven, in the month of June, 1701, embarked on board the good ship *William and Mary*, and on the 8th of September following, landed at Philadelphia. The brethren there treated them courteously, and advised them to settle about Pennepeck; thither they went, and there continued about a year and a half; during which time, their church increased from sixteen to thirty-seven. But finding it inconvenient to tarry about Pennepeck, they, in 1703, took up land in Newcastle county, from Messrs. Evans, Davis, and Willis (who had purchased said Welsh Tract from William Penn, containing upwards of 30,000 acres), and thither removed the same year, and built a little meeting-house on the spot where the present stands.¹

"This removal left some of their members near Pennepeck, and took some of the Pennepeck members to Welsh Tract, yet neither would commune with their neighbors, on account of a difference about *laying-on-of-hands*; for the church of Pennepeck had grown indifferent about the rite; but that at Welsh Tract deemed it a pre-requisite to the communion of saints. To remedy this inconvenience, the churches appointed deputies, to the number of twenty-four from both, to compromise matters as well as they could; who met for the purpose, June 23, 1706. The following history, translated from the Welsh Tract church-book, will give the reader a view of this whole transaction, and the happy termination of these disputes.

"We could not be in fellowship, at the Lord's table, with our brethren in Pennepeck and Philadelphia, because they did not hold to the *laying-on-of-hands*, and some other particulars¹ relating to a church: true, some of them believed in the ordinance, but neither preached it up, nor practised it; and when we moved to Welsh Tract, and left twenty-two of our members at Pennepeck, and took some of their members down with us, the difficulty increased: we had many meetings in order to compromise matters, but to no purpose till June 23, 1706: then the deputies, who had been appointed for the purpose, met at the house of brother Richard Miles, in Radnor, and agreed that a member in either church might transiently commune with the other; that a member who desired to come under the *laying-on-of-hands*, might have his liberty without offence; that the votaries of the right might preach or debate upon the subject with all freedom, consistent with brotherly love. But three years after this meeting, we had reason to review this transaction, because of some brethren who arrived from Wales, and one, among ourselves, who questions whether the first article was warrantable. But we are satisfied that all was right, by the good effects which followed; for, from that time forth, our brethren held sweet communion together at the Lord's table; and our minister² was invited to preach and assist at an ordination at Pennepeck, after the death of our brother Watts. He proceeded from thence to the Jersey, where he enlightened many in the good ways of the Lord, insomuch that in three years after, all the ministers, and about fifty-five private members had submitted to the ordinance."

The Welsh Tract Church was the principal, if not the sole means of introducing singing, imposition of hands, church covenants, &c., among the baptists in the Middle States. The *Century Confession* was in America before the year 1716, but without the articles which relate to these subjects; that year they were inserted by Rev. Abel Morgan, who translated the confession to Welsh, about which time it was signed by one hundred and twenty-two members of this church. These articles were inserted in the next English edition, and adopted, with the other articles, by the Philadelphia Association, in 1742.

The pulpit of this church was filled by great and good men of Welsh extraction, for about 70 years.

The first minister was Thomas Griffith, who emigrated with the church. All we can learn of him is, that he was born in Lauvernach parish, in the county of Pembroke, in 1645, and after faithfully serving this church twenty-four years, died at Pennepeck, July 25, 1725.

Mr. Griffith was succeeded by Elisha Thomas, who was born in the county of Caermarthen, in 1674. He emigrated from Wales with the church, whereof he was one of the first members, and died, November 7, 1730, and was buried in this church-yard, where a handsome tomb is erected to his memory; the top-stone is divided into several compartments, wherein open books are raised, with inscriptions and poetry both in Welsh and English.

Mr. Thomas's successor was Enoch Morgan. He was brother to Abel Morgan, author of the *Welsh Concordance*. Their father was Morgan Ryddarch, a famous baptist minister in Wales; but it was a common thing in that country, for the children to take the personal name of their father instead of the

¹ Some of those particulars are said to have been church covenants, ruling elders, &c.

² Thomas Griffith.

surname, only joining to it the names of their progenitors, by a string of *aps.*³ Mr. Morgan was born in 1676, at a place called Alltgach, in the parish of Lanwenrog, in the county of Cardigan. He arrived in America with the Welsh Tract Church, whereof he was one of the constituents; he took on him the care of the church at Mr. Thomas's decease, and died in 1740, and was buried in this grave-yard, where a tomb is erected to his memory.

Rev. Owen Thomas was his successor. He was born in 1776, at a place called Gurgodllys, in Cilmanllwyd, and county of Pembroke. He came to America in 1707; took the pastoral care of the church at Mr. Morgan's death, in which office he continued until 1748, when he resigned it to go to Yellow Springs, where he died, November 12, 1760. Mr. Thomas left behind him the following remarkable note:

"I have been called upon three times to anoint the sick with oil for recovery; the effect was surprising in every case, but in none more so than in the case of our brother Rynallt Howel; he was so sore with the bruises which he received by a cask falling on him from a wagon, that he could not bear to be turned in bed; the next day he went to meeting."

Rev. David Davis was the next in office here. He was born in the parish of Whitechurch, and county of Pembroke, in the year 1706, and came to America when a child, in 1710; was ordained in this church in 1734, at which time he became its pastor; he continued in this office thirty-five years, viz.: until 1769, when he died. He was an excellent man, and was held in high esteem by all who knew him. Two of his sons were preachers. Jonathan was a *seventh-day baptist*, and John was some time pastor of the Second baptist church in Boston, Mass.

Thus, it appears, that hitherto the pastors of this church were all Welshmen. The succeeding pastors here have been native Americans, and the *Rev. John Sutton* was the first of this class. He was a native of New Jersey, and was a man of considerable distinction in his day. He became the pastor of this church in 1770, where he continued seven years, when he removed to Virginia, and then to Western Pennsylvania.

Rev. John Boggs was ordained to the pastoral office here in 1781, when forty years of age, where he continued until his death, in 1802.

Rev. Gideon Ferrell, whose birth and early education was among the Quakers, succeeded to this pastorate, in which he continued till his death, in 1818.

Since the death of Mr. Ferrell, the pastors or supplies of this ancient community have been *Rev. Messrs. S. W. Woolford, S. Trott, T. R. Robinson, and Thos. Barton*, who is the present pastor for a part of the time, as he supplies two other churches in Pennsylvania. The number of this church, when last heard from, was 69.

DUCK CREEK OR BRYNSION CHURCH. This church, which was formerly distinguished by the first name, but now altogether by the latter, is situated about 70 miles to the south-west of Philadelphia. The meeting-house was built of brick in 1771, on a lot of one acre, the gift of John and Philemon Dickinson.

The tract of land which was called Duck Creek Hundred, was settled in the year 1733, by a number of Welsh families, some of the Independent and some of the Baptist denominations. The Independents built a meeting-house on the lot where the Baptist house now stands, and called it Brynston, viz.: Mount-Zion. They had divine service performed in it by Presbyterian ministers, viz.: *Rev. Messrs. Thomas Evans, Rees Lewis, David Jenison, &c.* But in process of time this independent society dwindled away, partly by deaths and partly by emigrations, and the baptists made use of their house while it stood. The Independents neglected to have the lot conveyed over to them, for which reason it reverted to the Dickinsons, and continued in their hands till conveyed to the baptists at the time above specified.

³ I remember, says Morgan Edwards, to have seen a bible of my grandfather's with the following title page: *Fiddo Edwards ap William, ap Edward ap Dwydd, ap Evan.* MS. Hist. of the baptists in Delaware, p. 241.

The baptists who settled here were about eight or ten. The names of the heads of them follows, viz.: James Hyatt, Nathaniel Wild, David Evans, Evan Rees, David Rees, James Howell, Evan David Hugh, Joshua Edwards, &c. This last was an exhorter among them, until he went to Pedee, in South Carolina. These baptists emigrated hither chiefly from Pencader, in Newcastle county, and were members of Welsh Tract Church. In May 18, 1735, Rev. Hugh Davis, of the Great Valley, preached to them at Brynston meeting-house; otherwise they held their worship at the house of James Hyatt. In September, 1737, Rev. David Davis, of Welsh Tract, administered ordinances here; in 1749, Rev. Griffith Jones settled at Duck Creek, and continued among these people until his death, in 1757. In the spring of 1766, Rev. William Davis, from New Britain, settled here; but he died the 25th of September following. After him, the Rev. Messrs. David Davis, John Sutton, John Boggs, &c., ministered to them, till their number increased to thirty. Then they petitioned *Welsh Tract* for leave to become a distinct church. These thirty persons were constituted a church by Messrs. Boggs and Fleeson, November 24, 1781, and in 1786, were received into the Association of Philadelphia.

The ministers who officiated at Duck Creek, while it was a branch of Welsh Tract, have already been mentioned. The first pastor which it had after it became a separate church was Eliphaz Dazey, who continued with them a short time, and then resigned, and was succeeded by *James Jones*.

Of the names of the pastors since the last one named, or of the present condition of this church, I am not informed.

FIRST CHURCH, WILMINGTON. As early as 1769, baptist ministers began to preach in this town in a transient way, but without any apparent success. Three years after, some effects were produced by the preaching of Rev. Philip Hughes, who had occasion to spend some time in the town to oversee the printing of a volume of hymns. In the month of April following, Mr. Thomas Ainger and family settled in the town; he was a member of the Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, but his wife was a professed baptist; he constantly maintained family worship, without any uncommon effect for a time. One Lord's day evening he read the 20th chapter of Revelation, and found a strong impulse to comment upon it, particularly on the 12th verse. This diffused seriousness through the family, and laid a foundation for a religious society, in which good was done. Two of his apprentices, and some others, attributed their conversion to this society.

Soon after the same, Mr. Hughes came to town to print his book on baptism, which detained him near two months; he preached all the while, sometimes at a Presbyterian meeting-house, and sometimes at the school-house, which collected many hearers.

Messrs. Fleeson and Boggs made frequent visits to the place, and in Oct., 1785, a small church was formed, consisting of sixteen members; and Thomas Ainger, who began the domestic meetings already mentioned, being one of the constituent members, soon commenced preaching among them, and in due time became their pastor, in which office he continued till his death, in 1797.

After remaining destitute of a settled pastor about five years, they were favored with the settlement of Rev. Daniel Dodge, now pastor of the Second church, in Philadelphia, under whose ministry they enjoyed a good degree of prosperity for many years.

Mr. Dodge resigned this station in 1819. His successors have been Rev. Messrs. S. Green, D. D. Lewis, J. P. Peckworth, J. Miller, A. Earle, and J. Smoot. This brings us down to 1837, when Mr. Peckworth returned from Alexandria, D. C., to which place he removed from this station, and is the present incumbent. Mr. P. was the first pastor of the Third church, Philadelphia. This church, which was once large and flourishing, now contains about *fifty* members.

I have thus far been confined in my history of our denomination in this State to the ancient establishments at Welsh Tract, Duck Creek, and Wilmington, all of which, for a long course of years, were in full fellowship and cordial co-operation with their brethren in all plans of benevolence and evangelical efforts, and their course was prosperous and progressive. Their present declining condition, and the causes which have led to it, in the opinion of one of my correspondents, will be exhibited in my closing remarks.

I shall now give a short account of one church of recent origin, which has from the beginning been identified with those evangelical principles and pursuits which, in this State, have of late years been neglected and condemned:

SECOND CHURCH, WILMINGTON. This body was organized Sept. 3, 1835, with thirteen members.

Rev. C. W. Denison was settled with them the year after their constitution, and continued about three years.

Rev. Messrs. G. Carlton and *S. Leach*, in succession, officiated here for short periods, until 1843, when

Rev. Morgan J. Rhees was installed into the pastorate, where he still continues. They have generally been prosperous, and now their number amounts to about three hundred and fifty. They have a good house of worship, of ample dimensions, three Sabbath schools, and lend their aid to all the objects of Christian benevolence. This church has, from its origin, been connected with the Philadelphia Association.

I know of no other church in Delaware, old or young, which, according to my rules of proceeding, requires particular attention.

DELAWARE ASSOCIATION.

The date of this body I am not able to give. I find it referred to in the Minutes of the old Philadelphia community, as one of their corresponding Associations, as early as 1798; and for many years it was in fellowship and correspondence with all the surrounding institutions of a kindred character, which for some time past has not been the case. This body was never large, but its present numerical strength is much less than in the days of its greatest prosperity.

In my statistical tables of 1812, it is put down at 6 churches, 4 ministers, and 480 members. The ministers were Gideon Ferrell, James Jones, Daniel Dodge, and Jethro Johnson. Gideon Ferrell was moderator, and Joseph Miles, clerk.

According to Allen's Register for 1836, its number of members was reduced to about three hundred. This was about the amount of its numerical strength in 1845.

Closing Remarks. The baptists were never numerous in this State, and our interest here at present is small indeed. The few churches which in former times were in a flourishing condition, are now feeble and languishing, and some have become extinct. The present prospects of our affairs in Delaware naturally lead us to inquire into the cause of this lamentable state of things. As I have made no comments as yet on the *anti and non-effort* principles with which we have now come in close contact, and which we shall often meet with as we go farther on in the course we are pursuing, I will insert the following exposition of their natural operation in this State and the surrounding region, as given by a minister on the ground. After speaking of the churches generally, he says:

"One general remark is true of them all, '*They progress backwards.*' There has been a regular decline for years, even greater than is exhibited by their returns, and their congregations to *almost nothing.*

"There is one prominent reason why these churches, and those of a kindred spirit in Delaware and Maryland, and everywhere else, are declining, and do not and cannot prosper. You will find it in Haggai i. 2-12, and in Malachi iii. 8-11. They withhold from the Lord's cause that which he demands, and the result is, the heavens withhold their blessings. God has called for a drought upon them in spiritual things, and they are withering and fast decaying, and it needs no prophet's gift to see their speedy dissolution unless they repent and return to the Lord, and engage in His service. It is lamentable to see the light extinguished where once it shone so clearly, but it is in accordance with His plans, who doeth all.

things well, and who will be honored by the service of His professed disciples. These churches oppose all Missionary, Bible, Sunday School, Tract, and Temperance organizations, and are thus hindering the fulfilment of the Saviour's command, to 'preach the Gospel in all the world, to every creature,' as far as they can do it; and while they thus act, they cannot prosper."³

SECTION II.

MARYLAND.

Early History of the Baptists in the State—The Oldest Churches—Chestnut Ridge—Winter Run, or Harford and its branches—Salisbury Association—Baltimore do.—No. 2, do.—Maryland Baptist Union do.—Churches generally in the State—Baltimore Churches—Recapitulation—Closing Remarks.

It is now a little over a century since the first church of the baptist order was founded in Maryland; but so slowly did they gain ground, that, except the Mennonites and Tunkers, but two churches had been formed in 1772.

About twenty years from the last date, according to Asplund's Register, their church organizations amounted to seventeen, and their members to about 1,300.

At the present time, there are in Maryland four Associations, and of churches forty-eight. Some of them, however, are but apologies for these ecclesiastical institutions.

CHURCH AT CHESTNUT RIDGE. This body was formed in 1742, and Henry Sator, a layman, is represented as its founder. He was a *General Baptist*, and removed hither from England in 1709. Soon after his settlement in this colony, which was in its northern parts, he invited baptist ministers to preach in his house, by which means a few, from time to time, were proselyted to his sentiments, and after many years a church was gathered in his neighborhood.

Among the ministers who officiated with this infant community as pastors or supplies, in early times, were George Eglesfield, from Pa.; Paul Palmer, whose name will appear among the baptists in N. C.; Henry Loveall, and probably others.

The *covenant* entered into by this people, and which was presented to the Governor and Court of this then Catholic Province, when the society was taken under the protection of the toleration laws, was expressed in the following terms:

"We, the humble professors of the Gospel of Christ, baptized upon a declaration of faith and repentance, believing the doctrine of general redemption (or the free grace of God extended to all mankind), do hereby seriously, heartily, and solemnly, in the presence of the Searcher of all hearts, and before the world, covenant, agree, bind, and settle ourselves into a church, to hold, abide by, and contend for the faith once delivered to the saints, owned by the best reformed churches in England, Scotland, and elsewhere, especially as published and maintained in the forms and confessions of the baptists in England and Scotland, except in infant baptism, modes of church government, the doctrine of absolute reprobation, and some ceremonies. We do also bind ourselves hereby to defend and live up to the protestant religion, and abhor and oppose the whore of Rome, pope and popery, with all her anti-christian ways. We do also engage, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the crown and dignity of our gracious sovereign, King George, to him and his issue for ever; and to obey all his laws, humbly submitting ourselves to all in authority under him, and giving custom to whom custom, honor to whom honor, tribute to whom tribute is due. We do further declare that we are not against taking oaths, nor using arms in defense of our king and country, when legally called thereto; and that we do approve and will obey the laws of this Province. And further, we do bind ourselves to follow the patterns of our brethren in England, to maintain order, government, and discipline in our church, especially that excellent

³ Letter of M. J. Rhees, pastor of the Second church, Delaware, 1845. This is the only communication I have had from this State. As Mr. Rhees wrote expressly for my use, I presume he is willing to bear the responsibility of all the statements he has made.

directory of Rev. Francis Stanley, entitled 'The Gospel Honor and Church Ornament,' dedicated to the churches in the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, and Cambridge. We also engage that all persons, upon joining our society, shall yield consent to and subscribe this our solemn league and covenant. Subscribed by us whose names are underwritten, this 10th day of July, 1742."

Mr. Sator bore an excellent character, and may be considered not only the founder of this society, but of the baptist interest in Maryland. His assistance in building the place of worship, and his gifts of land to the minister, are mentioned as peculiar marks of his liberality.

This church immediately increased very fast, and began to spread over the country, and soon extended over to Opeckon and Ketockton, in Virginia; inso-much that in four years the number of communicants amounted to 181.

This church was constituted in 1754, and originated from the general baptist church at Chestnut-ridge, whose history has just been given. For seven years previous to this date, by invitation from some of the members of the old general body, ministers of the particular order had visited and preached among them until fourteen of their number had embraced their sentiments, and were formed into a separate church, by the assistance of P. P. Vanhorn and Benjamin Griffith, and soon after united with the Philadelphia Association.

In 1772, according to Mr. Edwards, this church had branched out in different directions, and contained about one hundred and forty members.

The Harford community was, for a long time, regarded as one of the principal churches of the country; it was, for upwards of forty years, under the pastoral care of one minister, the venerable *John Davis*, who died in 1809, in the 88th year of his age.

He was own cousin to the late famous Benjamin Francis, of England. All that I can learn of him is, that he was a man of peculiar piety and usefulness, and no one who knew him, mentions his name without affixing some appellation expressive of his peculiar excellence. When he first arrived in Maryland, he was very roughly treated, for the people of the neighborhood, the magistrates, and the court, publicly affronted him, and used indirect acts to drive him out of the country; but, in a short time, the men who were his bitterest enemies, became his affectionate friends, and treated him with honor and respect.

This General Baptist Society was, in process of time, in part, at least, absorbed by one of the Particular Baptist order, which was gathered, at first, at a place called

WINTER RUN, where it was, at first, organized, but which afterwards took the name of

HARFORD, which still it bears; in its prosperous days, it was an important establishment.

I find the name of John Davis on the Philadelphia Minutes, as early as 1769; but he was then put down against the Baltimore church, No. 112.

In 1775, on the same Minutes, he is reported as the pastor at Harford, No. 142, and so he continued for many years. This church fell in with the Baltimore Association, in which it still continues.

Rev. Jas. B. Bowen is the present pastor. The line of succession in the pastorship of this ancient community, from the death of John Davis, I am not able to trace, as but few of the old Minutes are in my possession.

In my second volume, p. 16, I find it stated that from this church proceeded First Baltimore, Taney Town, Gunpowder, and Saters.

The history of the remaining churches in this State will be given under the head of the different Associations to which they belong.

SALISBURY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1782, and is the oldest in the State. It is situated on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, by which it is separated from the others in this State.

Elder Elijah Baker and Philip Hughes were the baptist pioneers in this region; by them, principally, the oldest churches here were gathered, and the Association organized. This has always been a sterile region for our denomination, and now this old community is in a very feeble and declining condition.

Dr. Robert Lemon, at whose house the venerable elder Baker died, almost uniformly officiated as the moderator of this body for many years from its commencement; he was a man of much note among the baptists in this part of the country.

Rev. John Asplund, the indefatigable compiler of the statistics of the denomination about half a century ago, was drowned from a canoe in Fishing Creek, which gave name to one of the churches in this Association. Its churches, in former times, were in the counties of Caroline, Dorset, Somerset, and Worcester. As I have none of its late Minutes, I cannot give an account of its statistical affairs.

In my tables for 1812, it contained fourteen churches and four hundred and sixty-nine members; it had then only four ministers, viz.: Robert Lemon, Caldwell Winsor, Isaac Fisher, and Stephen Woolford. Noah Davis and Leonard Fletcher, now of Philadelphia, were employed as domestic missionaries within its bounds, many years since. They are said since to have come out against all institutions of the kind.

According to Allen's Register for 1836, it was somewhat reduced in its numerical strength. From old Salisbury, proceeded the Accomack Association, in Virginia, in 1808.

BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in 1792, and, for a number of years, at first, included all the associated churches in Maryland, on the western side of the great Bay, which divides the State, except the one called Nanjamoy, which belonged to Ketcokton, in Virginia. Its constituent churches were those of Harford, Fredericktown, Seneca, Taneytown, Huntington, and Hammond's Branch. John Davis, Samuel Lane, and Absalom Bainbridge, were the only ministers present at the time of its organization; the last of whom, afterwards removed to Kentucky. The old Harford church did not leave the Philadelphia Association until three years after the formation of this body.

This was an important institution for this section of country, for many years, and embodied the whole baptist influence in the cities of Baltimore and Washington, and all the surrounding country.

In 1812, as appears by my tables of that date, it contained eighteen churches, eleven ministers, and eight hundred and fifty-seven members.

The maximum of its numerical strength from any accounts that I have seen, was about 1720, when it reported twenty-one churches, twenty-two ministers, and one thousand three hundred and sixty-two members. At this date, two of its important churches united with the Columbia Association, Virginia, viz.: First Washington and Alexandria, D. C.

The Baltimore community fell into the principles and practice of the missionary age, in which it operated to a moderate extent, until 1836, when the famous *Black Rock resolutions* which a majority of the delegates voted to adopt, threw them into trouble, and, in the end, rent the body asunder; both parties claiming the original constitution. From that period, two Associations by the name of Baltimore, both very small, have existed on this ground.⁴ They are

⁴ As we shall meet much of the splitting and dividing which have been occasioned by *Resolutions* similar to those referred to above, I shall here give them as they have been reported to me by two correspondents, one on each side of the disputed question. They are as follows:

"Whereas, a number of churches in this Association have departed from the practice of the same, by following cunningly devised fables, uniting with and encouraging others to unite in worldly societies, to the great grief of other churches of this body, and as there cannot be any fellowship between principles so essentially different:

"Therefore Resolved, That this Association cannot hold fellowship with such churches, and all that have done so, be dropped from our Minutes."

This Black Rock Meeting was a very important one, in the estimation of the opposers of the be-

both so small and feeble, that it seems a pity that they should continue their separate organizations.

The old HARFORD CHURCH, which reported but forty members in 1845, the Black Rock, in Maryland, and Shiloh, in Washington, appears to embody the strength of the anti-mission, or, as they style themselves, the *old school* party.

The SECOND CHURCH, Baltimore, I should judge to be the substratum of the other. The history of this old body will be given in my account of the city churches.

MARYLAND UNION ASSOCIATION.

This is an entirely new interest, got up in 1836. It was composed, at first, of six churches, viz.: First Baltimore, Colvert Street, do., Pikesville, Gunpowder,⁵ Taneytown, Md., and Navy Yard, Washington. Rev. Messrs. G. F. Adams and S. P. Hill, appear to have been the principal movers in getting up this new concern.

The motives for the undertaking by one of these ministers, are thus expressed :

"When I came to Baltimore, in 1836, I looked in vain for the existence of any efficient body whose object was the spread of the Gospel in the State. There were some excellent churches in the city and out of the city, that stood alone; some others had, by the resolutions of the Baltimore Association, already quoted, been cut off from that body, and did not wish to be identified with either of the parties into which it was now split. On consulting with some brethren, both in the city and in the country, and some in Washington, D. C., I found a goodly number of feelings akin to my own. Our object was to form a body whose *prominent object* should be the spread of the Gospel in this State, and the northern part of the District of Columbia.

"We wanted something to answer the purpose of State Conventions in other States. And as there were no Associations that would be likely to combine their influence in such an object, we thought it best to combine what few churches we could find of the proper stamp."

In pursuance of this plan, this new institution had a missionary board for the collection and disbursement of funds, and the appointment of missionaries; its operations have been similar to our State Conventions for domestic missions, and, when all things are considered, the doings of this body, in financial affairs, have been highly commendable.

Their annual collections have varied from between four and five hundred dollars, to about double that sum.

The transactions of this body afford no small degree of relief to the gloomy picture which this State presented in former years. The heaviest contributions have always been made by the two churches in Baltimore, over which Messrs. Hill and Adams presided, until the latter resigned his pastorship, to become the agent and missionary of this body. The principal churches belonging to it of much strength or efficiency, are in Baltimore and Washington; their history will be given under the heads of these cities. A few items of some of the others I shall here exhibit.

NANJEMOY CHURCH, in Charles Co., about fifty miles below the city of Washington, was gathered in 1793. The place from which the church takes its name, is situated on the Maryland side of the Potomac river. Elder Jer. Moore, Wm. Fristoe, and other preachers from Virginia, were the principal instruments in planting baptist sentiments in this region of the State, among a people of a most rude and uncultivated character. "Great and bitter persecu-

nevolent efforts of the day. A circular, which exhibited a full view of the sentiments of the opposing party, was sent to brethren in different parts of the United States, &c.

This was, of course, a sort of General Convention of those who had become alarmed at "the corruptions which were pouring in, like a flood, upon the baptist church;"—and the *Resolutions* passed at *Black Rock* were intended as a *Manifesto* on the part of those who set themselves so resolutely against what they regarded as innovations on the ancient baptist *modus operandi* in church affairs.

This whole subject will be more fully illustrated in another place.

The two correspondents referred to, are Rev. Messrs. G. F. Adams, of Baltimore, and G. Bebee, of New Vernon, N. Y.

⁵ So called, from a creek of that name.

⁶ Rev. G. F. Adams' communication, in 1843.

tion raged against these early pioneers in the baptist cause; they were, not unfrequently, not only interrupted in their preaching, but were often subjected to personal insult and abuse. An Elder Hagan was once taken by some 'lewd fellows of the baser sort,' and ducked in the Potomac till he was nearly drowned." This church, for many years, was without a pastor, and in a feeble condition; but it has been much revived of late years, and is now one of the most efficient in the State, in a country location.

Rev. Wm. I. Chiles was their pastor in 1845, when it stood the highest on the list, as to numerical strength, of any church in the State, except one in Baltimore.

GOOD HOPE CHURCH is also in Charles Co., about thirty miles below Nanjemoy; it was gathered in 1832. Elder Samuel L. Straughan, from Va., is said to have been the principal promoter of the sentiments of our order in this place. This is a small and feeble body, and without a pastor.

TANEYTOWN CHURCH has existed more than half a century, having been gathered in 1791; it has been a small and feeble body, dependent, for the most part, for ministerial supplies, on missionaries, or the pastors of other churches. It is forty miles north-west of Baltimore. This appears to be one of the out-posts of the denomination in this direction from the metropolis. It is in the county of Frederick. Between the great city and this end of the State, in the counties of Baltimore and Harford, are a number of small communities, which have been resuscitated or instituted by the missionary efforts of the Association now under consideration. They are described by Mr. Adams in his usual style of precision and accuracy, but do not furnish items of sufficient importance for general history.

There is one short narrative, however, I will insert, as it may stimulate others in similar circumstances, to go and do likewise, rather than continue to meet in such miserable shanties as many of them now occupy.

FOREST CHURCH was organized in 1843.

"One of its first acts after its constitution was the adoption of a resolution to build a meeting-house;—a good lot was given by *Mr. Murray Wheeler*, one of their members, and a subscription was set on foot. But finding the prospect of getting money very dull, as nearly all the members were poor, they determined to work themselves; a day was fixed upon, and nearly all the male members turned out and cut, hewed, and hauled to the place timber enough for the building. By similar united efforts, under the direction of two of the brotherhood, one a master carpenter, and the other a mason, the work was carried forward, and it was soon ready for the inside work; this was done by contract, and in a short time this infant community found themselves in the possession of a commodious little sanctuary, thirty feet by forty-five, plainly and neatly finished in every part, in which a good Sabbath school in modern style is maintained. This house is about twenty-five miles N.N.W. of Baltimore."

Historical Sketches of the Baptist Churches in the City of Baltimore.

FIRST CHURCH. This body was organized in 1785,⁷ with eleven members, all of whom, excepting Mr. Richards, were dismissed from the old Harford church, the seat of which was then about twenty miles north of what was then familiarly called Baltimore town; and the constituent members were Lewis Richards, David Shields and wife, George Prestman and wife, Richard Lemman, Alexander McHine, Thomas Case and wife, Wm. Hobley, and Eleanore Thomas. These persons, who had regularly kept up a meeting in Baltimore

⁷ In this date I have followed my first volume, but in the Minutes of the Philadelphia Association, the Baltimore church is mentioned as early as 1769, where it is annually reported for a number of succeeding years. In 1775, in appointing supplies for destitute churches, as their custom then was, Rev. Wm. Rogers, then pastor of the First Church, Philadelphia, was designated for *Baltimore Town*, for two Lord's days, viz.: the last in October, and the first in November. There must either have been a church on the ground before the present one arose, or else the name was applied interchangeably to Harford, the parent institution, and the Baltimore branch—the latter of which, I am inclined to think, was the case.

for a number of years before the church was constituted, were regularly supplied with preaching once a month by Elder Davis, the pastor of the mother body. This is the largest church in this Association.^a

Rev. Lewis Richards was the first pastor of this new fraternity, where he continued till his death, in 1832. His pastorship must have continued more than forty years. He was a native of Wales, where he was born in 1752.

Rev. E. J. Rees was his successor, and continued in office about two years. Next to him was

Rev. John Finley, for a few years.

I believe there were some other incumbents here, for short periods, previous to the settlement of the

Rev. S. P. Hill, the present pastor, has occupied this station some ten or twelve years.

THE SECOND CHURCH was constituted in 1797. The following narrative of the founding of this church I shall give in the language^b of the aged pastor, as communicated for Allen's first Register :

"DEAR BROTHER ALLEN: Our origin as a body was as follows: In the year 1794, three families of us, viz.: John Healey and wife, Mathew Hulse and wife, and William Lynes and wife, all members of the Baptist church in Leicester, England, which was called the New Connexion, determined to emigrate to the United States, and to remain together as a religious community. We arrived in New York on the 5th of October, where we remained till February following, when we embarked for Baltimore, with twelve children, and a young lady, sister of Mrs. Hulse, in all nineteen persons. The church having called me to the work of the ministry previous to our leaving England, my mind was fixed, as to our destination, on Baltimore. I thought it favorable ground for preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ.

"In the spring of 1795, on our arrival in Baltimore, the Rev. Dr. Bend, of the Episcopal church, who preached once a month in a place fitted up for his church, very kindly gave us the use of it, rent free, for three weeks in a month. This was liberal indeed to strangers.

"In a short time, however, our little congregation scattered, in consequence of my severe affliction of pleurisy, terminating in fever and ague. During this period, two of our number, out of six, were dismissed, and left us. After frequently preaching for our good brother Richards, of the First church, we began to travel in church capacity in June, 1797. In the same year we built a meeting house of brick, 27 feet by 40. While in the prosecution of this work, we lost half of our little company by the yellow fever. Being the only male member left, I went through great tribulation, laboring with my hands, preaching, and begging to finish the house. In this place the half cannot be told. I found, as Young describes it, that

'Friends grow not thick on every bough,
Nor every friend unrotten at the core.'

"My tribulation lasted about ten years, which frequently impressed me with thoughts of moving to the west. Something, however, always prevented it. In the year 1807, we united with the Baltimore Association, and then enjoyed a little tranquillity. But in 1809, a schism took place in the church, while I was absent as a messenger to the Philadelphia Association. Nine or ten persons, as the church record says, attempted 'secretly to call Wm. M'Pherson to the pastoral care of this church, contrary to the wishes of the church, and without their knowledge.' This person I had invited to preach for me in my absence! Mr. M'Pherson and his adherents had embraced the Haldane scheme, and such was the course they took, although they acknowledged they had nothing against my doctrine or moral deportment.

"In 1811 we sold the house in Bank street, and built one, which we now occupy, 40 by 50 feet, on Fleet street, in that part of the city called Fell's Point.

"In the years 1821-22, we were exercised, as a church, with great afflictions and frequent deaths by yellow fever. At one period our meeting-house was closed for ten weeks, in which time the congregation and Sabbath school were much scattered and diminished. We never had more at one time, I believe, than 157 members. At present we have reason to bless the Lord for the good attention now paid to the Gospel, and for the union and fellowship of the brethren in love, which we hope will continue.

"Yours to serve, for Jesus' sake,

JOHN HEALEY."

Father Healey, as he is generally called, is still in this pastoral station, which he has occupied just half a century.

MADISON STREET CHURCH was founded in 1830. It was at first called Mt. Zion; when its name was changed, I am not informed.

^a In 1845, it reported 273; High Street, do., 209; E. Street, Washington, 233; Navy Yard, do., 121; Seventh, Baltimore, —, 104.

^b Allen's Register for 1833. This article was dated in 1832.

Rev. Daniel Davis was its pastor for about two years.

Rev. O. W. Briggs is the present incumbent. Mr. Briggs is a native of New England.¹⁰

HIGH STREET, lately CALVERT STREET CHURCH, bears date from 1835. It was formed on ground formerly occupied by a body called EBENEZER CHURCH, which was formed in 1821, under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Ries, then lately pastor of the old body. They had erected a good house of worship, which was purchased by Messrs. Wm. and Jas. C. Crane, then of Richmond, Va. The church now under consideration was commenced, *de novo*, at the date above given.¹ It has since changed its location, and of course its name.

Rev. J. G. Binney, now a missionary in Burmah, was the first pastor under the new organization. His continuance was less than a year. Successor to him was

Rev. Geo. F. Adams, who was settled in 1836. He continued in this pastorate about seven years.

Rev. Jonathan Aldrich, now pastor of the church in Framingham, Mass., was the next in office for about two years.

Rev. F. Wilson is the present incumbent.

Of the remaining churches in this city I have not sufficient information for the construction of my usual historical details. All I can say about them will be in the following summary statement :

Recapitulation of the Churches in Baltimore.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Church, - -	1785	S. P. Hill, - -	300
Second Church, - -	1797	J. Healey, - -	120
Madison Street, - -	1830	O. W. Briggs, - -	70
High Street, - -	1835	F. Wilson - -	190
First Colored, - -	1836	M. C. Clayton, - -	150
Sixth Church, - -	1844	J. A. McKean, - -	110
Seventh Church, - -	1845	R. Fuller, - -	104
Total, - - -			1044

Closing Remarks. Reference has already been made to the gloomy picture which is presented to the baptist traveler passing through the two States of Delaware and Maryland. My personal acquaintance with them is not sufficient to enable me to make any comments on the doings of the *non-missionary* party, to whom much of the want of success among the denomination has been ascribed. And, then, I do not wish to enter on this subject until I have gone through all the States and Territories where the sentiments of this portion of the great body of the associated baptists have prevailed. But, as a substitute, I will copy some remarks which first appeared in the Religious Herald, of Richmond, Va., and were from that paper transferred into Allen's Register for 1836 :

"The history of the Baptist denomination in Maryland, for twenty years past, though painful to a pious mind, is yet fraught with salutary instruction, and may serve as a beacon to other churches, and enable them to shun the danger and deadly influence of Antinomianism. The founder of most of the churches in the Baltimore Association, was the pious and indefatigable John Davis. During his life they prospered and flourished, and the Baptists in Maryland, if not a numerous, were a united and God-fearing body. Since his death, the churches which he planted have been steadily declining, and some of them are nearly extinct.

¹⁰ I have had no information relative to the history of this body. In Allen's Register for 1833, I see an account of the Mount Zion Church, of the date above given. Samuel Hasker is reported as the clerk. As he is still in the same office, I infer that it is the same body, with a new name.

¹ These two brothers, who are favorably known to the baptist public, assumed, in the outset, the responsibility for the purchase and refitting of this house of worship, to the amount of six or eight thousand dollars. In the final settlement of the accounts, they gave in enough to erect a good chapel for a village church.

Harford, the mother church, has been reduced from 160 members, to from 40 to 50. In a few years it will, in all probability, no longer exist. Fredericktown church is nearly extinct. Sater's church is reduced to a few members, and is barren and lifeless. The ministers who entered the field after Elder Davis, forgetting the great object of the Christian ministry, the conversion of sinners, occupied themselves chiefly in doctrinal discussions, or in dwelling on the great things which God has done for his church and people, which, though in itself a glorious truth, may, when not balanced by other truths equally important, engender spiritual pride, and supine indifference to practical duties. Ultra Calvinism took deep root in many of the churches. Hostility or indifference to the mission cause generally prevailed, and the Baptist denomination in Maryland, with some few exceptions, exhibited a dreary and disconsolate aspect. Its two Associations, Baltimore and Salisbury, instead of increasing, have been regularly decreasing.

"It affords us sincere pleasure to see the dawning of a better state of things in Baltimore. The First, or Sharp Street church, under the pastoral care of Elder S. P. Hill, is zealously engaged in efforts to extend the Redeemer's kingdom. The Calvert Street church, with which brother W. Crane, recently of this city, is connected, have obtained the services of Elder George F. Adams, and is going onward with brightening prospects.

"On the western shore of Maryland, in Charles county, there is a church connected with the Dover Association, the members of which are prepared to engage in every good word and work. There are, probably, other churches in the State besides those named, that would be willing to co-operate in measures to promote the Redeemer's cause in their own State, if not in foreign lands."

The only places where I have discovered anything like an active and healthy state of things, as to religious concerns, have been in the Second church, Wilmington, Delaware, and in the churches connected with the M. U. Association.

Emigrations from all these regions have no doubt had a paralyzing influence, and then the people here, as in many other parts, have probably gone into new towns and villages, leaving the seats of the old churches with but few inhabitants. In all parts of this country many ancient societies have become enfeebled, or have run down, where nothing very specific can be laid to their charge on the score of faith and practice. Generally, however, we see new communities springing up in the new locations, which is but seldom witnessed in any of these parts. It is said the Methodists and other societies have taken the ground and cultivated it with success, where our people once lived and flourished, but which they have since abandoned.

SECTION III.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Washington—First Church—Other Churches—Alexandria—Recapitulation—Closing Remarks.

IN this District, in which is situated our National Government, our denomination commenced its operations simultaneously with the founding of the city and the removal of the government to it.

FIRST CHURCH, WASHINGTON, was constituted in 1802, and, according to my 1st vol., it arose in the following manner :

"When the General Government was removed from Philadelphia to this newly-established metropolis, a few baptist members, some of whom were in its employment, belonging to different churches, removed hither about the same time. These persons had frequent conversations on the advantages which might result to them from church fellowship and communion; and having made previous arrangements for the purpose, they were formally recognized as a regular church, May 7, 1802, in the Hall of the Treasury Department, by the assistance of Rev. Messrs. Jer. Moore, of Va.; Lewis Richards, of Baltimore; William Parkinson, then a chaplain to Congress; and Adam Freeman. Their number was but six, viz.: Charles L. Polk, from Baltimore; John Burnham, from the city of New York; Charles Rogers, from Maryland; Cephas Fox, from Va.; and Jos. Burrows and wife, from Philadelphia."

RECAPITULATION OF CHURCHES IN DIST. OF COLUMBIA. 639

Rev. O. B. Brown was the first pastor of this infant community, where he was settled in 1807; of course, his pastorship has continued forty years. Mr. Brown often officiated as chaplain to one branch of the National Legislature for a number of years; he also, for a long time, occupied an important station in the General Post Office.

NAVY YARD CHURCH was organized in 1810. Its name indicates its location in the city.

Rev. G. R. Hendrickson has been its pastor a few years.

Rev. Thos. W. Tobey, lately gone as a missionary to China, was a resident member of this body, by the last returns to the M. U. Association, where it belongs.

THE COLORED CHURCH here bears date from 1830. This, I believe, originated from the First Church; it assembles in the old house of worship, which was first erected for that church. It belongs to the Philadelphia Association.

E. STREET CHURCH. This is a new interest, which was got up in 1843, and, from the increase of its members, appears to have had much success in its operations.

Rev. G. W. Samson became its pastor from the beginning, where he still continues.

SHILOH CHURCH bears date from 1831.

ALEXANDRIA. This church was constituted in 1803, but the succession of the pastors, which, I believe, has been somewhat numerous during the forty odd years of its existence, I am not able to give.

Rev. Samuel Cornelius, now a resident member of the Mt. Holly church, N. J., and an agent of the American Colonization Society, for many years occupied this pastoral station.

Rev. E. Kingsford has been in this pastorship a number of years past, which he has lately resigned.

GEORGETOWN. This town is contiguous to the capital, on the same side of the Potomac. My impression is, that a small church was planted in it a few years since, but I do not see it reported in the Minutes of any Association.

Recapitulation of the Churches in the District of Columbia.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Church, - -	1802	O. B. Brown, -	- 151
Second or Navy Yard,	1810	G. R. Hendrickson,	- 121
Colored Church, - -	1830	Wm. Williams, -	- 202
Shiloh, - - -	1831	C. R. Leachman, -	- 30
Alexandria, - - -	1803	-----	- 169
		Total, - - -	- 673

Closing Remarks. Although our denomination has not become numerous in this District, yet it is an important location, and unusual efforts ought to be made here in favor of the cause. At all times, I believe, a portion of the members of Congress and the officers of the General Government, are baptists by profession, or at least by education, or in sentiment, and not unfrequently baptist ministers are found on the rolls of our civil functionaries.²

² These ministers, notwithstanding the distracting cares of their secular vocation, are, generally, ready to co-operate with the baptist pastors in promoting the interest of their flocks, and of the cause of religion in general. In but few cases do they succeed so well in expounding the laws of the land in the Halls of legislation, as they do in their humble vocation at home. It is often hard to break them into the new way of speaking before these secular bodies. One minister, with whom I was well acquainted, in one of his speeches, so far forgot himself, as to say *My Brethren*,—instead of *Mr. Speaker*;—but no harm came of it, only they got a laugh upon the elder for transforming the whole corps of legislators into a religious community.

640 CORRESPONDENTS FOR DEL., MARYLAND, & DIST. COLUMBIA.

Staughton and Rice, men whom the denomination delight to honor, were long identified with the baptist interest in the metropolis of the nation. In this situation the latter gentleman exhausted all his energies, mental and physical, to plant and foster the Columbian College, which is here established, and from which have gone out a long list of its sons into all parts of our own country, and not a few into foreign fields of missionary toil.

The full history of this, with all our literary institutions, must be deferred to my next volume.

We have now, in our progress southward, arrived to the famous line of demarcation between the north and south. We are now prepared to enter the great State where the principles of our order have had an extensive spread, and where we shall find the largest body of baptists of any State of the Union, except New York.

Correspondents. Rev. Messrs. M. J. Rhoes, of Wilmington, Del., and Geo. F. Adams, of Baltimore, are the only men out of the many whom I have addressed by my circulars and otherwise, on the subject of baptist history, in all this region, from whom I have had returns.

Mr. Adams has taken much pains for my accommodation, and has supplied me with a small MS. history of all parts of Md., except the city of Baltimore. This he left for the pastors of the churches to do; but it so happens that none of them have written me, and so I have pieced out the history of their charges in the best way I could. The condensed manner in which I am obliged to construct my narratives, has compelled me to leave out a large portion of the historical materials sent me by Mr. A.; but they will be carefully preserved for future use.

P. S. I sent Mr. Adams a duplicate copy of my table of the Baltimore churches, and before the proof was returned, I received his reply, which enabled me to make some important corrections.

In the same letter he informs me, in answer to my request, that there are two small churches of the anti-mission party in the city, which, together, contain between 30 and 40 members; also, that there are two congregations of *Disciples*, sometimes called *Campbellites*, whose numerical strength is about 250; and lastly, one society of the *Winebrearrians*, or *Church of God*, whose membership amounts to about 40. These societies will all be more particularly noticed in my accounts of these respective communities.

CHAPTER XV.

VIRGINIA.

SECTION I.

General View of the Rise of the Baptists in the State—First Company, in 1714—Second do., in 1743—Third do., in 1764—The early Churches planted by these Companies—David Thomas—S. Stearns—D. Marshall—Col. Harris and others—Division of the great Separate Association—General Association divided into Four—Baptist Apostles in Va.

ALTHOUGH so early was the planting of the Virginia colony as to entitle the State to the appellation of the *Old Dominion*, yet, compared with some of the older colonies, it was at a late period that our society gained much of a foothold within its bounds. A few small churches, as we shall soon see, were planted in this government soon after the commencement of the 18th century; but it was something past the middle of it before the proselytes to our peculiar opinions had become so considerable as to excite much attention among either friends or opponents.

According to Morgan Edwards' list for 1768, there were then but about ten baptist churches in all parts of Virginia. These were generally in the upper part of it, between the Blue Ridge and the waters of the Potomac. But after they began their operations in good earnest, so rapid was their increase, that by 1790, according to Asplund's Register, their churches had increased to 210, their ministers, ordained and licensed, to about 250, and their communicants to upwards of 20,000.

In 22 years more, according to my tables for 1812, their numerical strength amounted to upwards of 35,000.

During the next succeeding 21 years, such was the augmentation of numbers, as by Allen's Register for 1836, that the whole baptist population in this State, so far as church members were concerned, was 59,000. For the last ten years, about 24,000 have been added to their number. The sum total in no State shall I attempt to give, until my tables are made up at the close of the volume.

The Associations now existing in this State, great and small, are 37. These, after giving the general history of our affairs here, I shall describe under three divisions, *Eastern, Middle, and Western*.

The baptists of Virginia originated from three principal sources.

1. The *first* were emigrants from England, who, about the year 1714, settled in the south-east part of the State.

2. The *second* company came from Maryland, and formed a settlement near the north-west part, as the population then stood, about 1743.

3. The *third* party came from New England in 1764, and by them was laid the foundation for the most successful and extensive enterprises of our denomination in their early movements in this State. This last company was of what was then called the *Separate Order*.

A brief account of these different companies will now be given, and then we shall be prepared to show their ultimate union, and their grand and successful efforts to throw off the grievous and oppressive yoke which the old ecclesiastical establishment had imposed on all dissenters, and that they had operated in the most trying and vexatious manner on the zealous founders of the baptist cause in this then rude and uncultivated Province.

FIRST COMPANY, FROM ENGLAND.

We cannot learn that any of the original settlers of Virginia were baptists, nor do we find any of this denomination in this country until more than a century after its settlement. The accounts of their origin in the State vary in dates and some other little matters; but the following statement, I believe, is the most correct and circumstantial which can be obtained at this late period.

In consequence of letters from Virginia, Robert Nordin and Thomas White were ordained in London, in May, 1714, and soon sailed for Virginia; but White died on the way, and Nordin arrived in Virginia, and gathered a church at a place called Burley, in the county of the Isle of Wight. There were probably a number of baptists settled in this place before the arrival of Nordin, by whose request, and for the service of whom, he and White were ordained and undertook the distant voyage; but who, or how many these were, or how long they had been there, are inquiries which we cannot answer.

Mr. Nordin continued preaching at Burley and other places until he died in a good old age, in 1725. Two years after his death, viz., in 1727, Casper Mintz and Richard Jones, both preachers, arrived from England, and settled with the church at Burley, and Jones became their pastor. Both of these ministers were living in 1756, as appears by a letter which this church sent at that time to the Philadelphia Association. In the year 1729, as appears by a letter sent by Rev. Paul Palmer, from North Carolina, to Rev. John Comer, of Newport, Rhode Island, there was, besides the church at Burley, another in the county of Surrey. Respecting these churches, Mr. Palmer wrote as follows:

"There is a comely little church in the Isle of Wight county, of about thirty or forty members, the elder of which is one Richard Jones, a very sensible old gentleman, whom I have great love for. We see each other at every yearly meeting, and sometimes more often. There is another church in Surry county, where my brother Jones lives, I suppose of about thirty more."

How long these churches continued in existence I cannot exactly learn. Respecting the one in the county of Surry, no information can be obtained except what is found in Mr. Palmer's letter. The one in the Isle of Wight, we have good reason to believe, continued on the ground where it was first established between forty and fifty years, when, according to Morgan Edwards' account, it was broken up, partly by sickness, and partly by the removal of families from hence to North Carolina, where they gained many proselytes, and in ten years became sixteen churches.

They were all *General Baptists*; but in a few years after their settlement in North Carolina, they began to embrace the Calvinistic sentiments, as will be seen in the history of the baptists in that State. In 1756, the church at Burley sent the following letter to the Philadelphia Association:

"The church of Jesus Christ, in Isle of Wight county, holding adult baptism, &c., to the Reverend and General Assembly or Association at Philadelphia, send greeting: We, the abovementioned church, confess ourselves to be under clouds of darkness concerning the faith of Jesus Christ, not knowing whether we are on the right foundation, and the church much unsettled: wherefore we desire alliance with you, and that you will be pleased to send us helps to settle the church, and rectify what may be wrong, and subscribe ourselves, your loving brethren in Christ, Casper Mintz, Richard Jones, Randall Allen, Joseph Mattgum, Christopher Atkinson, Benjamin Atkinson, David Atkinson, Thomas Cafer, Samuel Jones, William Jordan, John Allen, John Powell, Joseph Atkinson. Dec. 27, 1756."

This is the last account I can find of this church; what was done by the Association in their case I do not find. Messrs. Miller, Vanhorn, and Gano

traveled frequently into Virginia and North Carolina about this time, for the purpose of regulating the disordered churches, and it is probable that in some of their journeys they visited this one, which made such an honest confession of their deplorable state.

It does not appear that this company of baptists suffered any persecution or civil embarrassments, from the time of their settlement in Virginia to that of their dispersion. They probably obtained legal licences for their assemblies, in conformity to the act of toleration.

As this community appears to have been transferred from Virginia to North Carolina, the reader is referred to the history of the Baptists in that State, where a more particular account of them will be given.

THE SECOND COMPANY, FROM MARYLAND.

The next appearance of the baptists in this State was in the north part of it, in the counties of Berkley, Loudon, and their vicinities, on the ground which was afterwards occupied by the Regular Baptists. Between the years 1743 and 1756, three churches were gathered in these counties, by the names of Opeckon, which was afterwards called Millcreek, Smith's and Lynville's creek, and Ketockton. A brief account of the origin of these churches will now be given.

The church on Opeckon creek appears to have been the oldest of the three, and was gathered and renovated in the following manner. In the year 1743, a number of the members of the General Baptist church, at Chestnut Ridge, in Maryland, removed to Virginia, and settled in this place, the most noted of whom were Edward Hays and Thomas Yates. Soon after their removal, their minister, Henry Loveall, followed them, and baptized about fifteen persons, whom he formed into a church on the Arminian plan. Mr. Loveall becoming licentious in his life, was turned out of the church, and returned to Maryland, and the church was broken up, or rather transformed into a church of Particular Baptists, in 1751, by the advice and assistance of Messrs. James Miller, David Thomas, and John Gano, who was at that time very young. Mr. Miller had visited this church in some of his former journeys, and had been instrumental of much good among them; and when they, in their troubles, occasioned by Loveall's misconduct, petitioned the Philadelphia Association for some assistance, he and Mr. Thomas were appointed by the Association for the purpose. Mr. Gano, though not appointed, chose to accompany them. The account of this transaction is thus given by Mr. Gano:

"We examined them, and found they were not a regular church. We then examined those who offered themselves for the purpose, and those who gave us satisfaction we received, and constituted a new church. Out of the whole who offered themselves, there were only three received. Some openly declared they knew they could not give an account of experiencing a work of grace, and therefore need not offer themselves. Others stood ready to offer if the church was formed. The three before mentioned were constituted, and six more were baptized and joined with them. After the meeting ended, a number of old members went aside and sent for me. They expressed their deplorable state, and asked me if I would meet with them that evening, and try to instruct them. They were afraid the ministers blamed them. They had been misled, but it was not their fault, and they hoped I would pity them. I told them I would with all my heart, and endeavored to remove their suspicion of the ministers. They met, and I spoke to them from these words: '*They being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God.*' I hope I was assisted to speak to them in an impressive manner, and they to hear, at least some of them, so as to live. They afterwards professed and became zealous members, and remained so, I believe, until their death."

It was in the bounds of this church that Stearns and Marshall met, on their way to North Carolina. At this time, Samuel Heaton was their pastor, and acted in that capacity until 1754, when he removed to Konoloway, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by Mr. John Garrard, who is supposed to have been a native of Pennsylvania, and who became the most distinguished pastor the church had hitherto enjoyed. The Opeckon church united with the Philadelphia Association soon after its renovation, in 1757. They became very warm

and animated in their religious exercises, and more particularly so, after Mr. Marshall and the zealous *Separates* came amongst them; and they soon went to such lengths in their *New Light* career, that some of the less engaged members lodged a complaint against them in the Association to which they belonged. Mr. Miller was again sent for the purpose of adjusting their difficulties. When he came, he was highly delighted with the exercises, joined them cordially, and said, if he had such warm-hearted christians in his church, he would not take gold for them. He charged those who had complained, rather to nourish than complain of such gifts. The work of God revived among them, and considerable additions were made to the church. The country in which they had settled was but thinly inhabited, and was subject to the inroads of the Indians. Some of these savage irruptions took place not long after Mr. Garrard had settled among them; in consequence of which, he and many of the church removed below the Blue Ridge, and resided for some time in Loudon county, on Ketockton Creek. This evil was overruled for good; for, by the labors of Mr. Garrard in his new residence, to which, by the barbarous intruders, he was obliged to repair, many were brought to a knowledge of salvation, and a church was formed, which was called Ketockton, in 1756, and Mr. Garrard became their pastor.

The Smith's and Lynville's Creek Church, afterwards called Smith's Creek, is said to have been constituted also in 1756. There were some baptist families in this place as early as 1745, eleven years before the church was organized; but from what place they emigrated, we are not informed; only it is stated that one John Harrison, wishing to be baptized, went as far as Oyster Bay, on Long Island, in the State of New York, to obtain an administrator. As there were baptist churches and ministers much nearer, the presumption is, that he, if no others, had removed from that place.

David Thomas. As this eminent and very successful minister was closely connected with this company of baptists, who soon assumed the name of *Regulars*, in all their movements, until they united with the *Separates*, and probably did more than any other man to extend and regulate their affairs, it may be proper here to give a brief sketch of his character and operations.

Mr. Thomas was born August 16, 1732, at London Tract, Pa., and had his education at Hopewell, N. J., under the famous Isaac Eaton, and, in early life, received the honorary degree of M. A., from the College of Rhode Island.

He had previously made a number of missionary excursions into this State, under the patronage of the Philadelphia Association, but, in 1760, he removed here, and became a permanent resident. His first stand was in Berkley county, with, or near to the Opeckon, or Mill Creek Church; but, two years after, he removed to the county of Fauquier, and became the pastor of the Broad Run Church, which was gathered soon after he removed to the place. In this place, and in a wide circuit around, he acted a most distinguished part for about thirty years, when he removed to Kentucky, where he lived to an advanced age, and became nearly blind some time before his death.¹

"Mr. Thomas is said to have been a minister of great distinction in the prime of his days. Besides the natural endowment of a vigorous mind, and the advantages of a classical and refined education, he had a melodious, a piercing voice, and pathetic address, expressive action, and, above all, a heart filled with love to God and his fellow-men. But, for a few of the first years of his ministry in Virginia, he met with much persecution. He was frequently assaulted both by individuals and mobs. Once he was pulled down while he was preaching, and dragged out of the house in a barbarous manner. At another time, a malevolent fellow attempted to shoot him, but a by-stander wrenched the gun from him, and thereby prevented the execution of his wicked purpose. The slanders and revilings he met with, says Mr. Edwards, were innumerable, and if we may judge of a man's prevalency against the devil, by the rage of the devil's children, Thomas prevailed like a prince. But the gospel had true course; and Broad Run church, of which he was pastor within six or eight years from its establishment, branched out and became the mother of five or six others. The Chapawamsick church was constituted from Broad Run, in 1766."²

¹ Semple's History of the Baptists in Virginia, *passim*.

² Morgan Edwards' MS. History of the Baptists in Virginia.

Elder Thomas traveled much, and the fame of his preaching drew the attention of the people throughout an extensive circle, so that in many instances they came fifty and sixty miles to hear him. It is remarkable that, about this time, there were multiplied instances, in different parts of Virginia, of persons who had never heard any evangelical preaching, but who were brought, through divine grace, to see and feel their wants of vital godliness. Many of these persons, when they heard of Mr. Thomas and other baptist preachers, would travel great distances to hear them, and to procure their services, as ministers of the gospel. By these means, the gospel was first carried into the county of Culpepper, as will be related in the history of the Separates.

BROAD RUN CHURCH. As this is one of the oldest and for a long time was among the most distinguished churches of this State, it may be proper in this place to give a short account of its origin and early operations.

"The manner in which Mr. Thomas was introduced among them, is thus related. A short time previous to his removing to Virginia, two men in this region, without any public preaching, became much concerned about their souls and eternal things; were convinced of the reality of vital religion, and that they were destitute of it. While laboring under these convictions, they heard of the baptists (*new-lights*, as some called them), in Berkley county, and set out in search of them:—after traveling about sixty miles over a mountainous way, they arrived among them. By their preaching and conversation, they were much enlightened and comforted, and were so happy as to find what had hitherto been to them mysterious, how a weary and heavy-laden sinner might have rest. The name of one of them was Peter Cornwell, who afterwards lived to a good old age, and was so eminent for his piety, as to receive from his neighbors and acquaintances the title of '*St. Peter*.' It is related by Mr. Edwards, that this Peter Cornwell induced Edmund Hays (thesame man that removed from Maryland to Virginia, in 1743), to remove and settle near him, and that the interviews between the families of these two men were frequent, and their conversation religious and devout; insomuch, that it soon began to be talked of abroad as a strange thing. Many came to see them, to whom they related what God had done for their souls. They exhorted, prayed, read the Bible and other good books, to the spreading of seriousness through the whole neighborhood; Cornwell and his companion (whose name is not mentioned) in a short time made another visit to Berkley, and were baptized; and Divine Providence had so ordered matters, that in this visit they met Mr. Thomas, whom they invited to go down and preach among them. He accepted the invitation, and settled with them as above related, and soon became the instrument of diffusing gospel light in Fauquier and the adjoining counties, where ignorance and superstition had long prevailed."³

"Messrs. Thomas and Garrard, sometimes together and at other times apart, traveled and propagated the pure principles of christianity, in all the upper counties of the Northern Neck; but Mr. Thomas was the most active.

"The established clergy, and the friends of the establishment generally, viewed with a jealous eye the successful efforts of the baptists, and adopted various methods to embarrass and defeat them."

The clergy often attacked the preachers from the pulpit; called them false prophets; wolves in sheeps' clothing; and many other hard names equally unappropriate and slanderous. But unfortunately for them; the baptists retorted these charges, by professing to believe their own articles; at least, the leading ones, and charged them with denying them; a charge which they could easily substantiate; for the doctrines most complained of, as advanced by the baptists, were obviously laid down in the common prayer-book.

When they could not succeed by argument, they would adopt more violent measures. Sometimes the preachers, and some who only read sermons and prayed publicly, were carried before the magistrates, and though not committed to prison, were sharply reprimanded and cautioned not to be righteous over-much.

The reasons why the *Regular* Baptists were not so much persecuted as the *Separates* was, that they had at an early date, applied to the *General Court*, and obtained licenses for particular places of preaching, under the toleration law of England; but few of their enemies knew the extent of the licenses; most supposing, that they were by them authorized to preach any where in the county.

³ Semple and Edwards' History of the Virginia Baptists.

"The *Regulars* also were considered less enthusiastic than the *Separates*. They were often visited by men of note from the Phil. Asso. and having *Thomas* at their head, whose eloquence was commanding and whose learning was respectable for the times, all those things united, operated in their favor. But in the midst of the greatest oppression and persecution, the Baptist cause still flourished and went forward; new churches were constituted, and young preachers were raised up. Of these, none were more distinguished than Richard Major; although he was past the meridian of life, before he embarked in the ministry.

"He seems to have made such good use of his time, that he did more in the vineyard than many who had toiled all the day. Daniel and William Fristoe, Jeremiah Moore, and others were early fruits of Elder *Thomas*' ministry. These young heralds uniting their endeavors with those of the more experienced, became zealous laborers in the vineyard of the Lord.⁴

Before the year 1770, the Regular baptists were spread over the whole country, in the Northern Neck above Fredericksburg. Between 1770 and 1780, their cords still continued to be lengthened. Mr. Lunsford, a young but extraordinary preacher, carried the tidings of peace downwards, and planted the Redeemer's standard in those counties of the Northern Neck, which are below Fredericksburg. Messrs. Corbley, Sutton and Barnet, had moved over the Alleghany, and had raised up several churches in the north-west counties as early as 1775. Mr. John Alderson had gone, in 1777, to Greenbrier, and in a few years raised up a people for God in that region. Besides these, there were some others who moved more southward, and raised up a few churches.

"During the time of the greatest declension of religion among the Virginia Baptists, which prevailed soon after the close of the war, the *Regulars* were under a cloud as well as their brethren the *Separates*; and they also participated in the great revival in 1785, and some years following."

Third company from New England, at that time denominated New Lights, or Separates.

This company was led hither by Shubael Stearns, Daniel Marshall, and their associates. The original company, with the adherents which continually gathered around their standard, continued their progress southward, halting at different places on the way, planting churches, leaving portions of their preachers and exhorters to carry forward their evangelizing plans, until the final settlement of Marshall in Georgia.

Their doings at Sandy Creek and vicinity, in N. C., and also at Congeree, in S. C., will be related under the heads of those States.

This company of New England *New Lights*, was the most important one of the baptist order in this State; and from it originated the great mass of the churches which, with such overwhelming rapidity, spread over most of eastern Virginia, in the course of about a quarter of a century. This State, which was their first stopping place, after leaving the land of their nativity, became the principal scene of their action, suffering, and *success*. "Here they pushed forward their operations with an ardor approaching to primitive times, amidst all that kind of vexatious, ill-bred, ill-natured, and tantalizing hostility, which the minions of a declining hierarchy, with but the shadow of power, were able to maintain."⁵

Samuel Harris. As this distinguished man was for many years at the head of the *Separate Baptists* in this State, before we proceed in the history of this community, we shall give some brief sketches of his origin, the manner of his introduction into the baptist ministry, and the commencement of his evangelical and successful career. Col. Harris, as he was usually called, was born in Hanover county, January 12, 1724.

⁴ Semple's History, &c.

⁵ Semple's History, &c.

Few men could boast of a more respectable parentage. His education, though not the most liberal, was very considerable for the customs of the day. When young, he moved to the county of Pittsylvania; and as he advanced in age, became a favorite with the people as well as with the rulers. He was appointed Church Warden, Sheriff, a Justice of the Peace, Burgess for the county, Colonel of the Militia, Captain of Mayo Fort, and Commissary for the fort and army.

All these offices and honors, with their accompaniments, were disposed of in a very summary manner under the influence of his new impressions. And as he was a man of considerable wealth, he at once went out in his new and ardent vocation at his own cost; and for about thirty years he was a self-supported missionary in nearly all the then settled parts of this extensive State.

His conversion was effected under the ministry of two young and illiterate preachers, by the name of Joseph and William Murphy, at that time commonly called Murphy's boys. This happened in one of his official tours to visit the forts under his care, soon after he was baptized by Daniel Marshall, in one of his missionary journeys into that region. This event probably took place some time in the year 1758. The year after he was ordained a ruling elder, an office which these descendants of the N. E. Puritans brought with them from their own country.

The baptist historians of Virginia, Leland, Semple, and Taylor, all speak of Mr. Harris in strains of the highest commendation; indeed, some of their eulogies seem to border on the marvelous and superlative.

It was a rare thing, in those times, for men of his worldly distinction to unite with *the people* who were, in the fullest sense of the passage, every where spoken against. His expansive benevolence in the use of his abundant means for doing good; the child-like simplicity which he always displayed after his conversion; his freedom of intercourse with people of all conditions among his new, and for the most part poor and despised associates; his blameless life; and finally his pious and irrepressible ardor in the ministerial service; all had a tendency to bind him to the denomination, by strong and lasting ties.

And for a man of his military character and habits, his muscular powers, and fearless intrepidity, with christian meekness and submission, with no show of resentment or resistance, in nearly all his first ministerial journeys, to suffer the violent assaults of his rude and persecuting countrymen, must have produced most favorable impressions, on the minds of all candid observers, in favor of his own religious character, and of the cause in which he was engaged.

We have seen that Mr. Harris was ordained ruling elder in 1759.

As a minister, he was not ordained until ten years after.

Eccentricity and new experiments were then the order of the day, and among them came up, in a few years after, the ordination of this venerable man, then fifty years of age, to the office of a *Baptist Apostle*.

This singular transaction will be described in the close of the history of the *Separate Baptists*.

We are now prepared to continue the history of the new and zealous operations which come under this head, and shall make our selections almost verbatim from Semple's history of the Virginia baptists.

"Harris seemed destined of God to labor more extensively in Virginia than in any other State. And having done much good in his own neighborhood, in the year 1765, the time arrived for him to extend his labors. In January of this year, Allen Wyley, an inhabitant of Culpepper, and who had been baptized by David Thomas, hearing of the Separate Baptist preachers, traveled as far as Pittsylvania, in order to get one or more of them to come and preach in his own county. He traveled on, scarcely knowing whither he went, but an unseen hand directed his course. He providentially fell in with one of Mr. Harris' meetings. When he came into the meeting-house, Mr. H. fixed his eyes upon him, being impressed previously, that he had some extraordinary message. He asked him whence he came, &c. Mr. W. told him his errand.

Upon which, after some deliberation, believing him to be sent of God, Mr. H. agreed to go. Taking three days to prepare, he set out with Wyley, having no meetings on the way, yet exhorting and praying at every house where he went.

"Arriving at Culpepper, his first meeting was at Wyley's own house. He preached the first day without interruption, and made appointments for the next. But when he began his meeting, such violent opposition was made by a company, who appeared with whips, sticks, clubs and other rustic weapons, as to hinder his labors, in consequence of which he went that night over to Orange county, and preached with much effect. He continued many days preaching from place to place, attended by great crowds, and followed throughout his meetings by several persons who had been either lately converted or seriously awakened under the ministry of the *Regular Baptists*, and also by many who had been alarmed by his own labors. When Mr. Harris left them, he exhorted them to be steadfast, and advised some, in whom he discovered talents, to commence the exercise of their gifts, and to hold meetings among themselves. In this ministerial journey, Mr. Harris sowed much good seed, which yielded afterward great increase. The young converts took his advice, and began to hold meetings every Sabbath, and almost every night in the week, taking a tobacco-house for their meeting-house. After proceeding in this way for some time, they applied to David Thomas, who lived somewhere north of the Rappahannock, to come and preach for them and teach them the ways of God more perfectly; he came, but in his preaching expressed some disapprobation of such weak and illiterate persons. This was like throwing cold water upon their flaming zeal; they took umbrage, and resolved to send once more for Mr. Harris. Sometime in the year 1766, and a short time after Mr. Thomas' preaching, three of the party, viz., Elijah Craig and two others, traveled to Mr. Harris' house, in order to procure his services in Orange and the adjacent parts, to preach and baptize new converts. They found, to their surprise, that he had not been ordained to the administration of the ordinances. To remedy this inconvenience, he carried them about 60 miles into North Carolina, to James Read, by whom he was ordained.

"But little is known of the early history of Mr. Read, but from this period he became associated with Mr. Harris in his evangelical excursions, and for many years held a prominent rank among the ever active Separates."

"He, with many others of that day, was a strong believer in special teachings from heaven as to new enterprises in evangelical labors, and had, as he supposed, a warning from God of the coming of Harris and his companions, similar to that of Peter when called to go to the Gentiles. And, says Mr. Semple, we can hardly for a moment hesitate in placing implicit confidence in its being a contrivance of Divine wisdom.

"Mr. Read, of course, without hesitation, agreed to go. In about two weeks, they arrived at their place of destination, and commenced their operations in the usual style of prosperity and success. But now, for the first time, signs of collision between the Regulars and Separates made their appearance, and on the Sabbath following, both parties held meetings but a small distance from each other. Baptism was administered by both. These things widened the breach. Messrs. Read and Harris, however, continued their ministrations. Mr. Read baptized nineteen the first day, and more on the days following. They went through Spottsylvania into the upper parts of Caroline, Hanover, and Goochland, sowing the seeds of grace and peace in many places. So much were they inspired by these meetings, that they made appointments to come again the next year. In their second visit, they were accompanied by the Rev. Dutton Lane, who assisted them in constituting and organizing the first Separate Baptist church between the Rappahannock and James river; this took place on the 20th of Nov., 1767."

The church was called *Upper Spottsylvania*, and consisted of 25 members, including all the *Separate Baptists* north of James River. This was a mother to many other churches.

"Read and Harris continued to visit these parts for about three years, with wonderful effect. In one of their visits, they baptized 75 at one time, and in the course of one of their journeys, which generally lasted several weeks, they baptized upwards of 200. It was not uncommon at their great meetings, for many hundreds of men to encamp on the ground, in order to be present the next day. The night meetings, through the great work of God, con-

tinued very late; the ministers would scarcely have an opportunity to sleep. Sometimes the floor would be covered with persons struck down under the conviction of sin. It frequently happened, that when they would retire to rest at a late hour, they would be under the necessity of arising again, through the earnest cries of the penitent. There were instances of persons traveling more than one hundred miles to one of these meetings; to go forty or fifty was not uncommon.

"On account of the great increase of members through the labors of Messrs. Read and Harris, aided by a number of young preachers, it was necessary to constitute several other churches."

The young preachers referred to were Messrs. Lewis and Elijah Craig, John Waller, James Childs, John Burns, William Webber, Joseph Anthony, Reuben Ford, William Mullen, James Greenwood, and others. These young prophets, most of whom were entirely caught by the spirit of the older ones, and were the means of propagating the sentiments of the baptists to a wide extent in opposition to magistrates and mobs and all the array of a most vulgar and determined hostility.⁶

The great body of the Separates, divided into three Associations, in 1770.

The Ketockton Association comprised the great mass of the Regular Baptists in this State at this time; and although the two parties had gone on in a sort of arms-end harmony, the period had now arrived when a portion of each side felt a strong desire for a full and cordial union with each other.

The Regulars took the lead in this laudable effort and sent as messengers to the Separate party, Messrs. Garrard, Major, and Sanders, with a kind and conciliating letter, of which the following is an extract:—

"*Beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ:*

"The bearers of this letter can acquaint you with the design of writing it. Their errand is peace, and their business is a reconciliation between us, if there is any difference subsisting. If we are all christians, all baptists, all new-lights, why are we divided? Must the little appellative names, *Regular* and *S-parate*, break the golden band of charity, and set the sons and daughters of Zion at variance? '*Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity,*' but how bad and how bitter it is for them to live asunder in discord! To indulge ourselves in prejudice is soon a disorder; and to quarrel about nothing, is irregularity with a witness. O, our dear brethren, endeavor to prevent this calamity for the future."

This excellent letter was presented to the Association, and after a lengthy debate, the proposal for a union was rejected by a small majority.

Their answer to the Regulars was:—

"Excuse us in love; for we are acquainted with our own order, but not so well with yours; and if there is a difference, we might ignorantly jump into that which will make us rue it," &c.

This effort was made in 1769.

At the meeting of the great community of Separates in 1770, their harmony was much interrupted and their assembly assumed a new and unpleasant appearance, and the division of the Association, which convenience would have dictated, was now effected from painful necessity. It had been usual for them to do nothing in Associations but by unanimity. If, in any measure proposed, there was a single dissentient, they labored first by arguments to come to a unanimous agreement; when arguments failed, they resorted to frequent prayer, in which all joined; when both these failed, they sometimes appointed the next day for fasting and prayer, and strove to bring all to be of one mind. At this session they split in their first business; nothing could be done on the first day. They appointed the next for fasting and prayer. They met and labored the whole day, and could do nothing, not even appoint a Moderator. The third day was appointed for the same purpose, and to be observed in the same way. They met early and continued together until three o'clock in the afternoon, without having accomplished anything: a proposal was then made,

⁶ Semple's History, &c.

that the Association should be divided into three districts, that is, one in each State. To this there was a unanimous consent at once.

“The cause of this division (says Mr. Edwards) was partly for convenience, but it was chiefly owing to a mistake which this Association fell into relative to their power and jurisdiction. They carried matters so high as to unfellowship ordinations, ministers, and churches, that acted independent of them; and pleading ‘that though complete power be in every church, yet every church can transfer it to an Association,’ which is as much as to say that a man may take out his eyes, ears, &c., and give them to another to see, hear, &c., for him; for, if power be fixed by Christ in a particular church, they cannot transfer it, nay, should they formally give it away, yet it is not gone away.”

The division above referred to, was made in the following manner:—

The churches in South Carolina formed an association called *Congaree*.

Those in North Carolina still retained the old name of *Sandy Creek*, while the Virginia churches united under the name of *Rapid-ann*, which was more generally known by the name of the *General Association of Separate Baptists*, which for the twelve following years embraced all the churches of the Separate order in the colony, except those which were dismissed in 1776, to form the *Strawberry Association*.

From this growing body, as from a fruitful mother, have originated most of the present Associations in the State.

General Association, &c., when first set off, contained but 14 churches, which were scattered in almost as many counties, and many of them were high up in the State, both as it respects the sea-coast and the southern boundary; most of them, however, were situated on the south of James River.

In their early movements, they put a veto on all interference with the independency of the churches, and resolved, according to the old Baptist doctrine, that an Association is merely an *advisory council*.

In 1773 they had increased to thirty-four churches, and upwards of *three thousand members*,

Three Baptist Apostles were ordained in 1774.

The following query, viz.: *Are all the offices of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers*, mentioned in Eph. 4 and 11, now in use? had been introduced at a previous session. Two days were spent in debating the subject, and then its decision was deferred till the next meeting. This novel subject was discussed with warmth and interest, both in their assemblies and during the recess of their session.

Jeremiah Walker and Reuben Ford, each one, wrote a pamphlet—the first for and the other against the proposed measure. Both of these men were followed by large and respectable parties, and their productions were read in the meeting. But the apostolical succession, by a large majority, finally prevailed, and as we have before stated, the venerable *Samuel Harris* was solemnly invested with this high and dignified function.

“The ordination was conducted in the following manner, as appears by the Minutes of the Association:—‘The day being set apart as a fast day, we immediately proceeded to ordain him, and the hands of every ordained minister were laid upon him.’⁷ Public prayer was made by John Waller, Elijah Craig, and John Williams. John Waller gave a public charge, and the whole Association gave him the right hand of fellowship.’ The work assigned to this apostle, was to pervade the churches, for the purpose of performing, or, at least, superintending the work of ordination, and to set in order the things that are wanting; and he was ordered to report the success of his mission at the next Association. And for the discipline of this high officer, the following law was enacted, viz.: ‘If our Messenger, or Apostle, shall transgress in any manner, he shall be liable to dealing in any church where the transgression was committed; and the said church is instructed to call helps from two or three neighboring churches; and if by them found a transgressor, a general conference of all the churches shall be called, to restore, or excommunicate him.’”

At this time there was a temporary division of this extensive body, and James River was the dividing line; and the northern half, not to be outdone by the

⁷ It would seem, by the above account, that those who had opposed the establishment of apostles, had retired from the Association before the offensive measure was adopted.

southern section, not long after, in the same year, appointed for their apostles, John Waller and Elijah Craig.

Thus Virginia, whose ecclesiastical affairs were formerly managed by Bishops, now beheld within her bounds three baptist Apostles, of what line of succession the records do not define. But these distinguished functionaries made their first report in rather discouraging terms, and no others were ever appointed.

The two divisions just referred to, reunited in the following year, when it was found that the whole number of churches amounted to 60; of which 31 were on the north, and 29 on the southern side of the river.

Disputes about doctrines. At this session, the Association was most painfully agitated, by the discussion of the following very serious and important question, viz. :

Is salvation by Christ made possible for every individual of the human race?

One whole day was spent in debating this subject, and most of the preachers took part in the debate. Those who supported the affirmative were called Arminians, the other side were denominated Calvinists.

Had these brethren been acquainted with the distinctions made by Fuller and others, of a *general provision* and *particular application*, it would have relieved them from embarrassment and altercation.

Although these discussions were continued, and the two parties had rallied around different standards in separate assemblies, yet no lasting injury ensued.

By mutual concessions and explanations, a reunion of the conflicting parties was effected during the same meeting, and they retired from the scene a united body.

In 1776, this great Association had increased to 74 churches; but the troubles and embarrassments of the war of the revolution, in a great measure checked their progress and prosperity; their meetings generally were but thinly attended, and their principal transactions appear to have consisted in making exertions to free themselves from the civil grievances and oppression under which they as a denomination labored.

Union of the Regulars and Separates in 1787.

The schism which took place among the Regulars and Separate Baptists in 1766, soon after their rise in the State, had continued without being completely healed for about twenty years, although a friendly intercourse had been occasionally kept up amongst them. But now the happy period had arrived, in which all the disputes between these two bodies were compromised, buried and forgotten. The adjustment of these disputes was conducted by the General Committee on the part of the *Separates*, and on that of the *Regulars* by delegates for the purpose from the Kettocton Association; and took place at the fourth session of the General Committee, which was held at Dover meeting-house, in Goochland county. At this meeting, delegates from six Associations of the *Separates* and a number from the Kettocton were assembled, when, pursuant to a previous appointment, the subject of the union between the *Regulars* and *Separates* was taken up, and after a brief and temperate discussion of their differences, a happy and effectual union was formed, and their party names dismissed and buried.

The objections on the part of the *Separates* related chiefly to matters of trivial importance, such as dress, &c., and had been for some time removed, so as to be no bar of communion. On the other hand, the *Regulars* complained, that the *Separates* were not sufficiently explicit in their principles, having never published or sanctioned any confession of faith; and that they kept within their communion many who were professed Arminians.⁹ To these things it was answered, by the *Separates*, that a large majority of them believed as much in

⁹ The reader must keep in mind, that in this day those were called Arminians who held to the universal provision of the gospel, or that the atonement of Christ was general in its nature.

their confession of faith as they did themselves, although they did not entirely approve of the practice of religious societies binding themselves too strictly by confessions of faith, seeing there was danger of their finally usurping too high a place; that if there were some among them who leaned too much to the Arminian system, they were men of exemplary piety and great usefulness in the Redeemer's Kingdom; and they conceived it better to bear with some diversity of opinion in doctrines, than to break with men whose christian deportment rendered them amiable in the estimation of all true lovers of genuine godliness. Indeed, that some of them had now become fathers in the gospel, who, previous to the bias which their minds had received, had borne the brunt and heat of persecution, whose labors and sufferings God had done, and still continued to bless to the great advancement of his cause—to exclude such as these from their communion, would be like tearing the limbs from the body.

These and such like arguments were agitated both in public and private, so that all minds were much mollified before the final and successful attempt for union was made. The terms of the union were entered on the Minutes in the following words, viz. :

"The committee appointed to consider the terms of union with our Regular brethren, reported, 'that they conceive the manner in which the regular baptist confession of faith has been received by a former Association, is the ground-work for such union.' The manner of this reception was, that they should retain their liberty with regard to the construction of some of the objectionable articles."

After considerable debate, as to the propriety of having any confession of faith at all, the report of the committee was received, with the following explanation :

"To prevent the Confession of Faith from usurping a tyrannical power over the consciences of any, we do not mean that every person is bound to the strict observance of every thing therein contained; yet that it holds forth the essential truths of the gospel, and that the doctrine of salvation by Christ, and free and unmerited grace alone, ought to be believed by every christian, and maintained by every minister of the gospel. Upon these terms we are united, and desire hereafter that the name of Regular and Separate be buried in oblivion, and that from henceforth we shall be known by the name of the UNITED BAPTIST CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA."

This union took place when a revival of religion had commenced, which soon broke forth on the right hand and on the left, throughout the State; "and nothing," says Mr. Sempel, their historian, "could be more salutary than this conjunction of dis severed brethren, and the accommodating temper of the parties by which it was effected; and they have, from that period to the present time, most fully demonstrated that it was an union of hearts as well as parties."

SECTION II.

The ecclesiastical affairs of Virginia—Laws against dissenters—a summary view of the sufferings of the baptists under the power of the establishment—the first instance of imprisonment—John Blair in their favor—Patrick Henry and others ditto.—overthrow of the National Establishment—general assessment—great revival—General committee—General meeting of correspondence.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THIS STATE.

"THE first settlers of this country were emigrants from England, of the English church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with complete victory over the religions of all other persuasions." Possessed, as they became,

* History of Virginia Baptists. Many of the preceding statements which are not formally quoted, have been taken from that work.

of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren, who had emigrated to the northern government.

"The Episcopalians retained full possession of the country about a century. Other opinions began to creep in; and the great care of the government to support their own church having begotten an equal degree of indolence in its clergy, two-thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the revolution. The laws were still oppressive on them; but the spirit of one party had subsided into moderation, and of the other had risen to a degree of determination which commanded respect.

"The first care of the early Legislature was to provide for the church. By the first act of 1693, it was provided that in every plantation or settlement there shall be a house or room set apart for the worship of God, according to the canons of the Church of England, to which a strict uniformity was enjoined.

"To preserve 'the purity of doctrine and unity of the church,' it was enacted, in 1643, that all ministers should be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and that no others be permitted to teach or preach publicly or privately. It was further provided, 'that the Governor and Council should take care that all non-conformists departed the colony with all conveniency.'

"The first allowance made to the ministers was ten pounds of tobacco and a bushel of corn for each titheable, which meant every laboring person, of whatever color or condition; the twentieth calf, kid, or pig was soon after added to the minister's allowance. But this law was repealed in 1633.

"Tobacco was then the staple commodity of the country, and the foundation of exchange and currency in all business transactions. Taxes, fines, and assessments of all kinds were to be paid in this article. Fines varied from one pound to one thousand."

The whole system of this first religious hierarchy in this country is found in Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists, my 2d Vol., and Henings Statutes at large.

Laws against dissenters. In 1643 the old English laws against popish recusants was enacted in this colony.

"Several acts of the Virginia Assembly, from 1659 to 63, had made it penal in their parents not to have their children baptized; and against the quakers, who were flying from persecution at home, the laws of this colony were alarmingly severe; and if no executions took place here, as in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the church or the spirit of the Legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself, but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us."

As the baptists were not known in this country, in these early times, no respect was had to them in any of these severe enactments. The law compelling parents to have their children baptized, in all probability, was intended for the Quakers rather than them.

And in this respect the Virginians differed entirely from the New Englanders. In their legislation, the anabaptists were continually held in view, and their persecuting laws were framed with a special design to hinder the spread of their opinions, or drive them from the country.

Again, the New England people took especial care to pocket the fines of disobedience, for which those of the ancient dominion seemed to have but little care.

A Summary View of the Sufferings of the Baptists under the forms of Law, or without them.

The first appearance of the denomination in this country excited no alarm; most of their converts were from that class of people who were of but a small account in society; their preachers were generally illiterate; their assemblies and their efforts were in places remote and obscure, and the language of the leading men in church and State was, let them alone, they will soon fall out among themselves and come to nothing. In some places the maxim was adhered to, and persecution in a legal shape was never known. But in many others, alarmed by their rapid increase, the men in power, especially those in the lowest functions, strained every penal law in the Virginia code to obtain ways and means to put down the disturbers of the peace, as they were now called.

Although their baptisms were open and abundant, and many of their converts were from the established church, yet but little was said against them on this account. The burden of the complaints of their opposers was, that they were disturbers of the peace, as will soon appear. This was the head and front of their offending; this was the first article in all accusations, whether they came from the minister of the church or of the law, or from the rude and rustic assailants, who were notoriously irreligious and immoral, and who, as Morgan Edwards once said, *had not wit enough to sin in a genteel manner.*

"It seems by no means certain," says Semple, "that any law in force in Virginia authorized the imprisonment of any person for preaching. The law for the preservation of peace, however, was so interpreted as to answer this purpose; and, accordingly, whenever the preachers were apprehended, it was done by a peace warrant."

The first instance of actual imprisonment, we believe, that ever took place in Virginia, was in the county of Spotsylvania, on the 4th of June, 1768. John Waller, Lewis Craig, James Childs, and others, were seized by the sheriff, and hauled before three magistrates, who stood in the meeting-house yard, and who bound them, in the penalty of one thousand pounds, to appear at court two days after. At court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace; on their trial they were vehemently accused by a certain lawyer, who said to the court, "May it please your worships, these men are great disturbers of the peace; they cannot meet a man on the road, but they ram a text of Scripture down his throat." Mr. Waller made his own and his brethren's defense so ingeniously, that they were somewhat puzzled to know how to dispose of them. They offered to release them if they would promise to preach no more in the county for a year and a day. This they refused, and therefore were sent into close jail. As they were moving on from the courthouse to the prison, through the streets of Fredericksburg, they sang the hymn,

"Broad is the road that leads to death," &c.

This solemn procession, and this bold and fearless conduct on the part of a company of men who were conscious of having committed no offence deserving such treatment, produced a prodigious effect on all who witnessed the scene, and had a powerful reaction in favor of the cause for which they suffered.

After four weeks' confinement, Lewis Craig was released from prison, and immediately went down to Williamsburg to get a release for his companions. He waited on the Deputy Governor, the Hon. John Blair, stated the case before him, and received the following letter, directed to the King's attorney in Spotsylvania:

"SIR,—I lately received a letter, signed by a good number of worthy gentlemen, who are not here, complaining of the baptists; the particulars of their misbehavior are not told any farther than their running into private houses and making dissensions. Mr. Craig and Mr. Benjamin Waller are now with me, and deny the charge. They tell me they are willing to take the oath as others have. I told them I had consulted the Attorney-General, who is of opinion that the General Court only have power to grant licenses, and therefore I referred them to the court; but, on their application to the Attorney-General, they brought me his letter, advising me to write to you: That their petition was a matter of right, and that you may not molest these conscientious people, so long as they behave themselves in a manner becoming pious Christians and in obedience to the laws, till the court, when they intend to apply for licenses, and when the gentlemen who complain may make their objections and be heard. The act of toleration (it being found by experience that persecuting dissenters increased their numbers) has given them a right to apply, in a proper manner, for licensed houses for the worship of God, according to their consciences; and I persuade myself the gentlemen will quietly overlook their meetings till the court. I am told they administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper near the manner we do, and differ in nothing from our church but in that of baptism and their renewing the ancient discipline; by which they have reformed some sinners, and brought them to be truly penitent; nay, if a man of theirs is idle, and neglects to labor and provide for his family as he ought, he incurs their censures which have had good effects. If this be their behavior, it were to be wished we had some of it among us; but, at least, I hope all men may remain quiet till court.

"I am, with great respects to the gentlemen, sir, your humble servant,

"Williamsburg, July 16, 1768.

JOHN BLAIR."

This letter, so creditable to this high officer of the King, met with a cold reception from the attorney.

“Waller and the others continued in jail forty-three days, and were then discharged without any conditions. While in prison, they constantly preached through the grates; the mob without used every exertion to prevent the people from hearing, but to little purpose. Many heard, indeed, to whom the word came in demonstration of the spirit and with power.

“After their discharge, which was a kind of triumph, Waller, Craig, and their compeers in the ministry, resumed their labors with redoubled vigor, gathering fortitude from their late sufferings, thanking God they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ and his Gospel. Day and night, and, indeed, almost every day and night, they held meetings in their own and the adjacent neighborhoods. The spread of the Gospel and of baptist principles was equal to their exertions; insomuch, that in very few sections of Virginia did the baptist cause appear more formidable to its enemies, and more consoling to its friends, than in Spottsylvania; and, we may add, so it is to this day.”¹⁰

“Waller was viewed as a ringleader in these offensive excitements, and was dealt with accordingly.

“Not unfrequently their leading men would attend the baptist meetings, enter into arguments with the preachers, and plead the superior claims of their church, their ministers, &c.—accuse the baptists as false prophets, wolves in sheep’s clothing, and close with the standing complaint, that all was quiet before these disturbers of their peace came among them.

“To these arguments, Waller and the other preachers boldly and readily replied, that if they were wolves in sheep’s clothing, and they were true sheep, it was quite unaccountable that they were persecuted and cast into prison; as it is well known that wolves would destroy sheep, but never, until then, that sheep would prey upon wolves; that their coming might indeed interrupt their peace, but certainly, if it did, it must be a false peace, bordering on destruction.”

In this manner the opposition continued, until the troubles and dangers of the war of the revolution called the attention of all parties to a new field of controversy, and soon the hitherto dominant party were glad to have the aid of dissenters in their struggle for liberty, civil and religious.

About thirty of the ministers were imprisoned, and some as many as four times each, for different periods of time, besides a number of exhorters and companions, whose only fault was their being in company with their clerical brethren.

These scenes of incarceration were generally turned to a good account by the zealous reformers; public sympathy was aroused in favor of these victims of an unwise and ill-timed opposition, and multitudes gathered around the prisons to hear the bold addresses of these fearless heralds of the cross through the iron grates, open doors, and all avenues of utterance.

In some cases, drums were beaten in the time of service; high enclosures were erected before the prison windows by malicious opponents; matches and other suffocating materials were burnt outside the prison doors. But all these malignant stratagems were of but little avail; the current continued to roll, and the obnoxious sentiments everywhere prevailed.

In the language of John Leland, who resided in the State about this time, “the dragon roared with hideous peals, but was not *red*; the beast appeared formidable, but was not *scarlet-colored*. Virginia soil has never been stained with vital blood for conscience’ sake.”

From the beginning, the Baptists were unremitting in their exertions to obtain liberty of conscience; they contended that they could not be imprisoned by any existing laws; that they were entitled to the same privileges that were enjoyed by the dissenters in England. Their judges, however, decided other-

wise, and as there was no regular appeal, the propriety of that decision has not been legally ascertained; the prevailing opinion in the present day is, that their imprisonment was unlawful.

In the midst of their struggles, this oppressed people were so fortunate as to secure the interest of the famous Patrick Henry, who, though a member of the State establishment, yet, being always the friend of liberty, he espoused their cause, and continued their unwavering friend until their complete emancipation was effected.

Many other men of great influence favored their cause, some from one motive, and some from another; their congregations were large, and when any of their men of talents preached they were crowded. The patient manner in which they suffered persecution, raised their reputation for piety and goodness in the estimation of a large majority of the people. Their numbers annually increased in a surprising degree. Every month new places were found by the preachers whereon to plant the Redeemer's standard. In these places but a few might become baptists, yet the majority would be favorable. Many who had expressed great hostility to them, upon forming a more close acquaintance with them, professed to be undeceived.

Overthrow of the National Establishment.

Now, matters were rapidly advancing to their final issue. An unguarded heedlessness, the certain prelude of calamity and downfall, on the part of a large portion of the ministers of the establishment, who were pampered and secure amidst patronage and power, made them the easy victims of their indolence and inactivity.

On the other hand, the political revolution was rolling on with impetu-ous force, regardless of all the vestiges of royalty in church or state. Republican principles had gained much ground, and were fast advancing to superiority; the leading men on that side viewed the established clergy and the established religion as inseparable appendages of monarchy, one of the pillars by which it was supported. The dissenters, at least the baptists, were republicans from interest as well as principle; it was known that their interest was great among the common people, and the common people in every country are, more or less, republicans. To resist British oppressions effectually, it was necessary to soothe the minds of the people by every species of policy. The dissenters were too powerful to be slighted, and too watchful to be cheated by an ineffectual sacrifice. There had been a time when they would have been satisfied to have paid their tithes, if they could have had liberty of conscience; but now the crisis was such, that nothing less than a total overthrow of all ecclesiastical distinctions would satisfy their sanguine hopes. Having started the decaying edifice, every dissenter put to his shoulder to push it into irretrievable ruin. The revolutionary party found that the sacrifice must be made, and they made it.

General assessment. It is said, and probably with truth, that many of the members of the established church joined in the vote for its abolition, under the expectation of a general assessment, in which all would be bound to contribute for the support of religion; and as most of the men of wealth were on their side, their ministry could be easily maintained. This, it appeared in the sequel, was a vain expectation. The people having once shaken off the fetters, would not again permit themselves to be bound. Moreover the war now rising to its height, they were too much in need of funds to permit any of their resources to be devoted to any other purpose during that period; and we shall see, that when it was attempted a few years after the expiration of the war, the people set their faces against it.

The project had been previously broached, and in 1784 a bill, which had for its object the compelling of every person to contribute to some religious teacher, was introduced into the House of Delegates, under the title of "*A bill establishing provisions for the teachers of the christian religion.*"

This bill, by a resolution of the House, was laid by to another session.

Dissenters generally took the alarm, memorials and remonstrances were circulated with great activity, and were poured into the legislature from every quarter. Rev. Reuben Ford was the bearer of one from the General Committee of the Virginia baptists, who, we believe, were the only denomination who took a uniform and open stand against the measure. Of some other parties it is said, that the laity and clergy were at variance on the subject, so as to paralyze the exertions either for or against the bill.

These remarks apply to religious societies as such. Individuals of all parties joined in the opposition, and Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, Methodists, Deists, and the *covetous*, readily and eagerly signed the petition against it,¹ and the question was given up forever.

Rites of Matrimony. Under the old ecclesiastical establishment, no person could celebrate the rites of matrimony but a minister of the church of England, and according to the ceremonies prescribed in the book of *Common Prayer*.

It was not until the year 1784, that the dissenters were put on the same footing as all other persons, with respect to celebrating the rites of matrimony. By this act the marriage ceremony might be performed by any minister licensed to preach, according to the rules of the sect of which he professed to be a member. The same act has been incorporated in a late revision of the Virginia laws.

In 1798 the legislature repealed all laws vesting property in the hands of any religious sect, by which the Episcopalians were deprived of the glebes, &c., and by which all religious sects were put into a state of perfect equality, as it respected the favors of government.²

Great revival in 1785, and onward. Although the war of the Revolution had a salutary effect on the outward condition of the baptists, and other dissenters, yet it had an opposite influence in their spiritual affairs. All had been so much engrossed with anxious thoughts and schemes for effecting the revolution, as well as with alternate hopes and fears for the event, that they were left, at the close of that eventful struggle, in a sad condition of religious coldness and stupidity. New openings for trade and an increasing desire for worldly accumulations, had an unfavorable influence on the interest of internal piety. Some of their watchmen fell, others stumbled, and many slumbered, and many ministers of great influence removed to Kentucky and the west. Associations were but thinly attended, and business was badly conducted. The long and great declension induced many to fear that God had wholly forsaken them.

Such is the gloomy picture drawn by Mr. Semple, their historian.

“But in 1785, at the period above referred to, the set time to favor Zion had come, and as the declension had been general, so was the revival which followed. The work commenced on James River, and spread with astonishing rapidity in different directions over most of the whole State, and as it continued for several years, there were very few churches which were not visited with its salutary influence. Thousands were added to the baptist churches, besides many who joined the Methodists, Presbyterians and other societies.”

The peculiarities of this extensive work, which lasted six or seven years, are thus described by the historian so often referred to, and although the scenes may be offensive to most men of the present day, yet, as a matter of historical veracity, I feel bound to insert them :

“During the progress of this revival, scenes were exhibited somewhat extraordinary. It was not unusual to have a large proportion of the congregation prostrate on the floor, and in some instances they lost the use of their limbs. No distinct articulation could be heard, unless from those immediately by; screams, groans, shouts, and hosannas, notes of grief and joy, all at the same time, were not unfrequently heard throughout their vast assemblies. At Associations and great meetings, where there were several ministers, many of them would officiate at the same time, in different parts of the congregation, some in exhortation, some in praying for the distressed, and some in argument with opposers. At first, many of the preachers disapproved of these exercises, as being enthusiastic and extravagant, others fanned

¹ Leland's Virginia Chronicle, p. 33.

² Most of the history of the laws of Virginia are from Hening's work, as quoted by Semple

them as fire from heaven. It is not unworthy of notice, that in those congregations where preachers encouraged them to much extent, the work was more extensive, and greater numbers were added. It must also be admitted, that in many of those congregations, no little confusion and disorder arose after the revival subsided; some have accounted for this by an old maxim:—*Where much good is done, much evil will also be done; where God sows many good seeds, the enemy will sow many tares.* But certain it is that many ministers, who labored earnestly to get christians into their churches, were afterwards perplexed to get hypocrites out.”

“From this revival great changes took place among the baptists, some for the better, and others for the worse. Their preachers were becoming much more correct in their manner of preaching. A great many odd tones, disgusting whoops, and awkward gestures were disused. In their matter also, they had more of sound sense and strong reasoning. Their zeal was less mixed with enthusiasm, and their piety became more rational. They were much more numerous, and of course, in the eyes of the world, more respectable. Besides, they were joined by persons of much greater weight in civil society. Their congregations became more numerous than those of any other christian sect; and, in short, they might be considered, from this period, as taking the lead in matters of religion, in many places of the State. This could not but influence their manners and spirit more or less. Accordingly, a great deal of that simplicity and plainness, that rigid scrupulosity about little matters, which so happily tends to keep us at a distance from greater follies, were laid aside. Their mode of preaching also was somewhat changed. At their first entrance into the State, though not very scrupulous as to their method and language, yet they were quite correct in their views, upon all subjects of primary importance. No preachers ever held out to their hearers the nature of experimental religion more clearly and warmly. But after they had acquired a degree of respectability in the view of the world, they departed too much from this most profitable mode of preaching, and began to harp too much on opinions and disputable points. To dive deep into mysterious subjects, and to make conjectures respecting unrevealed points, looked more wise, and excited more applause, than to travel on in the old track: and this tampering with matters beyond their reach, to the neglect of plain and edifying subjects, is too common at present, with many of our preachers in this region as well as elsewhere.”²

A short Account of the Public Bodies which, in succession, have had the general oversight of the affairs of the Denomination in this State.

General Committee. This body was organized in 1784, and continued its operations fifteen years, viz., until 1799, when it was dissolved.

One article in the rules of this body was, that no *petition, memorial, or remonstrance*, should be presented to the General Assembly, from any Association in connection with the General Committee, without its concurrence. Such was the zeal at this time for appearing before the legislature, where they had always met with a favorable reception, that fears were entertained that the people, in their zeal for freedom, might send some unnecessary instrument of the kind, and thereby injure the cause which was now in a promising way.

Reuben Ford, John Williams, John Leland, and John Waller, appear to have been the most active in conducting the general affairs of the Virginia Baptists in these times.

General Meeting of Correspondence. This meeting, like the General Committee, was formed of Delegates from all the Associations which chose to promote it. It was organized in 1800, and continued in being about twenty years, when it was succeeded by the

BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION OF VIRGINIA, which was formed in 1823, and has become a body of great efficiency and usefulness.

² Semple's History, &c.

SECTION III.

ASSOCIATIONS.

The oldest in the State, viz.: Ketockton, and Rapid Ann, or General—the fifteen in Semple's history—Dover—Rappahannock—Portsmouth—Middle District and its branches—Roanoke—Goshen—Albermarle—Shiloh—Ketockton, and all the others in eastern Virginia.

No State, south or west, furnishes such an amount of materials for general history as the Old Dominion, and nowhere in all this extensive region has the affairs of our society been so fully investigated and been made so easy of access to the historical inquirer as in the State now under consideration. This being the case, my selections from Semple and others have been so much extended, that my limits will compel me to go through this great territory with all convenient expedition. I shall merely notice the Associations which have arisen up within its bounds, and give my usual sketches, historical and statistical, of those now in existence, as much as possible in a geographical connection. For my own convenience and that of the reader, I shall divide the State into three sections, *eastern, middle, and western*. These divisions are unequal as to their geographical extent, and also as to the baptist population which they respectively contain.

Eastern Division, or Eastern Virginia. This great section of the State includes all east of the mountains, from Maryland on the north to North Carolina on the south. This, I believe, is what the people here mean by *eastern Virginia*; at any rate, for my present purpose, I shall adopt this geographical nomenclature. The *middle* or *central* division includes the great valley which lies between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains; and the *western* division, all beyond the Alleghanies to the most western boundaries of the State.

Eastern Virginia, for a long time, embraced most of the population of the State; in different portions of this region, all the companies of Baptists that I have named made their settlements, and began their operations; by them, the first churches and Associations were planted, all of which, except the Strawberry, were this side of the mountains; and as we shall see, when the account is made up, the most of the baptist community now in Virginia is found in the eastern division. This cis-montane territory is again divided by James River, which runs through it in an eastern direction from the mountains, till it empties into the Chesapeake Bay. In old times, so far as baptist history is concerned, much use was made of this river as a line of demarcation, and when they adopted the plan of reinstating the office of apostles for the government of the baptist church in this State, two of them were on the north and one on the south of this river.

The Ketockton Association is the oldest of the kind in Virginia, which has existed to the present time; a number of bodies which arose in early times, either have run down entirely, or were remodeled under new names.

In 1809, when Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists was published, there were fifteen Associations wholly in this State; six of them, viz.: Dover, Goshen, Albemarle, Culpepper, Accomack, and Ketockton were on the north of James river. Portsmouth, Middle District, Meherrin, Appomattox, Roanoke, and Strawberry were on the southern side; New River, Greenbrier, and Union were west of the Alleghany mountains. Mayo, Holston, and Redstone had a part of their churches in this State, but most of them were in the states of N. C., Tenn., Ohio, and Pa.

I have found it somewhat difficult to satisfy my own mind, as to the collocation of the Associations in the division now under review, but have concluded to take the largest first, and then go round with the others, in the most convenient arrangement I can make.

DOVER ASSOCIATION.

This great community bears date from 1783, it being one of the four branches which originated from the great body of the *Separate baptists*, which, at that time, by mutual agreement, divided their wide-spread fraternity.

As I shall frequently find it necessary to refer to this transaction, I shall here recapitulate what has been already stated in the preceding narratives.

The *New Lights*, or, as they were then denominated, the *Separate Baptists*, who descended from small company of New England adventurers, had, in about a quarter of a century from their commencement in Virginia, collected in one great body upwards of seventy churches; it extended over most of the State where the denomination had gained any proselytes, and had become too unwieldy for convenience or profit.

The four Associations into which this great company were divided, were *Dover* and *Orange* on the north, and *Middle District* and *Roanoke* on the south of James River.

This body took its name from a church, now very small, in the county of Goochland; it was not superior to the other divisions at first, but in process of time, its numbers were greatly augmented, so that before the Rappahannock went off from it, they amounted to upwards of twenty thousand; its numerical strength is still very great, as it embraces the great churches in the capital, and the surrounding country.

CITY OF RICHMOND

FIRST CHURCH. This body was founded in 1780, not long after the surrender of the British army under lord Cornwallis. Excepting one of the Episcopal order, this is said to be the oldest religious society in this city.

From the Church Manual of this ancient community, published this year, which I am happy to have in my possession, I shall extract its history from the beginning:

“This little band scarcely exceeded, at the time of its constitution, the apostolic number; it consisted of only fourteen members. They were united together under the pastoral care of Elder Joshua Morris, a member of Boar Swamp, from the neighborhood of which he removed to Richmond, to undertake the charge of this infant church. The congregation assembled in a building (long since removed) situated at the north-east angle formed by the junction of Cary street with Second street. Elder Morris continued his labors during several years, but subsequently removed to Kentucky.

“In 1788, Elder John Courtney took charge of the church, and his ministry appears to have been very much blessed. Could the writer have obtained the requisite documents, it would have been very pleasing to trace the gradual progress of the church; but in this he has only been able to succeed partially. About twenty years after Elder Courtney had become pastor, we find from a record preserved in Semple's History, that the number of members had increased to 560. At this time, also, there were several of the brethren licensed preachers. In the year 1810, Elder John Brice was associated with Elder Courtney; upon his resignation in 1820, Elder Andrew Broadus sustained for a few months the same relation to the church, after which Elder Brice resumed his co-pastorate. Upon his finally removing, in 1822, Elder Henry Keeling was chosen co-pastor, and continued to discharge the duties of that office till after the decease of Elder Courtney. It was on the 18th of December, 1824, that this venerable servant of Jesus found, that while to him to live had been Christ, yet to die was gain. He had faithfully served the church for thirty-six years, though bodily infirmities much diminished the frequency of his public labors, and for the two last years entirely suspended them.

“In June, 1820, about five years previous to the decease of Elder Courtney, 17 members were dismissed for the purpose of forming a second Baptist church, which, from this small beginning, has gradually increased, till it numbers 510 members; a result which tends greatly to promote the prosperity of the denomination, and which calls for devout thankfulness to the Author of all good.

“In the month of January, 1825, Elder Keeling resigned, and in March, Elder John Kerr accepted the vacant charge. In the years 1826-7, the church was favored with a gracious revival, which resulted in the addition of above 200 members; and in 1831, during a series of protracted meetings, the labors of Elder Kerr, assisted by Elders Baptist and Fife, were blessed to an extent still more remarkable; in a period of less than twelve months, more than 500 members were added, 217 of whom were white persons.

“In the years 1831-2, a painful state of things existed, chiefly resulting from the infusion of the sentiments of Mr. A. Campbell, who, not having yet avowed the most obnoxious of his errors, had unhappily been afforded the opportunity of gradually disseminating them, by

his frequently occupying the pulpit during his residence in Richmond as one of the delegates in the Convention for remodeling the Constitution of the State. The result was, the separation of above 70 members, who formed themselves into a society upon the principles they had been led to adopt, but whom the church determined not to fellowship.

"At the termination of the year 1832, Elder Kerr resigned his pastoral charge; but early in the year following, at the urgent desire of the church, partially resumed it, till they should succeed in obtaining another pastor. In May, 1833, Elder I. T. Hinton accepted that appointment. During the following winter, a protracted meeting, held in conjunction with the Second church, during which, brethren Hyter, Fife, Jeter, and Coleman, labored abundantly, was attended with the divine blessing, and a considerable addition to both churches."

Rev. I. T. Hinton, now pastor of a baptist church in New Orleans, held the pastorship about two years. Successor to him was

Rev. J. B. Jeter, the present pastor. His settlement took place in January, 1836.

"In the autumn of 1841, the church having erected, at an expense of \$40,000, a spacious and convenient place of worship, relinquished their old house to the exclusive occupation of the colored people—an arrangement which has contributed greatly to the advantage of both classes.

"In 1842, the church enjoyed an interesting revival, in which 160 members, a majority of them males, were baptized."

SECOND CHURCH. This church arose forty years after the founding of the First, viz., in 1820. It consisted at first of seventeen members, all of whom had belonged to the First Church.

Rev. David Roper was the first pastor of this body, in which office he continued about six years. Successor to him was

Rev. Jas. B. Taylor, whose pastorship extended to near the time that he went into the next body to be named, a period of about seven years.⁴

Rev. E. L. Magoon, now pastor of a church in Cincinnati, Ohio, was Mr. Taylor's immediate successor; his pastorship continued till 1846.

Rev. — Reynolds, the present pastor, came into office the same year. The Second church also, simultaneously with the First, erected a new house of worship, about equal to that of the mother body in capacity and finish.

THIRD OF GRACE STREET CHURCH. With one or two exceptions, the Third Baptist Church of Richmond was constituted of members, dismissed for the purpose, from the Second Church.

"From the year 1826 to 1833, the Second church, under the pastoral care of Elder James B. Taylor, was favored with numerous accessions, until it became a question of serious importance whether an effort should not be made to extend the influence of truth, by the formation of another church, in the northern part of the city. Accordingly, at a church meeting, held February 21st, 1833, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That it is expedient that exertions be made by this church to raise another church and congregation, with a view to the furtherance of the kingdom of Christ, to worship in some suitable place to be provided, not further south than Fourth street, nor far from H street.

"At the same meeting, a committee was appointed, and then re-appointed monthly, to carry the above resolution into effect. This committee, under the guidance of Elder Henry Keeling, continued, for a series of months, to conduct social worship at private houses, until the second day of December, 1833, when eighteen individuals, fifteen of whom were from the Second church, one from the first, and two from country churches, were publicly recognized as an independent church of the Lord Jesus. The religious services were conducted in the presence of a large congregation, at the meeting-house of the Second Baptist Church. Elder Henry Keeling was chosen their pastor. A neat, comfortable house of worship, 40 by 50 feet, corner of Marshall and Second streets, was opened for the reception of the church the 19th of May, 1834. During the month of August, 1837, the pastoral relation between the church and Elder Keeling, by mutual consent, ceased to exist; and in November of the same year, Elder Lewis A. Alderson accepted the invitation to assume the duties of the pastorate. At this time, the church numbered 61. Before the close of the year 1838, the church was again destitute of a pastor, by the resignation of Elder Alderson; the number of members being 114, of whom 46 were colored persons."

Rev. James B. Taylor, then late pastor of the Second church, came into office here in 1840, where he continued about six years, when he was transferred to the secretaryship of the Southern Missionary Convention. The name of his successor, if one has been appointed, I am not able to give.

⁴ The Manual of this church is dated in 1834, and, of course, there is a deficiency in historical details from that time.

RECAPITULATION OF THE RICHMOND CHURCHES.

FOURTH CHURCH. The date of this body I am not able to state. *Rev. A. B. Smith* was the pastor in 1845.

AFRICAN CHURCH. The origin of this great community as a separate interest has already been suggested in the history of the First church. The colored members had, for a long time, been about quadruple to that of the whites. They, by mutual agreement, continued to occupy the old capacious building, where their assemblages are very large.⁵

Rev. Robert Ryland, who is the head of the Baptist Seminary in this city, which is designed ultimately for a college, has the pastoral care of this numerous congregation. The communicants alone are upwards of two thousand.

SECOND AFRICAN CHURCH. The date of this body I cannot give. Such an institution, I believe, exists in this city, and that it originated from the Second church of whites.

Recapitulation of the Churches in Richmond.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Church, - -	1780	J. B. Jeter, - -	503
Second Church, - -	1820	J. L. Reynolds, - -	527
Third Church, - -	1833	-----, - -	357
Fourth Church, - -	-----	A. B. Smith, - -	169
African Church, - -	1841	R. Ryland, - -	2,167
2d African Church, - -	- - -	- - (estimated)	300
		Total, - - -	4,023

The other churches in this Association whose members amount to one hundred or more, with their pastors, are given in the note below.⁶

Very great changes have taken place during the sixty-four years which have elapsed since the Dover branch of the old General Association became a distinct organization.

The Dover church, from which this Association took its name, was planted by Samuel Harris, J. Read, J. Waller, and others, in 1773. It must have been an important establishment at the time, and thirty years after its formation, Semple reports it at 275 members.

But by the returns on the Minutes for 1845, its membership was reduced to forty, save one.⁷

Richmond, on the other hand, which has since become the centre of operations, not only for this community, but the whole State, was then a small town of less than 2,000 inhabitants,⁸ with one small infant church of our order, whose pastor had the privilege of preaching to them once a month at his own cost, as was generally the case with all pastors in that age. The churches in this Association are situated in the counties of Henrico, Hanover, Goochland, Caroline, King William, New Kent, &c.

RAPPAHANNOCK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Dover, in 1843; it came into being a full grown body, and now, in numerical strength, it is in advance of the mother institution. The circumstances attending the formation of this great, although young community, are thus related by its clerk:⁹

⁵ I was in Richmond at the time this arrangement was being matured, and well remember the satisfaction which all parties seemed to feel in the measure.

⁶ Hampton, J. R. Scott, 805; Emmaus, New Kent, Jos. Clopton, 613; Deep Run, R. Ford, 576; Black Creek, Hanover, J. Strake, 529; Hopeful, Hanover, S. Harris, 469; Bethesda, do., J. S. Walthall, 466; Sharon, King William, J. O. Turpin, 456; Zion, Williamsburgh, S. Jones, 414; Bethlehem, Hanover, ---, 334; James City, L. W. Allen, 300; Beulah, King William, 299; Union, Mangohick, ---, 282; Boar Swamp, Henrico, John Carter, 216; Elam, 245; Reed's, 219; Hopewell, ---, 207; Taylorsville, S. S. Sumner, 207; Websters, ---, 209; Aquinton, ---, 159; Concord, ---, 170; Bethel, ---, 137; Goochland, ---, 119; Bethlehem, Henrico, M. T. Sumner, 122; Liberty, J. P. Turner, 149; Lower College, ---, 150; Warwick, E. S. Amory, 151; Grafton, ---, 109.

⁷ Its number, at first, was 45.—*Semple*.

⁸ *Morse's Gazetteer*.

⁹ *Rev. L. W. Allen*.

"Owing to the great extent and size of the old Dover Association, for many years there was a strong desire to have it divided, but the difficulty of finding a proper line of separation always defeated the proposition for dividing, till the session of the Dover Association at Salem, in Caroline county, in October, 1843. A committee having been appointed at the previous session, reported that the York river, from its mouth up to its head, and then the Mattaponi, to the upper limits of the Association in Caroline county, Va., should be the lines of division between the new (or Rappahannock) Association and the Dover; thence a straight line crossing the Rappahannock River below Fredericksburg, through King George county to the Potomac River; down the Potomac to the Chesapeake Bay; in length about 120 miles, in breadth from 30 to 40. This division left the old Association with 37 churches, and the new with 35. The number now is 37."

Rev. Addison Hall was the moderator, and L. W. Allen, clerk, of the first meeting.¹⁰

Mr. Allen, according to the custom of the country, had the spiritual oversight, at the time he wrote me,¹ of three churches, of which he has given some historical sketches, which I regret my limits will not permit me to insert.

BRUNTINGTON CHURCH, Rev. R. H. Bagby, pastor in 1845, belongs to this body.

Rev. R. B. Semple, D.D., was long the pastor of this church. This body, I should judge from the report of the doings of the churches, for benevolent objects, of which returns were made in 1845, is among their most efficient communities.

The EBENEZER CHURCH, Gloucester Co., P. Taliaferro, pastor, is the largest in this body.²

PORTSMOUTH ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed by a large colony from the old Kehukee, which went off by themselves in 1790. It began with nineteen churches.

Elders J. Meglamre and David Barrow, who afterwards removed to Ky., generally officiated as moderators of this Association during the early periods of its existence.

This Association occupies the oldest baptist ground in Virginia, where the first company of the denomination made their settlement; it is situated in the south-east corner of the State, and extends from Portsmouth and Norfolk to Petersburg, along James river, mostly, if not altogether, on its southern side. The largest churches are in the places just named, and in their vicinities.

The PORTSMOUTH CHURCH was founded in 1798, with 68 members.

Rev. Thomas Armistead was the first pastor; after him, in succession, they had Josiah Bishop, a man of color, Thos. Etheredge, Jacob Grigg, Davis Biggs, and probably some others.

Rev. Thomas Hume, the present incumbent, has been in office here some ten years or more.³

¹⁰ Mr. Hall is the father of the late Mrs. Shuck, wife of the missionary in China.

¹ He has resigned his pastoral care, and entered on an agency for the collection of funds for Richmond College.

² In 1845, it reported (only 90 whites)	990	Pope's Creek, —	351
Nomini, J. Pullen, - - - -	908	Glebe Landing, P. T. Montague, - -	358
Hanover, P. Montague, - - - -	856	Fairfields, W. H. Kirk, - - - -	313
Upper Essex, J. Bird, - - - -	799	Pocorone, J. Spencer, - - - -	340
Wicomico, A. Hall, - - - -	742	Jerusalem, E. L. Williams, - - - -	304
Matthews, L. W. Allen, - - - -	730	Olivet, T. B. Evens, - - - -	337
Upper King and Queen, A. Broadus, -	698	Petsworth, P. Taliaferro, - - - -	254
Lower do., Wm. Todd, - - - -	271	Clark's Neck, Geo. Northam, - - - -	220
Piscataway, P. Montague, - - - -	585	Exall, Wm. Todd, - - - -	173
Enon, W. A. Baynham, - - - -	540	Farnham, W. H. Kirk, - - - -	172
Bruntington, R. H. Bagby, - - - -	472	Providence, R. W. Cole, - - - -	166
Mattaponi, Wm. Todd, - - - -	416	Round Hill, —, - - - -	169
Moratico, A. Hall, - - - -	402	Rappahannock, J. Pullen, - - - -	139
Upper Zion, R. W. Cole, - - - -	402	Lebanon, A. Hall, - - - -	111
Salem, A. Broadus, - - - -	373	Gibeon, —, - - - -	107
Zoar, G. Northam, - - - -	363	Menokin, R. H. Sedgewick, - - - -	104

But three of the churches in this body are under 100, and these, in aggregate, amount to just that number. The colored members are nearly two-thirds of the whole Association.

³ No information of the modern history of this community have I been able to obtain. Semple's account of it, up to 1809, is sufficiently minute. This church, at that date, according to Semple,

NORFOLK CHURCH, CUMBERLAND STREET, was formed from the Portsmouth, in 1815. Semple gives a doleful account of the calamities which befel this body in its early movements, in consequence of a succession of errant and unworthy ministers who were inducted into the pastoral office.⁴ The names of all the incumbents here I have not learned.

Dr. Howell, now of Nashville, Tenn., according to Allen's Register for 1833, appears to have been in this station at that date.

Rev. E. G. Robinson, now a professor in the Covington Institution, near Cincinnati, occupied this station a few years.

PETERSBURG. This town or city abounds with baptists, but of none of the churches have I gained sufficient information for the construction of my usual notices as to their dates, succession of pastors, &c.

The three last pastors of the church of whites have come and gone with the quick step of modern times. Their names are *J. P. Tustin*, now of Warren, R. I.; *J. R. Scott*, the present pastor of the Hampton church, in the Dover Association; and *J. C. Jordan*, who has lately resigned the office.

There are three churches of colored people, which, in the aggregate, contain upwards of 2,500 members. All the information I have obtained respecting them is what appears on the Minutes of this body for 1846, and a few items communicated by Mr. Scott while he was in the town.

THE FIRST AFRICAN CHURCH appears to have been the first on this ground, and arose many years before the church of whites was formed; this is now the largest church in this Association.⁵

The three Associations, Dover, Rappahannock, and Portsmouth, whose history has been briefly related, contain together upwards of 34,000 members, being considerably over one-third of the baptist communicants in the whole of Virginia. They are situated contiguous to each other, from the city of Richmond and its vicinity, down to the Chesapeake Bay and the south-east corner of the State. The James, York, and Rappahannock rivers run through that populous portion of eastern Virginia in which this great mass of our denomination is found.

I shall now follow out, in their various ramifications, the other three branches of the old confederacy of Separate baptists, which will lead us over most of the section of the State now under review.

Although the Portsmouth Association is not exactly in this line of succession, as its pedigree is traced from the Regular Baptists of N. C., yet, on account of its contiguity with the Dover and Rappahannock, I have judged it best to give it a place in juxtaposition with them.

MIDDLE DISTRICT ASSOCIATION,

Also bears date from 1783. As that portion of the *General Association* which lies south of James River, composed this body at first, we should naturally expect it would be denominated the *Southern* district, as its churches extended quite to the line of N. C. Why the term *Middle* was adopted, Mr. Semple informs us was, that it lay between the Strawberry Association in the upper country, and Kehukee in the lower.

This community in its early operation spread over an extensive field, but by dividing and subdividing, and sending off new colonies in different directions, it has become circumscribed to narrow boundaries. Its churches, 16 in number, are situated mostly in the counties of Powhatan and Chesterfield, adjoining

reported upwards of two thousand members. It then probably embraced all the colored members in this and the neighboring places, who have since organized by themselves.

⁴ History, &c., p. 354.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 1393; Second African, or Gillfield, in this town, 1119. As the ministers are not distinguished from the other delegates on the Minutes, but are put in a separate list, I cannot name them in connection with the churches as I usually have done. I shall, therefore, go on with my statistics, naming the churches only.

Portsmouth, 617; Norfolk, colored, 590; Norfolk, 408; Shoulders' Hill, 265; Mill Swamp, 230; Tucker's Swamp, 223; Beaver Dam, 212; Petersburg, 210; Raccoon Swamp, 193; Suffolk, 189; Western Branch, 182; High Hills, 181; Black Creek, 172; South Quay, 166; Newville, 135; Moore's Swamp, 131; Black Water, 126; North-West, 121; Brandon, 109.

James river; some of them are in close contact with the city of Richmond, particularly Manchester, which is directly opposite the Capitol.

THE AFRICAN CHURCH in Manchester is the largest in this body.⁶

THE MUDDY CREEK CHURCH, *C. Tyree* pastor, is the next in size. This church was constituted in 1774.

THE POWHATTAN CHURCH, *H. W. Watkins* pastor, stands next as to numbers; this bears date from 1771.

THE SPRING CREEK CHURCH, *J. Martin* pastor, is also a large body. It was organized in 1790.

The fraternities which have been formed from the Middle District, I shall describe in a chronological order, beginning with the

APPOMATTOX ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1804. It is situated in the counties of Campbell, Charlotte, Prince Edwards, Buckingham, and Nottaway. It contains some of the oldest churches in this part of the State.

THE SHARON CHURCH, *D. Witt*, pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

MEHERRIN ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Middle District, in 1804, and after maintaining a respectable standing about thirty years, it was overrun and broken up, or reduced to such a state of dilapidation, that they judged it best to dissolve their community, and begin anew. The inroads made upon them by the Campbellites or Reformers, was the cause of this change. The new institution assumed the name of

CONCORD ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1833; it occupies the same ground of the old body in the counties of Charlotte, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, &c. Five churches only joined at first in the new organization, in which they were assisted by elders Kerr, J. B. Taylor, now of Richmond, and J. B. Smith, who is represented as a laborious and useful minister in this region, he being the only efficient minister permanently located within the bounds of this Association.⁸

THE MOUNT LEBANON CHURCH, *J. W. D. Creath*, pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

ROANOKE ASSOCIATION.

This ancient community is dated 1788; some accounts describe it as one of the four branches of the old general body of *Separates*; others as growing out of a subdivision of the Middle District Association. At any rate it was a part and parcel of that wide-spread institution. For a long course of years it occupied a large territory adjoining N. C., mostly in the counties of Halifax and Pittsylvania; but as other Associations have been set off from it, the churches now are principally in the counties of Campbell and Bedford. A number of the churches in this old community were planted by Samuel Harris and his early associates.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 487; Muddy Creek, 405; Powhattan, 385; Spring Creek, 330; Mount Tabor, J. Johns, 316; Bethel, B. C. Hancock, 163; Mount Hermon, S. Dorsett, 143; Tomahawk, —, 112; Hepzibah, 108; Union, L. D. Horner, 100.

⁷ In 1845, it reported 436; Nottaway, —, 399; Red Oak, J. G. Hanmer, 351; Mossingford, 250; New Salem, E. W. Roach, 161; Providence, —, 153; Farmville, J. W. Goodman, 152; Appomattox, A. A. Baldwin, 136; Brookneal, —, 133; Ash Camp, —, 134; Spring Creek, —, 111; Stonewall, —, 107; Midway, —, 103.

⁸ Letter of Rev. C. F. Burnley, to the author.

⁹ In 1844 it reported 275; James Square, J. Delk, 193; Blue Stone, J. B. Smith, 178; Reedy Creek, W. H. Maddox, 163; Coul Spring, —, 141; Fountain Creek, J. C. Bailey, 131; Concord, —, 1241; Cut's Bank, —, 104; Mercy Seat, —, 101.

The Minutes for 1845 contain brief historical sketches of all the churches of this body as it now stands, with the names of all the ministers by whom they were planted, and by whose pastoral and evangelical labors, they have been nourished and supplied.

This Association for a long time, next to the Dover, was among the largest in Virginia; many of its ministers also were men of talent and great distinction, not only within their own bounds, but in the region around, in this and the neighboring State of N. C.

We are now getting into a region of the State where the colored members are not quite equal to the whites; the proportion will continue to grow less, as we advance towards the middle and western regions.

The Mill Church, 1769, Upper Banister, 1773, Buffalo, 1776, Mt. Vernon, Halifax Co., 1787, and the head of Birch Creek, 1788, are some of the oldest in this Association.

The Lower Banister, Campbell Co., is the largest in this body.⁹ It bears date from 1798. Among its former pastors, have been John Jenkins, Griffith Dickinson, and Henry Fink.

Rev. Joel Hubbard, its present pastor, was settled in 1841. Mr. H. was moderator in 1845.

DAN RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1838, of twelve churches, which were dismissed for the purpose, from the Roanoke. They are all in the county of Halifax, adjoining N. Carolina.¹⁰

This body is on ground occupied by the old new-light Separates, in the early part of their movements in this State, and contains some of the oldest churches in this section of Virginia.

COUNTRY LINE CHURCH was constituted in 1771, and Samuel Harris, of apostolic memory, was its first pastor. Successors to him have been Rev. Messrs. Echols, Dodson, Brame, Bates, Kerr, Nolin, Mills, and Faulkner.

CATAWBA is next in age, having been organized in 1773. Their pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Hill, Hall, Dodson, P. Hurt, R. Hurt, McAllister, Wills, and Poindexter.

Winn's Creek, Hunting Creek, Murterfield, Millstone, and Arbor, are all upwards of sixty years of age. As very frequent changes are made in pastoral relations, the ministers whose name have already been mentioned, have in succession ministered to these ancient bodies.

THE HUNTING CREEK CHURCH, *A. M. Poindexter* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

HALIFAX CHURCH. This church was formed in 18 , and *Rev. N. M. Poindexter*, their present pastor, was then inducted into the pastoral office, in which he still continues.

The character of this Association is indicated as to benevolent objects by its annual doings.

In this small body there are but five ordained ministers, viz., *D. B. McGehee*, *J. G. Mills*, *A. M. Poindexter*, *J. O. Faulkner*, and *A. D. Rucker*.²

⁹ In 1845, it reported 198; Mount Vernon, Halifax Co., —, 191; Danville, J. L. Pritchard, 185; Head of Birch Creek, —, 160; Ellis' Creek, —, 157; Sandy Creek, —, 140; Strait Stone, J. T. McLaughlin, 139; Childry, J. L. Morton, 132; Republican, —, 121.

¹⁰ Letter of Rev. D. B. McGehee, to the author.

¹ In 1845, it reported 190; Arbor, 176; Cross Roads, 162; Hyco, 157; Black Walnut, 133; Mill Stone, 116; Clover, 110; County Line, 102.

² The whole amount of contributions the first year for benevolent institutions, and to defray expenses, was \$548.29. Since then, there has been some falling off, which my correspondent ascribes partly to the pressure of the times, but, mostly, to the fact of a number of the churches having new houses of worship under way, which requires the utmost of their ability to sustain.—*Rev. Mr. McGehee's letter, &c.*

³ Their names are placed according to seniority as to ordination.—*Mr. McGehee's letter, &c.*

STAUNTON RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1842, of eight churches which withdrew from the Roanoke, on account of disputes about benevolent operations. Their names were Mill, Upper Banister, Mt. Ararat, Strawberry, Union, White Thorn, Sycamore, and Stoneroad.

I have no Minutes of this Association later than 1843. Then its aggregate of members was 399.

These, I believe, are all the Associations in this direction, which ought to be included in the eastern division, according to my arrangement.

I shall now go above the famous line of demarcation, and give some sketches of the different Associational communities in the northern part of eastern Virginia.

ORANGE ASSOCIATION.

This old body, as we have seen, was formed by a division of the ancient Separate confederacy in 1783, and then included all the churches which stood connected with that body in the *Northern District*. Its boundaries soon became so extensive, that in a few years it was divided into the Goshen, Albermarle, and Culpepper, the last of which has assumed the name of Shiloh.

A brief description of these three bodies and the branches which have gone out from them, will now be given.

GOSHEN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1792, and contained at that time all the churches in the counties of Spottsylvania, and Louisa, together with a part of those in Caroline, Hanover, Goochland, and Orange. Their churches were fifteen, and their number of members upwards of fourteen hundred. This body is now the third in size in this State. It consists of upwards of thirty churches, most of which are large and flourishing.

The churches now are in the counties of Orange, Spottsylvania, Caroline, Louisa, Goochland, and Fluvanna.

This great body, of such superior size among the Virginia Associations, comes in contact with Dover on its N. and N. W. bounds.

The churches called Craigs, 1767; Waller's, 1769; Burrus', 1773; North Pamunkey, 1774; Licking Hole, 1776; and County Line, 1782; were the oldest which arose in this part of the State.

Rev. H. Frazer, the clerk of this body, informs me that he is not furnished with sufficient information to supply me with the history of any of the churches. The dates above given, I have ascertained from Semple's history and my 2d Vol.

The church bearing the uneuphonious appellation of *Licking Hole*, is the largest in this body.⁴ In 1845 it was represented without a pastor.

ALBEMARLE ASSOCIATION.

This body also bears date from 1792, as it was a branch of the old Orange;

* In 1845, it reported	- - - -	1036	Good Hope, J. N. Herndon,	- - - -	235
Burris', S. Harris,	- - - -	543	Foster's Creek,	- - - -	210
Waller's, C. A. Lewis,	- - - -	465	Upper Gold Mine,	- - - -	210
Liberty, L. Battaile,	- - - -	457	Zion,	- - - -	204
Bethany, W. R. Powell,	- - - -	433	Mount Pisgah,	- - - -	169
Massaponak, J. A. Billingsly,	- - - -	410	Mine Road,	- - - -	165
Williams', J. Fife,	- - - -	405	North Pamunkey,	- - - -	165
County Line,	- - - -	392	Beaver Dam,	- - - -	144
Zoar, J. C. Gordon,	- - - -	300	Bethel,	- - - -	130
Lower Gold Mine, W. Y. Hiter,	- - - -	295	Wilderness,	- - - -	129
L. Creek, H. Frazer,	- - - -	274	Antioch, J. A. Mansfield,	- - - -	129
Lyle's, R. Lilly,	- - - -	269	Round Oak,	- - - -	119
Little River, B. Phillips,	- - - -	247	Bybee's Roads,	- - - -	112
Mount Hermon, J. S. Powell,	- - - -	237	Fork,	- - - -	107

Most of the churches have pastors named against them twice, but my plan will be, for the future, through all the south and west, where ministers have the care of a number of churches, to give their names but once.

although it is a large community, and has within its bounds some very efficient men, yet, it so happens that none of them have given me any information respecting it.⁵

For a rare case in this country, the dates of the churches are put down in the Minutes, as they ought always to be. In this way I learn that most of the churches are of recent origin.

This Association was small in its beginning, as appears by Semple's account of it; J. Watts, M. Dawson, B. Brugher, J. Young, W. Duncan, W. Basket, and G. Anderson were all the ministers who sustained the pastoral office. Most of the churches then were in the county from which the body took its name.

Charlottesville, the seat of the famous University which Jefferson took so much pains to get established, is within the bounds of this community, and this town contains one of its largest churches.

THE EBENEZER CHURCH, founded by *O. Flowers*, in 1773, is the oldest, and MOUNT MORIAH, *Samuel B. Rice* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶ This last named community bears date from 1784. The New Prospect and Preddie's Creek churches are of about the same age.

SHILOH ASSOCIATION.

This is the third community which owes its origin to the division of the old Orange, in 1792, and the name of *Culpepper*, which it first assumed, was exchanged for that which it now bears, in 1812. This alteration in the cognomen of this institution, was made at the instance of Elder Lewis Couner, who wished the Association to be known by a scriptural name.

The county whose name the Association originally bore, at first embraced most of its churches; they now extend into Madison, Green, Rappahannock, and a few others. This community extends quite to the Blue Ridge; some of its churches formerly were over it, but they have since been dismissed to form the Ebenezer, of which more will be said when we come to our 2d division.

Rev. Thornton Stringfellow, and Cumberland George, are pastors in this Association.

Old Culpepper, at the time when Semple's History of the Va. Baptists was prepared, was quite extensive in its boundaries, and contained a considerable number of the old churches, which were planted by David Thomas, Samuel Harris, N. Saunders, J. Picket, E. Craig, J. Waller, J. Redding, J. Taylor, J. Alderson, and others. Some of them I see are still alive, and have a place in this body. A number of them have existed about three-quarters of a century; others have either become extinct, or have fallen into other communities.

MOUNT PONEY, *J. C. Gordon* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

RAPPAHANNOCK COUNTY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835. It is a small community, which withdrew in part from the Shiloh on account of their opposition to missionary and other benevolent institutions, which they did not wish to support. It is situated in the counties of Rappahannock, Culpepper, &c., under the edge of the Blue Ridge, on the head waters of the great river whose name it bears. I have added *county* to

⁵ I will give the clerk, Alex. P. Abell, Esq., the credit of sending the Minutes very punctually, but I wish that he or some one else had done more.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 467; Charlottesville, S. H. Mirick, 405; New Prospect, J. Davis, 399; Pine Grove, J. Fife, 335; Preddies' Creek, 246; Mount Ed., J. H. Fox, 239; Liberty, G. C. Travillian, 226; Escal, —, 213; Piney River, —, 211; Ballenger's Creek, C. Wingfield, 198; Ebenezer, —, 164; Adiel, —, 161; Mount Shiloh, —, 154; Scottsville, —, 157; Beaver Dam, S. Eastin, 129; Chestnut Grove, —, 112.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 362; F. T., S. Bruce, 334; Gourd Vine, J. Garnett, 321; Stevensburg, T. Stringfellow, 206; Mount Salem, C. George, 194; Hedgeman R., 171; Crooked Run, 143; Carter Run, 132; Blue Run, E. G. Ship, 132; Swift Run, P. Creel, 128; Bethel, 117; Cedar Run, 116.

its name, to distinguish it from the large community whose history has already been given. *They append old School* to their name.

In the Minutes of 1844, they reported five churches and 365 members.

The ROBINSON RIVER CHURCH, *W. C. Lauck*, pastor, at the date just named, reported 137 members, and was the only one which came up to 100.

KETOCKTON ASSOCIATION.

This is the oldest institution of the kind in the State, and was the fifth of associated baptists in America. The Philadelphia, Charleston, Sandy Creek, and Kehukee had been formed before it. This Association commenced with four churches, viz., Mill Creek, Smith's Creek, Ketcokton, and Broadrun; all but the last were dismissed from the Philadelphia Association. Yearly meetings were held for a number of years, as was common in those days, before the name of an Association was assumed, which was in 1766. It is said by Rev. William Fristoe, who published a history of this body, that at one time the churches which had confederated with this wide-spread community were scattered over an extent of country about 300 miles in length, and 100 in breadth.

This Association acted a very conspicuous part in the affairs of the Virginia Baptists, for many years from its commencement; it embodied the whole strength of the *Regular* Baptists in the State, and it was owing, in a great measure, to its influence that the union with the *Separates* was effected, which has already been described. It maintained a correspondence with its sister communities, personal and epistolary, on the north and south, and co-operated cordially with them in all their plans of an evangelizing character, until the new notions, which they denominated *old school* principles, were infused into the body.

Simple has entered largely into the history of old Ketcokton, which at that time (1809) contained 36 churches and upwards of 2,000 members.

The Minutes of 1845 exhibit about one-third of its former numerical strength; its ministers at that time were Thomas Buck, S. Trott, W. C. Lauck, R. C. Leachman, Wm. Marvin, Z. J. Compton, D. T. Crawford, and Joseph Furr.

CORRESPONDING CONFERENCE.

This is another small body of what they call *Old School* Baptists, of recent origin in this region of the State. The latest Minutes I have seen are those of 1842, when it reported twelve churches and four ministers. The number of members were not reported; they are said to be about 600.⁸

SALEM UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1833; it was composed of a few churches which formerly belonged to the Columbia and Ketcokton, and a few other Associations; but most of them were new organizations, which had been got up by the labors of Elders Wm. T. Broaddus and T. Stringfellow.

This community, although in the midst of those who oppose all the benevolent plans of modern times, as their Minutes show, enter into them in a systematic manner, and with good success. They employ a domestic missionary within their own bounds, and in the surrounding regions a part or all the year.

This Association affixes the dates of its churches to its statistical tables; from this I learn that

The KETOCKTON CHURCH, 1755, *J. T. Massey*,⁹ pastor, is the oldest in this connection.¹⁰

⁸ This I have ascertained from Mr. Sands, of the Religious Herald.

⁹ He is the brother to Joseph Massey, who studied at Newton, and was some time pastor of the church in Bellingham, Mass.—*J. N. Brown*.

¹⁰ This is so called from a creek on which it is situated; it was one of the constituent members of the oldest Association in the State, which is still in being.

BUCK MARSH, 1771, *H. W. Dodge*, pastor, is the next in point of age.

LONG BRANCH, 1786, *B. Grimsley*, pastor, and BETHEL, 1808, under the care of the same spiritual shepherd, are all the churches of any considerable size; the others are of recent origin.

Elders *G. Love*, *T. Herndon*, *T. D. Herndon*, and *C. S. Adams*, are all reported as resident members of the Long Branch church. The Bethel church is the largest in this body.¹ Mr. Love, the clerk of this body, has sent me a file of the Minutes from the beginning. The churches are in the counties of Frederick, Fauquier, Loudon, Clark, &c.

This Association puts down on their Minutes the proportion of colored members to the whites, which are two-fifths of the whole. A number of the churches have none at all, and many others but very few.

COLUMBIA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1819; it is in that part of Va. which lies opposite the District of Columbia, and two of its churches, viz., First Washington and Alexandria, are in that District. Some sketches of these communities have already been published; of the others I have not sufficient information to enable me to give any historical account of them. They are situated generally not far from the Potomac, in the counties of Stafford, Fairfax, Loudon, &c.

The FREDERICKSBURG CHURCH, *S. Smith*, pastor, is the largest in this Association.²

The ministers in this body are *O. B. Brown*, *A. H. Bennett*, *J. Ogelvie*, *S. Smith*, *L. Marders*, and *J. Baker*.

This Association has adopted the commendable practice of putting the dates of the churches in the Minutes.

ACCOMACK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1809, of churches which were formerly in connection with the old Salisbury community, in Maryland.

I have no Minutes of this small body later than 1844; then it contained seven churches, four in the county of Accomack, two in Northampton, and one in Maryland.

The LOWER NORTHAMPTON CHURCH, *G. G. Exall*, pastor, was the largest amongst them. This small community is situated on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay, and near its mouth. Elijah Baker, whose name appears in connection with the Salisbury Association, was a distinguished planter of churches on all this region, in both the States of Maryland and Virginia.

Elder *George Layfield* was also a minister of distinction in early times, and was the first moderator of this Association.

I will now go down and finish off my accounts of the institutions in the west and southwest parts of this eastern section, which, for various reasons, were omitted while tracing out the genealogy of the descendants of the old company of *New Light Separates*. The first I shall name is indeed from this old stock, but seemed to be a little out of my range in both of my surveys south and north.

JAMES RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1834; it is situated on both sides of this river, about midway from Richmond to the mountains, in the counties of Fluvanna and Buckingham, &c.

The FORK CHURCH, FLUVANNA Co., is the largest in this body.³

Some one is very good to send me the Minutes; but no historical sketches have come to hand.

¹ In 1846, it reported 265; Long Branch, 248; Liberty, T. D. Herndon, 123; Buck Marsh, 122.

² In 1846, it reported 231; Modest Town, W. Sands, 185; Red Bank, 164; Pungoteague, 149.

³ In 1846 it reported 608; Buckingham, 484; Liberty Chapel, 245; Sharon, 211; Liberty, 191; Cumberland, 181; New Hope, 163; Tar Wallot, 115; Knox, 98.

STRAWBERRY ASSOCIATION.

This is the oldest community in the whole State, which has stood to the present time, except Ketcokton. The following account I find in my 1st vol., p. 88, which was compiled partly from my own researches, but mostly from Semple's History :

"The Strawberry Association is in the neighborhood of the mountains, near the southern line of the State. It was formed in 1776, some seven years before the dissolution of the General Association, and appears to have been some of the early fruits of the Separate preachers, who went almost everywhere throughout the State preaching the gospel. The first laborers within the bounds of this Association were the two Murpheys, William and Joseph, Samuel Harris, and Dutton Lane. Several preachers were also raised up soon after the rise of the baptists in these parts, the most distinguished and the most useful of whom was Robert Stockton, who, after laboring a few years with much success in these parts, removed to Kentucky, and is now one of the principal ministers in the Green River Association in that State.

"In 1793, the Strawberry Association was divided, and the Blue Ridge became the dividing line, the churches to the west of which united under the name of the New River Association."

From this prolific institution a number of others have proceeded, as our future narratives will show.

No marks of any kind, that I can find on their tables, distinguish the ministers from the other delegates; from the reading of the Minutes, which are well got up in other respects, I learn that Jas. Leftwick, John S. Lee, — Johnson, C. Tyree, and T. C. Coggin are among them.

TINKER CREEK CHURCH was the largest in this body in 1844.⁴

PIG RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1825; it is in the south-west corner of *Eastern Virginia*. All I have been able to learn of its history or character is what is said of it in Allen's Register for 1833 :

"The churches in this body are located chiefly in the counties of Henry and Franklin. * *

"Throughout this Association, ultra or hyper-Calvinism prevails in full force; and its concomitant opposition to all the benevolent societies of the day, forms the most prominent feature in their Minutes."

By Allen's table, three years after, its membership amounted to about 700; what changes have since taken place I am not able to state.

Old-fashioned Baptists of Jesus Christ.

This very imposing title was assumed by a small company of *Come-outers* from all benevolent institutions, in the county of Chesterfield, a few years since. I have gained no information respecting this very orthodox community, excepting the following note from Rev. E. Ball :

"It is an anti-mission body, small, and growing smaller; it is located chiefly in Chesterfield county."

Thus far, twenty-three associational confederacies have come under review; some, it is true, are very small; others are unusually large for southern institutions, where the colored population in many cases greatly augments their numerical strength. On an average, they are equal, so far as numbers are concerned, to our communities in any of the States. I shall now take the middle or mountain range of baptist societies, of the description now under consideration.

⁴ It then reported 162; H. G. Creek, 154; Beaver Dam, 143; D. Creek, 126; Hunting Creek, 125; Timber Ridge, 112; Goose Creek, 110.

In the Minutes of this old fraternity for 1844, I find the following item:—

"Brother Lee is requested to write a history of this Association from its constitution, as far as he can obtain documents for that purpose, and send such history to Brother David Benedict, of Pawtucket, R. I., as soon as he can accomplish the work."

The article, if forwarded, must have miscarried, as no account of the modern affairs of this body have been received, and I have no Minutes later than 1844. It is situated in the counties of Bedford, Campbell, and Roanoke.

SECTION IV.

MIDDLE DIVISION.

Paterson Creek Association—Ebenezer do.—Valley—Greenbrier—New River—Washington—Lebanon.

In this Division I include all the Associations in the great valley which lies between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains, and also in the mountain districts. The extensive territory embraced in this central portion of Virginia, begins with Maryland on the north, and runs in a south-western direction the whole width of the State, to North Carolina on the south. I shall begin at the upper end, and take the Associations, as much as possible, in a geographical connection.

PATERSON'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1827, and is, I believe, the most northern community of our denomination in the division now under review; one of the churches is in Alleghany Co., Md. No accounts of it, either historical or statistical, have I been able to obtain for more than ten years past, when its number of members did not amount to two hundred.

EBENEZER ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1828, with ten churches, which were dismissed for the purpose, from the Shiloh fraternity, formerly called Culpepper. This took off one-third of the churches from the mother body. The measure was adopted by mutual agreement. The Blue Ridge became the dividing line, and the body was formed at the west of it.⁵

This community contains eleven churches, mostly small, and between three and four hundred members. It is in the counties of Page, Shenandoah, Rockingham, Pendleton, and Hardy. The ministers named as pastors in the last Minutes, were Rev. Messrs. A. C. Booten, J. Jenkins, R. Garrett, C. Keyser and J. Duval.

MOUNT CARMEL CHURCH, A. C. *Booten* pastor, is the largest in this Association.⁶

VALLEY ASSOCIATION

Was formed from old Strawberry, in 1841; it began with 16 churches, and 1000 members. A. C. Dempsey, J. N. Johnson, C. Tyree, J. G. Thompson, and W. H. Hayhurst, took the lead in getting up this new interest.⁷

"The Natural Bridge of Virginia is about the local centre of this Association. The Association nearest is the Strawberry, 30 miles south-east of us, the other side of the Blue Ridge. The Greenbrier, on the N. W., is in the valley (or middle section) of Virginia, at a distance of 60 or 70 miles.⁸

* * * * "This valley was settled about 100 years ago, by emigrants, via Pennsylvania from the north of Ireland, and Germany. Most of them were Scotch, and Irish Presbyterians, who have maintained their preponderance. From Lexington down to Winchester, there is but one baptist church (at Harrisonburg), and that was formed, I think, last year." * * * *

This communication from Mr. Brown, contains all the information I have obtained relative to this young community, except what I gather from their

⁵ Letter of Wm. Slaughter, Jun., Esq., clerk of the Shiloh Association.

⁶ In the Minutes of 1845, it reported 113; Hawks-bill, C. Keyser, 96.

⁷ Communication from Rev. J. Newton Brown, of Lexington, 1847.

⁸ The *Natural Bridge* over Cedar Creek, is twelve miles south of Lexington, and is a great curiosity. The river runs through a chasm which is 90 feet wide at the top. The sides are 250 feet high, and almost perpendicular. The bridge is a huge rock thrown across this chasm at the top. It is 60 feet wide, and covered with earth and trees, and forms a sublime spectacle when beheld from the margin of the creek.—*Morse's Gazetteer*.

⁹ Letter of Rev. J. N. Brown, of Lexington, to the author, 1847.

Minutes, which are deficient in some material points,—the ministers are not distinguished from the other delegates, nor are the counties named against the churches. Some of them I gather from the places where their sessions were held, and other incidental notices are in Botetourt and Rockbridge.

The church called *Cowpasture* is the largest in this body.¹⁰

GREENBRIER ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1807, of but four churches, all of them young and small.

The origin of the baptists in this region is thus given, in documents referred to below:¹

“Early in the year 1777, Elder John Alderson, who became an apostle in western Virginia, settled on the ground where this Association arose, while it was in a new and uncultivated condition in every point of view.”

“On reaching Jackson’s river, he learned that the Indians had attacked the house of Col. James Graham, in Greenbrier, and had killed one of the family, and taken another prisoner; in consequence of which he remained there some two or three months, reaching the place of destination some time in October.² His first location was in Jerrett’s fort, on Wolf creek, now Munroe county. Soon after, he settled on the bank of Greenbrier river, where he opened a farm, and often followed the plough with a gun swung from his shoulder. In a little time he was enabled to collect together as many as twelve members, himself and wife included. They considered themselves as a branch of the Lynville Creek church, in Rockingham Co., of which Mr. Alderson had been pastor, but transacted business as a separate body. On the 24th of November, 1781, they were regularly constituted into a church, called the ‘Greenbrier Baptist Church,’ and the following year they connected themselves with the Ketockton Association.

“At this time the members were very much scattered over the country, some living more than twenty miles from the location of the church. Agreeable with an order of the church, the pastor, in company with other members designated, held church meetings in different sections. Occasionally, such meetings were held at Second Creek Gap, in Big Levels, above Lewisburg, and on New river.

“Notwithstanding the members were so dispersed, measures were taken to build a house for public worship as early as June, 1783; and in May following, the ground on which the Greenbrier Baptist meeting-house now stands was fixed upon as a suitable location. In July following, the meeting-house was so nearly completed as to be used for public worship. This was the first meeting-house in all this part of Virginia.”

Such was the introduction of this apostle of the baptists in western Virginia.³ The Indian depredations above referred to, continued a number of years; the inhabitants, for their mutual protection, mostly resided in forts; and from one to another, protected by a small guard through the woods, this zealous and laborious minister traveled in pursuit of his dangerous and arduous vocation. In some of the forts he was received with kindness and heard with attention, while in others, the rough mountaineers, notwithstanding their perilous condition, threatened to exclude him from their rude defenses, and leave him exposed to the merciless savages, who were continually prowling around them. Such a barbarous policy, however, was never carried into effect.

Under all the disadvantages of such a peculiar location, and amidst all the dangers and privations of a pioneer life on a mountainous and most rugged frontier for seven long years, Mr. Alderson labored on without ever seeing one minister of his own order, and but very few of any other.

At length, Elders James Johnson, and Josiah Osbourne came to his aid, and by these three ministers, the Greenbrier Association was formed; James Ellison and Edward Hughes, were soon after added to the number of this little band of baptists elders; the three last of whom were raised up in the newly formed churches in this region.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 213; Natural Bridge, 189; Zion’s Hill, 161; Fincastle, 154; Catawba, 150.

¹ Historical sketch of the Greenbrier Association, prepared by Joseph Alderson, Esq., the present moderator, at the request of the body.—*Semple’s History, Taylor’s Biography of Virginia baptist ministers.*

² Mr. Alderson had made three visits to this country previous to his removal to it, and baptized three persons, two of whom, were John Griffith and Mrs. Keeny.

³ The seat of this body is 250 miles west of Richmond.

Elder Alderson continued his ministry in this wide field of labor about forty years, and closed a long life in the full confidence of his brethren, in 1816.

Greenbrier for many years at first became a nursery for the western States, which made such frequent drafts on their numbers, that although they were favored with continual additions, they but little more than held their own. But their branches were extended until, in about ten years from their commencement, they had gone down the river Kanawa; and their branches reached to the farthest extremities of the State, and came in contact with the Ohio and Kentucky lines.

This Association very early became identified with missionary operations; first with the Triennial Convention, and next with the General Association of Virginia, while as yet the whole region of country was considered missionary ground. A reciprocity of feeling and action has long been maintained between this well regulated branch, and the General Association, and probably in few parts of the State has the General body seen their efforts and disbursements operate with more decided success.

Rev. Josiah Osbourne,⁴ as has already been mentioned, was one of the three ministers by whom this body was organized; he was also the moderator of the first meeting, and often afterwards officiated as clerk.

The decidedly missionary character of this Association, is ascribed to a visit made there by Rev. Luther Rice, in 1816. The venerable Alderson received him with the greatest cordiality and joy, and introduced him to the body then in session; and from that period it has maintained a missionary spirit.⁵

This body was never large, compared with some of the Associations in the middle and in the eastern districts, but it has always been in a sound and progressive condition, and now holds a rank among the most decided friends of all the principles and institutions which their brethren delight to promote.

Their ministers at present (1845) consist of ten; six ordained and four licentiates, viz.: Messrs. Remley, Ellison, Margrave, Woodson, Chandler, Bibb, Alderson, Wood, Corron, Woodson, and Bragg.

Rev. John Spotts, a ruling elder of the Presbyterian church of Lewisburg, within the bounds of this Association, in 1831 united with the baptists; soon after he became a minister, and for upwards of seven years was one of their highly esteemed and useful men. He died at the age of forty-six, April, 1838.

Mr. Spotts was a distinguished promoter of Sunday schools, both as a Presbyterian and a baptist. He was the first who made a successful effort in this cause in this part of Virginia, and for sixteen years he was a zealous and successful superintendent in this department. And it is a remarkable fact, that no less than twenty-one of the scholars who had been under his care, became ministers of the gospel, one of whom was Rev. Mr. Shuck, now a missionary in China. In this remote region originated this successful missionary. By the Lewisburg church he was licensed to preach, and in the Seminary now called Richmond college, his studies were pursued preparatory to his present employment.

Mr. Spotts was also distinguished for an early attention to the temperance cause; and in 1828, only four years after the formation of the first temperance society in the U. S., he was president of an institution of this kind in Lewisburg.⁶

This body, after having been drawn upon at different points for materials for new organizations, at present is confined mostly to the county of the same name; some of its churches appear to be in Monroe and Nicholas, and perhaps some others. There is a want of explicitness on this subject in their Minutes.

In the Minutes for 1844, is a table which exhibits in different columns the

⁴ This was the author of a treatise on baptism entitled *David and Goliath*, referred to in my article on baptism.

⁵ Historical Sketches, &c.

⁶ The biography of this distinguished man, as well as that of his father, will be more fully given in my biographical work.

progress of this old body, for 43 years, viz. : from 1801, the time of its full organization to that date, showing for each year the following items—*At what place it convened—who preached the introductory sermon—the Moderators—No. of Churches—do. baptized—total.* It began with 177; had increased to about four hundred : when the *Teay's Valley* was formed it was reduced to 148, but in a few years it regained its numerical strength, and notwithstanding all the drafts upon it in favor of new interests, has steadily increased to the present time. The highest number baptized in one year was 149—that was in 1832.

The moderators had been Josiah Osbourne, James Johnston, John Alderson, James Ellison, Robert Teasdale, Johnston Keaton, Eli Ball, Wm. C. Ligon, John Spotts, and Joseph Alderson. The two Aldersons, father and son, presided over this body twenty-two years.

THE GREENBRIER CHURCH, *L. A. Alderson* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

NEW RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a colony from the Strawberry, in 1793. The Blue Ridge was the dividing line, and the churches in this then new formation were all to the west of it. This community was small at its commencement, and never appears to have attained to any considerable numerical strength.

Its churches are in the counties of Floyd, Grayson, and Patrick. I have seen no Minutes of this body later than 1844; at that time they amounted to 16. In none of them did the membership amount to one hundred.¹

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION.

This body originated from the Holston, in Tenn., near the line of which it is situated, and was organized in 1811. The ministers on this ground at that time, and who promoted the planting of it, were George Brown, Thomas Colby, Edward Kelly, David Jessee, Stephen Wheeler, Jos. Foley, Alonzo Kizer, and William Lazell.

This Association occupied an important position in this lower region of the State for a long course of years, and went on with harmony and prosperity, until a portion of their members attempted to mould them to the *new effort* policy; this miserable plan threw them into trouble, and in the end led to the formation of a new interest, by the name of the

LEBANON ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from May 1846; the Convention, which met for consultation on the expediency of attempting a new organization out of the old community, set forth their reasons for their doings in the following

CIRCULAR

To the churches which I shall here insert. It will serve as a specimen of the rending and distracting course which has been pursued in too many places in the south and west.

*Dear Brethren:—*A crisis has arrived in the history of the Washington Association. At its late meeting, the Constitution has been wantonly violated, by establishing a new test, which we consider contrary to the word of God in its character, and intolerant and oppressive in its operation. The 6th Article of the Constitution says:—'New Churches may be admitted into the Union, who shall petition by Letter and Delegates; and if found upon examination to be orthodox and orderly, shall be received by the Association, and manifested by the Moderator giving the right hand of fellowship.' Such a Church presented itself at its late meeting. It was admitted that it had been regularly constituted of members in good standing, and they set forth, in their communication to the Association, a declaration of those doctrines which have been adopted by that body as orthodox. Yet, strange as it may appear, this Church (the Church recently organized at Marion), was rejected, and its members refused a seat in the Association, solely because the Church favored missionary operations, and its Pastor,

⁷ In 1846, it reported 155; Hopewell, 147; Red Sulphur, 145; Guyandotte, 100.

(Elder N. C. Baldwin), had received an appointment from the General Association of Virginia. This must appear, to every unprejudiced mind, a palpable violation of the Constitution. And it is certainly known that, in the former actions of the Association, missionary or anti-missionary sentiments have never been known as a test of fellowship, or a condition of its privileges. In addition to this, all correspondents from sister Associations, who favored missionary enterprises, were on that account rejected. The Holston Association, from which this body originated, and with whom an uninterrupted correspondence has been maintained ever since the Washington Association was first organized, sent an affectionate Letter of Correspondence, by the hands of several well known brethren, who have always, before this time, been most cordially greeted. These brethren were rejected, because they, and the body to which they belong, were identified with missionary operations. The General Agent of the General Association of Virginia reported himself as a correspondent from that body, and was rejected on the same account.

"On the other hand, a letter was presented from the Mountain Association, in which that body arrogantly required the Washington Association to dissolve its connection with the Holston Association and the Greenbrier Association, and all other bodies which have any connection with the benevolent enterprises of the day, or else they (the Mountain Association) will maintain no further correspondence with them. This letter and these correspondents were received, and a correspondence continued. This is not all. A correspondence was also opened with the New River Association, which it is well known has long since declared non-fellowship with all those who are engaged in the missionary enterprise, and is distinguished for its inveterate hostility to almost every thing that is calculated to elevate the human character, and better the condition of our race. While these acts were done by a majority of the Association present on this occasion, we are confident that it is not a representation of the sentiments and wishes of a majority of our Churches. And we consider that the action of this body is a virtual declaration of non-fellowship with those of our own Association, who favor those enterprises, on account of which the corresponding brethren were rejected. Being deeply grieved on account of these unconstitutional and intolerant measures, a number of the brethren convened at Lebanon, as you see from the above Minutes, for the purpose of adopting measures for the restoration of peace to our Churches, and the maintenance of our rights as men and as Christians.

"And now, dear brethren, we have laid before you our grievances, entertaining the assurance that there will be found many Churches and brethren whose sympathies are with us, and who will promptly respond to our call, by sending up a delegation to the meeting proposed above. We are assured that there are many, and we believe a large majority of the churches, who will not consent to rudely tear asunder long cherished bonds of union and affection with sister Associations and with Ministers of our own body, simply because they are doing something to send the Light of Life into the dark corners of our own country, and to the benighted heathen. And we trust that there are very many, who will not suffer themselves to be hindered in their co-operation in this glorious work of Christian philanthropy, by intermeddlers, who not only do nothing themselves, but deride and oppose those who would work for God. We earnestly request that you seriously and prayerfully consider these things. Consider the claims that the cause of our Master, and the wants and woes of a perishing world have upon the Christian Church, and take such action in this matter as duty dictates.

"Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.

"Your brethren and companions in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ.

"NOAH C. BALDWIN,
"ELISHA MARTIN,
"LEWIS B. DULANY. } Committee."

The first session of the new institution, which the brethren were obliged to form, or leave the ground to be given up to the arbitrary dictation of the opposers of all benevolent societies, was held in Sept. following. It began with eleven churches, five ministers, and upwards of five hundred members. The old body, at the time of the division, contained about fifteen hundred members. I have not had their Minutes since Sept., 1845, but it must of course be minus that number. The largest at that time was

CASTLE WOOD, Russel Co., *David Jessee, Sen.*, pastor.⁸

RED HILL, Scott Co., *E. Martin* pastor, with others have gone off wholly, or in part, in the new organization.

⁸ It then reported 225; New Garden, J. Wallis, 119; Copper Creek, 112; St. Clair's Bottom, 103; all the others are under 100. The largest church in the new connection, is Castle Wood, 110; as this is less than one-half of the former number, I infer that there has been a division at home, in this, and probably in a number of the other churches.

Lewis B. Dulany, Esq., of Estillville, Scott Co., is my principal correspondent for this region of the State; he has given me a minute account of the colored members in the old Washington community as it stood before the division, amounting, in all, to but 76, out of upwards of 1500. Some of the churches had but one or two, a number none at all.

SECTION IV.

WESTERN DIVISION.

*Union Association—Broad Run—Parkersburg—Teay's Valley—Pocat-
tico—Tygart's Valley—Indian Creek—General Association—Closing re-
marks—Correspondents.*

This Western Division of Virginia, although of very great extent as to its geographical boundaries, yet the numerical strength in it is small compared with that on the east of the mountains.

I shall begin in what is sometimes denominated *N. W. Virginia*, near the Pennsylvania line; here the denomination seems first to have made their settle-ment, and gathered the first churches; from this point, they have branched out in different directions until they have planted their principles and institutions in almost all parts of this end of the State.

What has been said of western Pennsylvania beyond the mountains, three-fourths of a cen-tury since, as to its wild and desolate condition, the difficulties and dangers to be encountered from the savage cruelty of the aborigines of the country, and its almost entire destitution of any religious, and especially baptist institutions, will apply to the portion of this ancient commonwealth now under consideration. And, to the influence of John and James Sut-ton, John Corbly, and their associates, whose history has been given among the pioneers of western Pennsylvania, are the baptists indebted for laying the foundation of the first churches of the order in this flourishing section of the State.⁹

UNION ASSOCIATION.

Was formed in 1804. This is the oldest and most efficient body in this re-gion. At its organization it consisted of the ten following churches, all of which had been dismissed for the purpose, from the old Red Stone, of Penn-sylvania. Their names were, Pricket's Creek, Buchanan, Little Bethel, Sandy Creek, Salem Union, Olive Branch, Wellsfork, and Gethsemane, in all of which were but a little more than one hundred members.

Their ministers, at first, were Isaac Morris, John Dunham, Joshua Hinckman, and Phineas Wells; C. Huff, J. Gawthorp, J. Currey, Wm. and J. Davidson, L. Howell, C. Wheeler, C. Keys, C. Parker, T. Swiger, J. Cather, J. Wright-man, J. Thomas, Thos. Martin, J. J. Waldo, J. M. Chapman, J. W. B. Tisdale, J. H. Goss, P. W. Holden, were their coadjutors or successors in this new field of labor. Most of these men are still alive.

Some of the churches of this community are the oldest in the country; of a few of them only can I give any historical sketches.

SIMPSON'S CREEK CHURCH is the oldest in this community, having been formed in 1774.

Rev. John Sutton was their first pastor. Since him, they have had *Rev. Messrs. Isaac Edwards, Joseph Davis, John Corbly, Phineas Wells, Jesse W. Goss, A. J. Garrett, and M. Maddox.*

PRICKET'S CREEK and BUCHANAN are the next in age, both having been or-ganized in 1786.

WESTFORK was formed in 1801. J. Hinckman was one of their early ministers.

Rev. J. L. Howell is their present pastor.

BEULAH, in Pruntytown, was formed in 1818. This is the seat of Rector College, a young institution which arose out of an education society; it was organized a few years since, within the bounds of this Association. This church is the largest in this body.¹⁰

⁹ Letter of *Rev. M. Maddox*, to the author, who quotes as his authority the oral testimony of *William Powers, Esq.*, one of the first settlers of North-west Virginia, who is still alive.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 196; Union, —, 180; Westfork, 107; Harmony, A. J. Garrett, the same. All the others are under 100.

678 BROAD RUN AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS IN W. VIRGINIA.

Rev. C. Huff, late pastor of this church, came into office in 1833, in which he continued a number of years. Before this, they had been supplied by elders Goss, Bailey, Hinckman, and Currey.

Rev. C. Wheeler, the president of the college, was its pastor in 1846.

Revival seasons have often been experienced by this body, as well as other churches in this community, and a number of ministerial sons have been nurtured within her bounds.

A number of other ministers reside here, who officiate at the college or with the neighboring churches.

In 1809, according to Semple, this Association was in the counties of Harrison, Randolph, and Monongahela; new counties have since been formed, and considerable changes by dismissions and additions have taken place in its boundaries, and no pains is taken on the Minutes as to counties; but, from what I can spell out, Preston, and probably some other counties, embrace a portion of the churches.

BROAD RUN ASSOCIATION

Is a branch of the Union, and was organized in 1835, of twelve churches, and about 700 members. The principal ministers at the time of its constitution, were three brothers by the name of Holden: Alexander C., Benjamin, and Peter W.; Anthony J. Garret, Joseph Barnet, and James S. Griffin.

Since then there has been added to their number, Matthew Maddox, Abram Haynes, Samuel Alton, Carr Bailey, Timothy Maxon, George W. Dacon, and J. Wooster.

A number of ministers of this body have been under the patronage of the General Association of Virginia, from the time of its constitution; the good effect of which has been experienced in the rise of new churches, and the enlargement of those which were already established.

BROAD RUN CHURCH, organized in 1804, is the oldest in this community.

Rev. J. J. Waldo was its first pastor, and continued in office upwards of thirty years.

“Although an ordinary preacher in point of talents, he was greatly beloved by those who attended his ministry, and especially the members of the church; and his congregations were always large. He was renowned for his activity in stirring up the members to their duty, and exciting them to a healthy action in their holy vocation.”¹

This church has been the mother of others, and a nursery of ministers. From it have been set off, wholly or in part, Freeman's Creek, Elam, and Hacker's Creek; and she has sent out into the ministry Rev. Messrs. J. Bailey, B. Holden, A. J. Garret, and M. Maddox.

One worthy old deacon is the only member yet alive, who united in its constitution.

PARKERSBURG ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1821; the town from which it took its name is situated on the Ohio River, in the county of Wood, and probably some others. Although this body has stood so many years, yet its numerical strength is very small. The ministers are Geo. C. Sedwick, Enoch Rector, Henry Dye, Wm. C. Barrett, and Isaac McDermond.

PARKERSBURG CHURCH, 1819, *Geo. C. Sedwick* pastor, is the largest in this body, and the only one whose membership amounts to 100. The churches generally are of recent origin.

TEAYS' VALLEY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1812, by a division of the Greenbrier, then very feeble and young. But the remote situation of a number of the churches, and the

¹ Letter of Rev. M. Maddox to the author.

great inconvenience of attending the annual sessions, furnished arguments with the distant brethren, which finally prevailed, although much against the wishes of elder Alderson, the founder of this old institution.

The whole number of churches was but twelve, seven of which went off with the new body.

This Association is still farther westward, and is in the counties of Logan, Cabell, &c.

POCOTALICO ASSOCIATION.

This is another of the small bodies in this wide spread field, which split off from the Teays' Valley in 1835, on the principles of benevolence. The chief cause assigned for their separation was, that the mother body had become a member of the *General Association* of Virginia. It is in the counties of Kanawha, and some adjoining ones.

DAVIS' CREEK, is the largest church in this body. In 1845 it reported 152; the others are generally small.

The ministers in this body appear to be Wm. Martin, J. Canterbury, A. Wallace, and W. Atkins.

TYGART'S VALLEY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838, of a few churches which withdrew from the Union and Broad Run communities, from disaffection towards their principles and measures as to benevolent operations. The churches are in the counties of Randolph, Barbour, Taylor, Harrison, Doddridge, and Ritchie. The whole amount of membership was 235 in 1845.³

INDIAN CREEK ASSOCIATION.

All I know of such an institution was communicated in a letter from Rev. Eli Ball, Oct. 1843.

"A few weeks ago, there was a new Association formed in Monroe Co., in Western Virginia. It is called Indian Creek, and consists of three churches that formerly belonged to the New River Association. It has one ordained minister, elder Johnson Keaton, and is an anti-mission body."

I have had intimations of a *Zoar Association* in this State, and thought it was located in the gore of Virginia, which runs up between Pa. and the Ohio river; but Mr. Maddox assures me, he knows of no such body in that region; he thinks it must be east of the Blue Ridge, if there is such an institution in the State.

Recapitulation of the Baptist affairs in North-Western Virginia.

Rev. Matthew Maddox, one of the pastors of the Broad Run Association, and J. Davidson, at that time clerk of the Union Association, have been my principal guide, in what I have said of these bodies, and most of the other smaller communities in this western region. They have taken much pains to supply me with historical materials. Rev. Mr. Wheeler, president of Rector College, of which the Associations here seem to have an especial care, has also shown much interest in my undertaking; these brethren, and a considerable number of the clerks here, mostly of the old Union, have given sketches of their respective churches, so that, would my limits permit, I could give detailed accounts of most all the churches in N. W. Virginia, in as particular a manner as Semple has done in his history of the Virginia baptists up to his time. Mr. Maddox has confirmed all the accounts I have given of Western Pa., and has shown that in early times the whole western territory in both States was one great missionary field, which was traversed by the same ministers, and that the Suttons, Corbley, and others were the planters of the early churches in both; his remarks on the opposers of missionary efforts are somewhat severe; this is not strange when we consider how much the whole region is indebted to ministerial services of this kind, either by the appointments of the General Association, or by the self-supported efforts of the hardy and laborious ministers on the ground.

³ Tygarts' Valley was, formerly, the name of a town in Randolph Co., which is now called Beverly.—*Morse's Gazetteer.*

BAPTIST GENERAL ASSOCIATION.

This great confederacy, although under another name, is similar in its nature and operations to the State Conventions in other parts of the country ; its full history cannot now be given ; it is of great importance to the interests of the denomination in this great State, and must in time embody their united strength, which at present is by no means the case, even of those who *profess* to be friendly to its principles and designs.

WESTERN ASSOCIATION.

This body is intended to combine the energies of the churches and Associations in missionary and other benevolent plans in the western regions of the State. The Minutes of 1846, being its third session, are before me, and exhibit a good degree of vigor and enterprise among the ultra montane brethren.

CLOSING REMARKS. The history of our denomination in this great territory, scanty and imperfect as it may appear, has cost me no small amount of labor. I have made the number of Associations greater than our statistical compilers have generally done, but they are all there, and with but few exceptions, the Minutes of them are before me. This is the first State we have come to where that portion of our denomination called *old school*, or *anti-mission* people, appear with any considerable force ; and here they are but a feeble band, compared with those who *profess* to be the friends and supporters of evangelical efforts and moral reform.

This chapter on the Virginia baptists, with all my efforts at abridgment and compression, has swelled much beyond the limits I at first assigned to it, and yet it seems as if I had but glanced at the history of our community in this ancient commonwealth. They are getting matters in a favorable train for future enterprises, which I should judge they had made up their minds to pursue with redoubled vigor and activity.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS. As I have said relative to all the other States, all historical sketches of these interests must be reserved for my next volume : I will merely say, we have two seminaries under college charters, which are working their way into being as colleges *de facto*, as well as in name. Their names and locations have already been given.

Besides the great body of associated baptists, many of the other communities, who adopt essentially baptist views as to gospel ordinances and religious freedom, exist here in great numbers. Those called Reformers, Disciples, or Campbellites, probably out-number all the rest. A summary account of all I can learn of them will be related under appropriate heads.

Correspondents. I may name Eli Ball, J. B. Taylor, David McGhee, C. T. Burley, L. W. Allen, J. R. Scott, Samuel Dorset, J. Henshall, H. Frazer, William Slaughter, R. Prior, Geo. Love, H. Keeling, in *Eastern Virginia*. *Middle* : L. B. Dulany, J. Remley, L. A. Alderson, J. N. Brown. *Western* : M. Maddox, J. Davidson, C. Wheeler, J. Bradley, A. Campbell. Also, the clerks of a number of the churches in the Union Association, as S. D. Norman, J. Martin, T. Pool, J. Hayhurst, P. Britton, T. Poulton, and Geo. Lake.

Some of these correspondents have taken no small pains to collect and supply me with historical materials.

In addition to these, Mr. Sands, publisher of the *Religious Herald*, Richmond, has been very punctual to publish my notices in my circulars, and spare me Minutes from his own files, which have afforded me material aid, and enabled me to be more minute in my details of *all* the Associations than I could otherwise have been.

CHAPTER XVI.

SECTION I.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Early History of the baptists in the State—The first company, in 1727—Second company, in 1742—Third company, in 1756—The early movements of the New England New-Lights, or Separates—Sandy Creek Church—Do. Association.

THE increase of our denomination in the North State by periods, was as follows: about the middle of the 18th century, there were sixteen churches of *General Baptists*; the amount of membership is not named; these original institutions, as we shall see, in process of time, either became extinct or were moulded to the Particular plan.

In 1790, according to Asplund's Register, the number of churches was 94; the preachers, ord., 77; lic., 45; and members, a little over 7000.

In 1812, according to my tables, the churches amounted to about two hundred, and the membership to thirteen thousand. At that time, there were eleven Associations: the number of these bodies at present is a little over thirty, and the churches of both the missionary and anti-missionary parties are about six hundred.

The Associations I shall describe in my usual manner, after I have given an account of the early movement of our denomination in this State.

FIRST COMPANY IN THE LOW COUNTRY.

According to Morgan Edwards' account, there were some individual baptists in this State as early as 1695; but it appears that the first church which ever existed within its bounds, was gathered by one Paul Palmer, about the year 1727, at a place called Perquimans, on Chowan river, towards the north-east corner of the State. Mr. Palmer is said to have been a native of Maryland, was baptized at Welsh Tract, in Delaware, by Owen Thomas, the pastor of the church in that place; was ordained in Connecticut, but was some time in New Jersey, and then in Maryland; he at last moved to North Carolina, where he gathered the church above mentioned, with which he continued, not, however, without some difficulties, until his death. He appears to have been the instrument of doing some good, but was not so happy as to leave a good character behind him. Mr. John Comer, of Newport, R. I., maintained a correspondence with him for a number of years, and frequently makes mention of him in his MS. Journal, in respectful terms.¹

Not long after Palmer settled in North Carolina, one Joseph Parker,² who was probably one of his disciples, began to preach in the same region, and though Palmer died before, yet Parker lived and continued on his old plan till

¹ I found one of Mr. Palmer's letters to Mr. Comer, dated 1729, among Mr. Backus's papers, which, with Mr. Comer's journal, have helped me to a number of dates and articles, which I could not find elsewhere.

² I find, in Mr. Comer's journal, mention made of one of Mr. Palmer's letters, which was dated 1729; which stated that the church which was gathered there two years before, at that time consisted of thirty-two members. This letter was signed by twelve brethren, by the names of Parker, Copeland, Brinkley, Parke, Darker, Welch, Evans, and Jordan. There were three Parkers at this time, two by the name of John, and one of Joseph, who were probably the men above referred to.

after the formation, and also the renovation of the Kehukee Association, which will soon be described.

SECOND COMPANY, IN 1742, AT KEHUKEE.

About the year 1742, one William Sojourner, who is said to have been a most excellent man and useful minister, removed, with many of his brethren, from Berkley, in Virginia, and settled on Kehukee Creek, in the county of Halifax, about one hundred and twenty miles north-west of Newbern, and the same year planted a church in that place, which continues to the present day. This church has seen prosperous days, and has been a mother to many others, the number and names of which I am not able to give.

Most of the baptists in North Carolina are said to have emigrated from the church of Burley, in Virginia; but by the labors of Palmer, Parker, and Sojourner, and some other preachers who were raised up in the parts, so many were brought to embrace their sentiments, that they, by about the year 1752, had increased to sixteen churches.

These churches had an annual interview, or yearly meeting, in which they inspected or regulated the general concerns of their community. These people were all *General Baptists*, and those of them who emigrated from England, came out from that community there.

Although this people maintained a strict adherence to baptist principles, so far as baptism was concerned, yet in process of time they fell into a loose and neglectful manner as to their rules of church discipline, and so continued until more Orthodox opinions and a more rigid economy in their ecclesiastical affairs were introduced among them, which took place about the year 1751, and was caused partly by the preaching of Robert Williams, of Welsh Neck, S. C., and partly by the conversation and efforts of a layman, commonly called the sley-maker, whose name was William Wallis, but chiefly by the labors of Rev. John Gano, who visited them in the summer 1754, and of Benjamin Miller, and Peter P. Vanhorn, who went amongst them some time in the year after. Mr. Gano was sent out by the Philadelphia Association, with general and indefinite instructions to travel in the southern States, &c. He, on his return, represented the melancholy condition of this people to the Association, who appointed Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn for the purpose of instructing and reforming them. Mr. Gano appears to have shaken the old foundation, and began the preparation of the materials, which Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn organized into regular churches. This visit is thus described by Mr. Edwards:—

“Mr. Gano, on his arrival, sent to the ministers, requesting an interview with them, which they declined, and appointed a meeting among themselves to consult what to do. Mr. Gano hearing of it, went to their meeting, and addressed them in words to this effect: ‘I have desired a visit from you, which, as a brother and a stranger, I had a right to expect, but as ye have refused, I give up my claim and am come to pay you a visit.’ With that, he ascended into the pulpit and read for his text the following words: ‘*Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?*’ This text he managed in such a manner as to make some afraid of him, and others ashamed of their shyness. Many were convinced of errors touching faith and conversion, and submitted to examination. One minister hearing this (who stood well with himself), went to be examined, and intimated to his people, he should return triumphant. Mr. Gano heard him out, and then turning to his companion, said, ‘I profess, brother, this will not do: this man has the one thing needful to seek.’ Upon which, the person examined hastened home, and upon being asked how he came off? replied ‘The Lord have mercy upon you, for this northern minister has put a *mene tekél* upon me!’”

By the labors of Mr. Gano, and also of Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn, a great work was effected among this people, which consisted not merely in the important business of reforming their creed and purifying their churches, but also in reviving the power of godliness amongst the erroneous and lukewarm professors, and in the conviction and conversion of many others. And what was left unfinished by them, was undertaken and carried on with a laudable zeal by the ministers among themselves, some of whom were converted by their means, and most of whom caught, in a good degree, their spirit, and imitated their examples: insomuch, that before the year 1766, all the ministers (and

they were considerably numerous), except the two Parkers, Joseph and William, and a Mr. Winfield, and all the churches, excepting those under their care, which were not more than two or three, had embraced the principles of the reformation.

THIRD COMPANY OF SEPARATES FROM NEW ENGLAND.

In the account of the Virginia baptists, an incidental reference is had to Stearns and his company passing through the State on their way to the south. It may be proper here to observe, that most of the Separates had strong faith in the immediate teachings of the spirit in special instructions as to the path of duty.

"Stearns, listening to some of these instructions from heaven, as he esteemed them, conceived himself called upon to move far to the westward, to execute a great and extensive work. Such were the impressions under which this distinguished man left his New England home for the long and laborious journey which resulted in such abundant usefulness."

Mr. Stearns was a native of Boston, Mass., but was baptized after he joined the New Lights, in 1751, by Wait Palmer, and soon after was ordained by Palmer and Joshua Morse, in Tolland, Conn.

In 1754, he and a few of his members commenced the important mission. He halted first at Opeckon, in Berkley Co., in the upper part of Virginia, where he found a baptist church under the care of Rev. John Garrard, who received him kindly. Here also he met his brother-in-law, Rev. Daniel Marshall, who was also a Separate, but as yet in the pedobaptist connection, and of whom much will be said in the history of the southern baptists, just returned from his mission among the Indians, and who, after his arrival at this place, had become a baptist. They joined companies, and settled for a while on Cacapon, in Hampshire Co., about thirty miles from Winchester. Here, Stearns not meeting with his expected success, felt restless. Some of his friends had moved to North Carolina; he received letters from these, informing him that preaching was greatly desired by the people of that country; that in some instances they had rode 40 miles to hear one sermon. He and his party once more got under way, and traveling about 200 miles, came to Sandy Creek, in Guilford county, North Carolina. Here he took up his permanent residence. The number of families in Stearns' company were eight, and the number of communicants 16, viz.: Shubeal Stearns and wife, Peter Stearns and wife, Ebenezer Stearns and wife, Shubeal Stearns, Jun., and wife, Daniel Marshall and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Enos Stimson and wife, Jonathan Polk and wife.³

As soon as they arrived, they built them a little meeting-house, and these 16 persons formed themselves into a church, and chose Shubeal Stearns for their pastor, who had, for his assistants at that time, Daniel Marshall and Joseph Breed, neither of whom were ordained.

The inhabitants about this little colony of baptists, although brought up in the Christian religion, were grossly ignorant of its essential principles. Having the form of godliness, they knew nothing of its power. Stearns and his party of course brought strange things to their ears.

The doctrine of the new birth, as insisted on by these zealous advocates for evangelical religion, they could not comprehend. Having always supposed that religion consisted in nothing more than the practice of its outward duties, they could not comprehend how it should be necessary to feel conviction and conversion; and to be able to ascertain the time and place of one's conversion, was, in their estimation, wonderful indeed. These points were all strenuously contended for by the new preachers. But their manner of preaching was, if possible, much more novel than their doctrines. The Separates in New England had acquired a very warm and pathetic address, accompanied by strong gestures and a singular tone of voice. Being often deeply affected themselves

³ Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists.

when preaching, corresponding affections were felt by their pious hearers, which was frequently expressed by tears, trembling, screams, and exclamations of grief and joy. All these they brought with them into their new habitation, at which the people were greatly astonished, having never seen anything on this wise before. Many mocked, but the power of God attending them, many also trembled. In process of time, some of the inhabitants became converts, and bowed obedience to the Redeemer's sceptre. These uniting their labors with the others, a powerful and extensive work commenced, and Sandy Creek church soon swelled from 16 to 606 members.

Daniel Marshall, though not possessed of great talents, was indefatigable in his labors. He sallied out into the adjacent neighborhoods, and planted the Redeemer's standard in many of the strongholds of Satan. At Abbott's Creek, about thirty miles from Sandy Creek, the gospel prospered so largely, that they petitioned the mother church for a constitution, and for the ordination of Mr. Marshall as their pastor. The church was constituted; Mr. Marshall⁴ accepted the call, and went to live among them. His ordination, however, was a matter of some difficulty. It required, upon their principle, a plurality of elders to constitute a presbytery. Mr. Stearns was the only ordained minister among them. In this dilemma, they were informed that there were some Regular baptist preachers living on Pedee river, (S. C.) To one⁴ of these Mr. Stearns applied, and requested him to assist him in the ordination of Mr. Marshall. This request he sternly refused, declaring that he held no fellowship with Stearns' party; that he believed them to be a disorderly set, suffering women to pray in public, and permitting every ignorant man to preach that chose; and that they encouraged noise and confusion in their meetings. Application was then made to Mr. Leadbetter, who was then pastor of the church on Lynch's Creek, Craven county, South Carolina, and who was a brother-in-law of Mr. Marshall. He and Mr. Stearns ordained Mr. Marshall to the care of this new church. The work of grace continued to spread, and several preachers were raised in North Carolina. Among others was James Read, who was afterwards very successful in Virginia. When he first began to preach he was very illiterate, not knowing how to read or write. His wife became his instructor, and he soon acquired learning sufficient to enable him to read the Scriptures.

While Marshall and Harris bent their courses, one to the north and the other to the south, Stearns maintained his station at Sandy Creek, where his labors were greatly blessed; he, however, often traveled a considerable distance in the country around, to assist in organizing and regulating the churches which he and his associates were instrumental in raising up. Thus the Separate Baptists were headed by three most distinguished men: distinguished not for human acquirements, but for purity of life, and godly simplicity, which they, amidst the shipwrecks of many, maintained to the end; and for a pious ardor and invincible boldness and perseverance in their Master's service. Other preachers were soon raised up under their ministry, whose zealous and abundant labors were crowned with great success; so that the Separates in a few years became truly a great people, and their churches were scattered over a country whose whole extent from north to south was about 500 miles; and Sandy Creek Church, the mother of them all, was not far from the centre of the two extremes.

"Very remarkable things (said Morgan Edwards in 1775) may be said of this church, worthy a place in *Gillis'* book, and inferior to no instance he gives of the modern success of the gospel in different parts of the world. It began with 16 souls, and in a short time increased to 606, spreading its branches to Deep River and Abbott's Creek, which branches are gone to other provinces, and most of the members of this church have followed them; insomuch that in 17 years, it is reduced from 606 to 14 souls.

"The cause of this dispersion was the civil commotions with which the State was affected at that time."

⁴ This minister was probably Rev. Nicholas Bodgegood, at that time pastor of the church at Welsh Tract.

The church at Little River was no less remarkable than the one already mentioned; for this was constituted in 1760, five years after the Sandy Creek, and in three years it increased from 5 to 500, and built five meeting-houses; but this church was also reduced by the provincial troubles and consequent dispersion of the inhabitants mentioned above.

"But to return,—Sandy Creek church is the mother of all the *Separate Baptists*. From this Zion went forth the word, and great was the company of those who published it. This church, in seventeen years, had spread her branches southward as far as Georgia; eastward, to the sea and Chesapeake bay; and northward, to the waters of the Potomac. It, in seventeen years, became mother, grand-mother, and great-grand-mother, to 42 churches, from which sprung 126 ministers, many of which are ordained, and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America; and if some have turned out bad, where is there a set of clergy that can throw the first stone, and say, 'we are all good.'"⁶

This statement was made by a very accurate historian, almost 80 years ago.

SANDY CREEK ASSOCIATION.

As this is the oldest Association in the State, and the fourth in the order of time in this country, it may be proper to go more into detail as to its history than we shall be able to do in the other bodies of this kind in this extensive State.

In the year 1758, three years after Stearns and his company settled at Sandy Creek, a few churches having been constituted, and these having a number of branches, which were fast maturing for churches, Stearns conceived that an Association composed of delegates from them all, would have a tendency to forward the great object of their exertions. For this purpose he visited every church and congregation, explained to them his contemplated plan, and induced them all to send delegates to his meeting-house in January, 1758, when an Association was formed, which was called *Sandy Creek*, and which continues to the present time; but it has experienced many vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity; and at one time, on account of exercising too much power over the churches, it became embarrassed in its movements, and very near to extinction.

For twelve years, all the *Separate Baptists* in Virginia, and the two Carolinas, continued in connection with this Association, which was generally held at no great distance from the place where it originated. All who could, traveled from its remote extremities, to attend its yearly sessions, which were conducted with great harmony, and afforded sufficient edification to induce them to undertake with cheerfulness these long and laborious journeys. By the means of these meetings, the gospel was carried into many new places, where the fame of the Baptists had previously spread; for great crowds attending from distant parts, mostly through curiosity, many became enamored with these extraordinary people, and petitioned the Association to send preachers into their neighborhoods. These petitions were readily granted, and the preachers as readily complied with the appointments. These people were so much engaged in their evangelical pursuits, that they had no time to spend in theological debates, nor were they very scrupulous about their mode of conducting their meetings. When assembled, their chief employment was preaching, exhortation, singing, and conversation about their various exertions in the Redeemer's service, the success which had attended them, and the new and prosperous scenes which were opening before them. These things so inflamed the hearts of the ministers, that they would leave the Association with a zeal and courage which no common obstacles could impede.

"At our first Association" (says the MS. of James Read, who was present), "we continued together three or four days. Great crowds of people attended, mostly through curiosity. The great power of God was among us. The preaching every day, seemed to be attended with God's blessing. We carried on our Association with sweet decorum and fellowship to the end. Then we took leave of one another, with many solemn charges from our reverend old father, Shubeal Stearns, to stand fast unto the end."

⁶ M. Edwards' History of the Baptists in North Carolina.

At their next Association they were visited by Rev. John Gano, who at that time resided in North Carolina, at a place called the Jersey Settlement. Mr. Gano was received by Stearns with great affection, but as there was at that time an unhappy shyness and jealousy between the *Regulars* and *Separates* by the others, he was treated with coldness and suspicion; and they even refused to invite him into their Association. But Mr. Gano had too much knowledge of mankind, humility and good nature, to be offended at this treatment. He continued awhile as a spectator of their proceedings, and then retired with a view of returning home. Stearns was much hurt and mortified with the shyness and incivility of his brethren, and, in the absence of Mr. Gano, expostulated with them on the matter, and made a proposition to invite him to preach with them. All were forward to invite him to preach, although they could not invite him to a seat in their Assembly. With their invitation he cheerfully complied, and his preaching, though not with the *New Light* tones and gestures, was in demonstration of the spirit and with power. He continued with them to the close of their session, and preached frequently much to their astonishment as well as edification. Their hearts were soon opened towards him, and their cold indifference and languid charity were, before he left them, enlarged into a warm attachment and cordial affection; and so superior did his preaching talents appear to them, that the young and illiterate preachers said, they felt as if they could never attempt to preach again.

"This Association, in its early movements, held many sentiments of a peculiar nature, and which do not prevail among their brethren even here at the present time. In their laudable endeavors to carry out, to the letter, all suggestions of the New Testament as to christian duties, they discovered, in their estimation, the nine following rites, viz.: *baptism—the Lord's Supper—love-feasts—laying-on-of-hands—washing feet—anointing the sick—right hand of fellowship—kiss of charity—and devoting children*. They also retained the offices of *ruling elders, elderesses, and deaconesses*. And, to close the whole, they held to *weekly* communion.

"The nature and design of all the above enumerated rites and offices will be easily comprehended, except that of *devoting children*. This rite they founded on the circumstance of parents bringing little children to Christ, &c. It was thus performed: as soon as circumstances would permit, after the birth of the child, the mother carried it to the meeting, when the minister either took it in his arms, or laid his hands on it, and thanked God for his mercy, and invoked a blessing on the child, at which time it received its name. This rite, which was by many satirically called a *dry-christening*, prevailed, not only in the Sandy Creek Association, but in many parts of Virginia."⁶

It must not be understood that all the churches in this body were strenuous, or even uniform, in the observance of this long list of rites, all of which, however, appear to be suggested by the Scriptures, and some of them, as *love-feasts* and *deaconesses*, were unquestionably maintained among the early christians. Nor did those who maintained the whole of them, refuse communion with their brethren who neglected a part.

Mr. Stearns finished his course at Sandy Creek, Nov. 20, in 1771, and was buried near his meeting-house. He was a man of small stature, but good natural parts and sound judgment. His voice was musical and strong, and many stories are told respecting the wonderful and enchanting influence which was exerted on his hearers by his vocal powers, and the glances of his eyes. His character was indisputably good as a man, a christian, and a preacher.⁷

The *Regulars* and *Separates*, all of whom were, in early times, included in the two Associations of Sandy Creek and Kehukee, by a similar, though somewhat longer and more tedious process, in due time, effected a re-union similar to the one in Virginia, which we have already described. A brief account of this transaction will soon be given.

This ancient community has now existed 92 years, and has been the nursery of many ministers, churches, and Associations. The late Dr. Brantley, who, in his day, occupied a number of important stations, and died pastor of the

⁶ Leland's Virginia Chronicle, p. 42.

⁷ I visited the grave of this venerable man in 1810.

First Church, Charleston, S. C., and Dr. Manly, president of the Alabama University, originated in this body; I believe they were members of the same church.

I was in this region in 1810, and visited a number of the pastors of the churches of this old body; among them, was *John Culpepper*, sometime a member of Congress, who was one of its most efficient ministers, and *George Pope*, under whose pastoral charge Mr. Brantley commenced his religious and ministerial course, and from him I received the account of the remarkable revival of religion which prevailed within the bounds of this community, and in all the surrounding country in the commencement of the present century; it is related somewhat in detail in my 2d Vol.; a few items respecting it I will repeat:—

“Two extensive revivals had been experienced in this Association, after the death of Mr. Stearns, before the mighty movement now under consideration; but, by deaths and removals, this old body, at the close of the 18th century, was in every respect much reduced.

“The ministers had become few in number, and the churches small and languid; iniquity greatly abounded in the land, and the love of many had waxen cold. But towards the close of the year 1800, that astonishing work which had been prevailing a short time in Kentucky and other parts, made a sudden and unexpected entrance amongst them, and was attended with most of the new and unusual appearances, which, in many places, it assumed. This work was not confined to the baptists, but prevailed at the same time amongst the methodists and presbyterians, both of which denominations were considerably numerous in the parts. These two last denominations, soon after the commencement of the revival, united in their communion and camp-meetings. The baptists were strongly solicited to embark in the general-communion scheme; but they, pursuant to their consistent principles, declined a compliance. But they had camp or field-meetings amongst themselves, and many individuals of them united with the methodists and presbyterians in theirs. The baptists established camp-meetings from motives of convenience and necessity, and relinquished them as soon as they were no longer needful. Their meeting-houses are generally small, and surrounded with groves of wood, which they carefully preserve, for the advantage of the cooling shade which they afford in the heat of summer. In these groves the stages were erected, around which the numerous congregations encamped; and when they could be accommodated in the meeting-houses, to them they repaired. A circumstance which led the people to come prepared to encamp on the ground was, that those who lived adjacent to the place of meeting, although willing to provide for the refreshment, as far as they were able, of the numerous congregations which assembled; yet, in most cases, they would have found it impracticable; and furthermore, they wished to be at the meetings themselves, what time they must have stayed at home for the purpose. The people, therefore, would be advised by their ministers and others, at the first camp-meetings, to come to the next and all succeeding ones, prepared to accommodate and refresh themselves. In this way, camp-meetings were instituted amongst the baptists.

“In nearly the same way, meetings of a similar nature were established by the united body of methodists and presbyterians in these parts; but like many other things produced on extraordinary occasions, they continued after the call for them had ceased. Their efficacy was by many too highly estimated. They had witnessed at them, besides much confusion and disorder, many evident and remarkable displays of Divine power; and their ardor in promoting them, after the zeal which instituted them had abated, indicated that they considered them the most probable means of effecting a revival. * * * * *

Some accounts follow on the apparent genuineness of the revivals, notwithstanding the unusual manner in which the meetings were conducted.

“In the progress of the revival among the baptists, and, especially, at their camp-meetings, there were exhibited scenes of the most solemn and affecting nature; and in many instances there was heard at the same time, throughout the vast congregation, a mingled sound of prayer, exhortation, groans, and praise. The fantastic exercise of jerking, dancing, &c., in a religious way, prevailed much with the united body of methodists and presbyterians, towards the close of the revival; but they were not introduced at all among the baptists in these parts. But falling down under religious impressions was frequent among them. Many were taken with these religious epilepsies, if we may so call them, not only at the great meetings, where those scenes were exhibited which were calculated to move the sympathetic affections; but also about their daily employments, some in the fields, some in their houses, and some when hunting their cattle in the woods. And in some cases, people were thus strangely affected when alone; so that if some played the hypocrite, with others the exercise must have been involuntary and unaffected. And besides falling down, there were many other expressions of zeal, which in more moderate people would be considered enthusiastic and wild.

“The above relation was given me by Rev. George Pope, the pastor of the church at Abbot's Creek, who is a man of sense and moderation, and who, with many of his brethren, was

much tried in his mind, and stood aloof from the work at its commencement; but it spread so rapidly and powerfully, that they soon discovered such evident marks of its being a genuine work of grace, notwithstanding its new and unusual appearances, that their doubts subsided, and they cordially and zealously engaged in forwarding and promoting it. Mr. Pope, in the course of the revival, baptized about 500 persons. Large numbers were also baptized by John Culpepper, William McGregore, and many others. But as the Minutes of the Association were not printed at this time, the total number cannot now be ascertained, yet it must have been very large."

We have seen that, according to Morgan Edwards' account, the *Sandy Creek* fraternity of New England *New Lights*, or *Separate Baptists*, nearly one century ago, spread its branches to the utmost bounds of Virginia on the north, and to South Carolina and Georgia on the south. The Holston Association, which arose in Eastern Tennessee in 1786, in part originated from this spiritual and prolific mother; the institutions which have gone out from it in this State, will of course be noticed in the details of their history.⁸

As the account of this ancient community constitutes a part of the old history of North Carolina, as to baptist operations, it seemed necessary to introduce it in this place. I shall now continue the history of the State, by Associations under two divisions: *eastern* and *western*; my line of demarcation will not be very definite. This arrangement I have made for my own convenience. I do not find that the people here are accustomed to any formal divisions of their longitudinal territory, which stretches from the sea-board to far beyond the mountains, to Tennessee, and the upper end of Georgia. The *Low Country*, the *High Lands*, the *Mountains*, and *beyond* them, as near as I can learn, are all the distinctions commonly employed in their local and geographical descriptions.

SECTION II.

Kehukee Association—Portsmouth—Neuse—Cape Fear—Goshen—Chowan—Tar River—Raleigh—Beulah, and others.

KEHUKEE ASSOCIATION.

As this old body, which bears date from 1765 for about half a century, held an important rank in this and the surrounding States, and spread its branches in most of the low countries, and from it went out directly or indirectly most of the associations now in existence in this region, its history requires some extra attention.

This body arose out of the churches which had been reformed to an orthodox standard, by the labors of Messrs. Gano, Miller, Vanhorn, &c., as has already been related. It was organized in 1765, at Kehukee Creek, in Halifax county, on the northern side of the State. Soon after its formation, it opened a correspondence with the Charleston Association in S. C., with which some of the churches had united after their renovation. Jonathan Thomas, John Thomas, John Moore, John Burgess, William Burgess, Charles Daniel, William Walker, John Meglamre, James Abbington, Thomas Pope, and Henry Abbott, were the principal, if not all the ministers belonging to this Association, at the time of its constitution.

Rev. Isaac Backus, the baptist historian, was present in the session of this body, held at the Isle of Wight, in Virginia, in 1789.

The churches of which this Association was at first composed, according to Burket and Read, who wrote its history in 1803, were, besides the one from which it was named, those called Tosnoit, Falls of Tar River, Fishing Creek, Reedy Creek, Sandy Run, and Camden.⁹ For many years this was a very efficient

⁸ As I have no late Minutes of this body, I cannot give my usual account of its pastors, &c. In the B. Almanac, it is reported to have had, in 1845, twenty churches, and 1760 members. N. Richardson, Cor. Sec'y.

⁹ Burket and Read's History of Kehukee Association, p. 27.

and prosperous community; a considerable number of its ministers were among the most able and active in the State, and its bounds were so greatly enlarged that in twenty-five years it had increased to sixty-one churches, and upwards of five thousand members. In 1790, by a mutual agreement, nineteen churches were dismissed to form the Portsmouth Association, in Virginia, and in four years after, the Neuse Association went off from this prolific community. It was now reduced to 26 churches. But soon after, so remarkable was the spirit of revival among them, that in the course of two years, fifteen hundred converts were baptized within its bounds.

Union of the Regular and Separate Baptists in N. C.

We must bear in mind that the Kehukee Association does not trace its pedigree from the New England *New Lights*, but from a company of *General Baptists*, who came hither from the mother country, via the colony of Virginia, which had been moulded to the orthodox standard, by the men and means which we have already described: most of whom, not early, but in process of time, adopted the strong views of hyper-Calvinism. About the time this Association was formed, the Separate party had become numerous, and were rapidly increasing in the upper regions of the colony; the ministers of both companies in their evangelical exertions were often brought in close contact, and had frequent interviews with each other; and although they differed in some small matters, yet they united their zealous labors in their evangelizing efforts, and a growing fellowship for each other produced an increasing desire to be more closely united.

The Kehukee body made the first advances towards the union, and in 1772, sent two of their elders, viz., Meglamre and Thomas, as deputies to the Separate, or Sandy Creek Association, for the purpose of making overtures to effect it. This led to a friendly discussion of the points of difference between them, and, after considerable delay, the union of the two parties was effected.

The principal difficulty in the way of the proposed union arose from the fact, which was not denied, that in some of the Kehukee churches members were found, who had been baptized before their conversion, by the careless Arminian preachers, under whose pastorship they had formerly been. This circumstance had been for a long time a source of trouble and embarrassment to the ministers at home, and the discussions which now arose on the subject threw the body into commotion, and finally ended in its division. The arguments on both sides, which I shall denominate *Reformers* and *anti-Reformers*, were as follows:—

Reformers. Adult persons have no better claim to baptism before their conversion, than infants have.

Anti-Reformers. We admit the correctness of your doctrine, but say, in reply, this is an evil which we found in the churches when the Association was formed; all of us have submitted to it a number of years—the reformation you propose will unavoidably produce confusion and division; but if the thing is left alone, as the members complained of are advanced in years, it will soon vanish away.

But the Reformers persevered and remodeled their body to the true baptist standard, and after this, the union with the Separates was easily effected.

The latest Minutes I have of this ancient body are those of 1842; then it had forty churches, and upwards of fourteen hundred members.

The KEHUKKEE CHURCH, 1755, was then the largest in this Association; it reported 125: all the others are under 100.

The churches called *Fishing Creek*, 1755; *Falls of Tar River*, 1757; *Flat Swamp*, 1776; *Cross Road*, 1786; are the oldest in old Kehukee.

The churches are in the counties of Halifax, Edgecombe, Martin, Washington, Pitt, Beaufort, Carteret, Hyde, Tyrrell, Currituck, Camden, &c. Halifax, near the Virginia line, was in old times a central position for this body; but at

present it seems to be on its western edge, and the churches are spread over most of the eastern and north-eastern part of the State. This ancient body has for many years been decidedly hostile to all benevolent institutions, and is probably the strongest Association in the State of this character; its churches, instead of occupying a particular location, as is commonly the case, are intermixed with those whose principles on missionary and all other societies they wage a fierce warfare against, through a wide range of territory.

The Portsmouth Association, which is now one of the strong Virginia communities, was the first company which colonized from the mother body; it took off all the churches on the Virginia side of the line, and was set off in 1790, as has already been related.

NEUSE ASSOCIATION.

This was formed by a second colony from this fruitful nursery, in 1794; it contained at the time of its organization twenty-three churches, which were situated on both sides of the river whose name it assumed, and extended from *Tar River* nearly to the southern boundary of the State. It embraced, in its early movements, a number of the oldest churches in the country.

Rev. John Thomas, and his two sons, *Jonathan* and *John*, were among its most distinguished ministers at its commencement.

This community shared largely in the great revival which spread through all the country, which has already been referred to in the early part of this century. In my table for 1812, it contained a thousand members. As I have none of its late Minutes, of course I must omit my usual account of its churches.

Allen's Register for 1836, makes its membership between 6 and 7 hundred. Its churches were in the counties of Pitt, Lenoir, Jones, Craven, and Carteret.

The Baptist Almanac represents it about half that size in 1842; it symbolizes, I believe, with what are called the *old school* party, if it still maintains its visibility.

CAPE FEAR ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Neuse, in 1805; it is situated in the southern corner of the State, in the counties of Cumberland, Robeson, Columbus, Bladen, and Brunswick. Some of them are in the adjoining parts of S. C., in the districts of Marion and Horry.

This Association has adopted the commendable practice of affixing the dates of their churches to their Minutes, by which I learn that most of them have been constituted within the present century, and generally they are of recent origin.

The FAYETTEVILLE CHURCH, 1837, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

GOSHEN ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a colony from Cape Fear, in 1827. This fact I obtained from Allen's Register, and it constitutes my whole stock of information relative to this community. I have no Minutes since 1842, in which there is no distinction between the ministers and the other delegates. It then had 24 churches; most of them, however, were small.¹

The WILMINGTON CHURCH was then the largest in this body.² This is a town of much importance in the neighborhood in which the churches are probably situated. Sampson is the only county named on the Minutes above referred to.

¹⁰ In 1845, it reported 320; Bear Swamp, S. Dusenberry, 184; Cape Fear, —, 181; Beaver Dam, 179; Ashpole, W. Ayres, 160; Spring Branch, 156; Antioch, 124; Cross Roads, —, 119; Beaver Dam (Columbus Co.), 118; Iron Hill Cross Roads, 114; Mount Pisgah, 108; Porter's Swamp, 106.

¹ On these Minutes, I find the following item:—a question came up respecting ordaining elder Lewis F. Williams, who had come over to them from the Free Will Baptists; this they decided to be unnecessary, as he had been regularly ordained by the society to which he formerly belonged.

² In 1842, it reported 177; Bear Marsh, 118; Moore's Creek, 116; Wolf's Chapel, 96.

CHOWAN ASSOCIATION.

This was another branch of the old Kehukee, and was organized with 18 churches, containing upwards of eighteen hundred members in 1806.

The Roanoke River became the dividing line, and all the churches of which this body was at first composed in the beginning lay to the east of it. This is the largest Association in this State, having about double the membership of any other, although the churches are not as numerous as the Cape Fear, but they are large, compared with associational fraternities in this government; but unfortunately no historical sketches of any of them have come to hand, except some additional items relative to the church founded by Paul Palmer in 1727, now called Shiloh, of which some account has already been given. This old society now belongs to this Association; a few of the peculiarities of its rules of discipline in early times, are thus described by a correspondent who lives near it:—

"I have procured the Records, which go back to 1756, when John Burgess was pastor, and the business of the church was managed by 'elders or overseers,' while the private secular matters of the members, was under the direction of the ministers, and six members who were constituted the 'Court of Union.' The churches had several arms or branches in the adjoining counties, to which the ministers, attended by the overseers, and the clerk, regularly repaired. In a few years the 'Court of Union' was dispensed with—but the churches being dissatisfied with its extinction, nine members were chosen, who were to be considered permanent elders, if found faithful, while the former overseers or elders were elected annually. Lemuel Burket, who afterwards became a minister of much distinction in this region, was once a member of this ancient society.³ * * * * *

Such was the complex machinery in ecclesiastical affairs at that early period with this well-meaning people.

The Minutes of this Association are well got up in general, but the dates of the churches are not given, nor is there any reference to the counties in which they are situated. This deficiency is supplied by a tabular view of this large community, which was compiled by Dr. Wheeler, its clerk, for my use. From this I learn when each body arose, and who are their present pastors. A few are of great age, but a majority of them have been formed within the present century.

The COLERAINE CHURCH, *Jno. Nowell* pastor, appears to be the largest in this body⁴; it bears date from 1789.

TAR RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This body bears date from 1831; it is on the ground formerly occupied by old Kehukee, and probably originated, wholly or in part, from that body, but I have no historical information of its commencement or progress. Its name indicates the important stream on which it is situated. The Minutes do not distinguish the ministers from the other delegates, neither do they specify the counties where their churches are found, but I have ascertained that a part of them, at least, are in those of Warren, Franklin, Nash, and Edgecombe.

The POPLAR SPRING CHURCH is the largest in this body.⁵

³ Communication of Dr. Wheeler, of Murfreesboro', 1845. Dr. W. thinks Mr. Edwards' statement is incorrect, in saying that this old church was called Perquemans, on Chowan river. The seat of it is now on the river Pasquotank, in the county of Camden. This is a question in geography which I cannot settle; the space between these rivers is indeed considerable, but the original planters of the baptist cause in this region occupied an extensive field—the branches of their growing communities were established at different points—sometimes one of them, and then again another, would give name to the whole fraternity. This is the only way I can account for this apparent discrepancy. I have met with a number of such cases in my historical investigations.

⁴ In 1846, it reported 481; Murfreesboro', G. M. Thompson, 343; Ballards, Wm. White, 339; Ahsokie, 322; Cashie, 292; Ross M. H., P. Noggard, 281; Smith Chh., 260; Sandy Cross, Q. H. Trotman, 279; Shiloh (1757), E. Forbs, 258; Potecasi, 252; Connaritsa, 215; Bethel, 211; Sawyer's Creek, 209; Elizabeth, J. Nash, 190; Cool Spring, H. Speight, 180; Cape Hearts, 183; Edenton, T. Waff, 184; Sandy Run, A. M. Craig, 176; Middle, 148; Piney Grove, Ed. Howell, 122; Ramoth Gilead, M. W. Jones, 115; Bethlehem, 115.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 354; Prachtree, 304; Sandy Creek, 203; Browne's, 149; Reedy Creek, 146; Tanner's, same; Perry's Chapel, 129; Flat Rock, 128; Haywood's, 120.

CONTENTNEA ASSOCIATION.

I learn from Allen's Register, of 1833, that this community was organized in 1830, by the union of two small bodies by the name of Toisnot, and Nawhuny; in 1844, it contained 17 churches in the counties of Edgecombe, Green, Pitt, Wyne, and Lenoir: none of the churches amounted to 100.

BAPTIST ADVISORY COUNCIL.

This singular name is given to a very small Association which was formed about 1840. Its Minutes of 1844, exhibit four churches, containing in the aggregate 155 members. It is situated in the counties of Green, Lenoir, and Duplin.

WHITE OAK ASSOCIATION.

This is a small body in the lower part of the State, adjoining S. C., and was probably formed about 1840. I have no account of its origin, or any items of its history, except what is contained in a copy of its Minutes for 1842, in which I find the following article in their constitution:

"We, as an Association, declare a non-fellowship with Masonry, Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies, Campbellism, State Conventions, Theological Seminaries, and all other new institutions that have the appearance of a speculation on the gospel; we know of but two societies, viz.: *Civil* and *Religious*."

The churches are all small, and contain in the aggregate about 400 members; they are situated in the counties of Jones, Duplin, New Hanover, Onslow, and Carteret.

RALEIGH ASSOCIATION.

This is a community of forty years standing, having been organized in 1806, with but four churches which were dismissed from the Neuse.

The clerk of this ancient body has sent me an account of its annual doings, from near the time of its commencement, which shows, for each year, the *preachers of the first sermon—the names of the moderators and clerks—the No. of churches—the total do. baptized—do. of members*. In 1831 they received by baptism 466, which appears to be the largest number in one year.

The moderators for different periods of time, for about forty years, have been M. Thomas, J. Gulley, B. Fuller, Geo. Nance, J. Purify, J. Southerland, S. Senter, and J. Dennis. The clerks have been R. T. Daniel, S. Stephenson, J. Gulley, Thos. Crocker, J. Britt, Geo. W. Purify, Wm. Roles, and S. P. Norris. Crocker has performed the clerkship more years than any other member; Norris has filled that office for a number of years past.

The seat of this community is in the Capital of the State, whose name it bears; *Wake Forest College*, a baptist institution, is situated but 16 miles from it, and has been got up by this and other Associations, which are friendly to the cause of education.

The HEPZIBAH CHURCH appears to be the largest in this body; it is, I believe, near to the seat of government.*

The Raleigh Association stands the third in the State for numerical strength; Chowan and Cape Fear are the only ones before it.

* In 1845, it reported 353; Raleigh, J. J. Fink, 288; Wake Cross Roads, 237; Cedar Fork, 199; Hollyspring, 162; Smithfield, 136; Shady Grove, 130; Wake Union, 128; Johnston Liberty, same; Rolesville, 101; Neals Neck, 100.

This Association does not place the names of the pastors against the churches; of course, I cannot add them, as I do in other cases.

LITTLE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1826, by a seceding colony from the one last named, because, in the estimation of the seceders, they were doing too much for missions and other objects of the kind. It of course is on the same ground. All the information I have respecting it, is contained in Mr. Norris' details of the Ralceigh Association.⁷

FLAT RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This is one of the old communities of the north State ; it was formed in 1794, by a division of the *Roanoke*, which is now confined to the Virginia side of the line. The division was made by mutual agreement, as such movements generally were at that time.

With materials for the history of this ancient fraternity, I am very amply supplied, by the efforts of Thomas B. Barnet, who has been its clerk for a number of years past, and from historical sketches of the churches which are found on the Minutes for 1845. This body is on the ground occupied by the old *Separate* baptists, about a century ago.

GRASSY CREEK CHURCH, 1765, is the oldest in this body ; it arose out of the labors of James Read and Daniel Marshall. Mr. Read was its first pastor. After him, they have had in succession, for their spiritual guides, S. Harris, H. Leister, T. Vase, R. Picket, E. Battle, R. T. Daniel, W. B. Warrell, Thomas D. Mason, and Samuel Duty.

Rev. James King, the present incumbent, has occupied this station about 15 years.

This church has been the seat of operations for the denomination in this region ; it was here, that the wide-spread *Separate Association* agreed on its division in 1770.

In 1829, a missionary society was formed in this church, and about \$100 were collected for the mission cause. The State Convention for N. C., held its annual session with this body in 1839.

The BUFFALO CHURCH, 1778, was also founded by Read, Harris, and their evangelical associates.

"This is a church of happy standing, and has been blessed with several revivals ; many years ago, there were 90 added as the fruits of one of these refreshing seasons ; in 1843, *Rev. Jas. King* baptized 93 into the fellowship of this church."⁸

The BETHEL CHURCH, 1823, stands on the Minutes for 1845, as the largest in this body.⁹

The churches in this Association are situated in the counties of Person, Orange, Wake, and Granville ; most of them are in the one last named. The N. C. University is in the bounds of this Association, at Chapel Hill, Orange Co. ; but this, I believe, is wholly under the control of the Presbyterians.

COUNTRY LINE ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the Flat River in 1806 ; it was divided by a line running north and south, and the churches to the west of the line united in the

⁷ In the records of this body for 1827, are the two following queries :

1. "Is it orderly for any of the churches of this Association, to invite any of the preachers who call themselves *The Reformed Conference*, (its name at first), to preach in any of their churches, or sit with them in conference ?

"*Answer.* We, as an Association, do not believe it orderly for any of the churches, or individual members of the church, to *invite* them or *prevent* them.

2. "What course shall we pursue in future towards those churches, who have *rent off* from the Association ?

"*Answer.* Endeavor to pursue a course of brotherly love, and christian affection." A third query was to the same effect, and was answered with similar mildness and forbearance.

⁸ Minutes of the Association for 1845.

⁹ At that time, it reported 308 ; Grassy Creek, 260 ; Buffalo, 254 ; New-light, 189 ; Olive Branch, 170 ; Concord, 143 ; Island Creek, 142 ; Bethel, 133 ; Brassfield, 132 ; Tabb's Creek, 130 ; Mount Moriah, 118 ; Corinth, 102. The pastors are not put down against the churches as they were in former years ; of course, I cannot insert them in my usual style.

new organization. This community is also on old ground for baptists, and some of its churches, as it stood at the time of its commencement, were those which were gathered by S. Harris, J. Read, Thomas Mullins, Dutton Lane, &c.

The ENO CHURCH, *James Terrell* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

BEULAH ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1834, with only three churches, which, in the aggregate, contained but 157 members; it has since increased to thirteen churches, and upwards of 1000 communicants. This young community is in the same counties of the *Country Line* fraternity, from which they were driven out by the passage of a set of stereotyped resolutions by the old body, which proscribed all the societies of the day, religious newspapers, &c., as being incompatible with what they called *old school* principles. This growing interest supports an itinerant minister, who acts as a colporteur and missionary among the feeble churches, and in the destitute parts of their own bounds.

Rev. Stephen Pleasant, with whom the trouble began, as to the cause of benevolence, and who was the principal means of getting up this institution, has been its moderator from the time of its organization.

The CANE CREEK CHURCH is the largest in this body.¹

In the bounds of the Beulah Association, in the county of Caswell, are two High Schools, which are well spoken of; one is under the tuition of

Rev. J. J. James, pastor of one of the churches. The other, which is for females, is at Milton; both, I believe, are baptist institutions.²

We have now gone over about half the State, so far as the baptist population is concerned, and shall probably find that the largest portion of the communicants are contained in the Associations whose affairs have come under review. I shall now attempt my usual historical sketches of the remaining associational communities, which lie scattered over the long range of territory which stretches beyond the mountains, to Tennessee on the west, and South Carolina and Georgia on the south.

SECTION III.

Pedee Association—Abbot's Creek do.—Liberty—Catawba—Green River—Yadkin—Mountain—Mayo—Brier Creek—Three Fork—French Broad—Big Ivey—Tuckasiege—Salem—Valley, and others—Closing Remarks—Literary Institutions—Correspondents.

PEDEE ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1815; it is an offspring of the old Sandy Creek fraternity, from which it colonized at the date above given. The *Deep River*, one of the head waters of Cape Fear, became the dividing line; the churches to the south and west of it went off in the new connection. John Culpepper and Bennet Solomon appear to have been the leading men among them in their early movements. This body, from its commencement, has been identified with missionary and other benevolent operations.

¹⁰ I have no Minutes later than 1843; then, it reported 181; Upper South Hico, R. McKee, 135; Flat River, —, 112; Lickfork, —, 109; Arbor, John Stadler, 106; all the others are under 100.

¹ In 1845, it reported 237; Ephesus, —, 137; all the others are under 100.

Rev. Elias Dodson was the domestic minister for 1844-5, and was 13 months in the field. His account of his travels, ministerial and colporteur service, is published in the Minutes, and exhibits a commendable activity in his peculiar vocation.

² My sketches of this community are taken partly from the Minutes, but mostly from communications from its clerk, Rev. G. W. Purify, of Chapel Hill, Orange county.

A very full history of the doings of this Association, from the beginning, have been supplied me, by Alex. N. Nicholson, its clerk; from his communication, I learn that the three churches called Forks of Little River, 1760, Rocky River, 1776, and Pedee, 1785, are the oldest in this community; all the others have been formed within the present century; most of them are of recent origin. This Association, business-like, gives the dates of its churches in its statistical table; they are situated in the counties of Montgomery, Stanley, Anson, and Richmond; it joins South Carolina on the south.

Some extensive revivals have prevailed in this region in modern times; in the course of three years, from 1830, this then small interest received by baptism, upwards of seven hundred members.

The PEDEE CHURCH, *J. M. Thomas*, was the largest in this body in 1844.³

ABBOT'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Pedee, in 1825, which greatly reduced it, as to its numerical strength, and, what was worse, the seceding party who went off because the old institution was too much identified with benevolent operations.⁴ It is situated in the counties of Davidson, Randolph, &c.

The ABBOT CREEK CHURCH, 1777, was the largest in 1842, which is the latest account I have had from it. Its number then, was 106; all the other churches were small, and the whole body contained but about three hundred members. Abbot's Creek was a famous place for baptists in this region more than a century ago, as we have seen in the history of the Separate baptists. It had pastors of much efficiency, and enjoyed revivals of religion of uncommon power and interest.

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Arose in 1832, out of churches which withdrew from the community last named, on account of their opposition to all benevolent institutions. It is situated, mostly, in the county of Davidson; Stokes, Guilford, and Montgomery, embrace one church each.

The JERSEY CHURCH, *W. Turner*, pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

CATAWBA RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1826, of churches which, in part at least, had belonged to the Broad River Association, in South Carolina. It is situated on the stream whose name it bears; this same river takes the name of Wateree, after passing into the South State. The churches are not generally large, but are somewhat numerous, and are situated in the counties of Wilks, Iredell, Burke, Lincoln, Rutherford, and Mecklenburg. As I have none of its late Minutes, I am not able to give my usual notices of its churches and pastors.

GREEN RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1840. This young interest also came, in part, from the old Broad River, in South Carolina, that prolific parent of kindred institutions. This and the Catawba lie contiguous to each other, and Rutherford county appears to embrace a considerable portion of the churches belonging to them both. Its Minutes for 1845, exhibit 25 churches, but none of them amount to 100.

Having arrived to the neighborhood of the mountains, on the southern side of the State, I will now go up to an old baptist region and give the best account I can of a cluster of Associations which are spread over an extensive territory in the middle and northern portions of the State.

³ I have no Minutes later than the date given above; then, it reported 236; Forks of Little River, —, 149; Saron, —, 124; Brown Creek, —, 102. The colored members were reported but in part. Pedee had 40, some of the churches none.

⁴ These facts I gather from Mr. Nicholson's communication above referred to.

⁵ In the Minutes of 1845 it reported 201; all the others were below 100.

YADKIN ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1790, and is the oldest institution of the kind in this part of North Carolina. The following account of its origin and progress during its early movements is found in my 1st Vol. As I was on the ground in 1810, and collected my information from some of its originators, who were then alive, the presumption is, that it is essentially correct.

"The Yadkin was so called, from a river which rises in the Alleghany mountains, and is one of the head streams of the *Great Pedee*, one of the most important rivers in South Carolina. It lies to the westward of Sandy Creek, and originated as follows:

"In the year 1786, eleven churches, which had been previously gathered about the head of the Yadkin and its waters, began to hold yearly Conferences, as a branch of the Strawberry Association in Virginia. The proceedings of this Conference were annually submitted to the Association to which it had attached itself, for their inspection, and were borne thither by delegates appointed for the purpose. But in 1790, the churches, composing this conference, were, upon their request, dismissed, and formed a distinct Association. The ministers belonging to this body at its commencement, were George M'Neal, John Cleaveland, William Petty, William Hammond, Cleaveland Caffee, Andrew Baker, and John Stone. This Association, like Sandy Creek, transacted its business, or at least held its sessions, for a number of years without a moderator. Some of their scrupulous brethren, it seems, were opposed to order, or formality, as they esteemed it, in their religious proceedings, and pleaded that it was an infringement of christian liberty, and too much like worldly assemblies, to have a moderator at their head, whom they must address when they spoke, and whose liberty they must request, &c. In 1793, Mr. John Gano, who then lived in Kentucky, visited this Association, and found many difficulties among them on account of these things. But he knew very well how to manage prejudices so whimsical and absurd, and prevailed on them to choose a moderator and establish rules, by which their business was afterwards conducted with much decorum.

"The church in the Jersey settlements in Rowan county is the oldest in the Yadkin Association, and was gathered by Mr. Gano, in 1758, three years after the Sandy Creek church was established. Mr. Gano resided there about two years, when the church was broken up by the incursions of the Indians, and he returned to New Jersey, from whence he had removed hither. But the church was re-gathered after the Indian war was over.

"Dr. Richard Furman, now of Charleston, South Carolina, resided and preached in the bounds of this Association, during a part of the Revolutionary war.

"Joseph Murphy, the pastor of the church on Deep Creek, in the county of Surry, has been, in most respects, the most distinguished minister among the churches in this body. He and William Murphy, whose name frequently occurs in the history of the Virginia baptists, were brothers. They were both baptized by Shubeal Stearns, and began to preach while very young, and were called, by way of derision, *Murphy's boys*. William, who had the most conspicuous talents, removed to Tennessee, about 1780, and was one of the most active ministers in the Holston Association, which he assisted in raising up, and in which he was very useful and much esteemed until his death, the exact time of which is not known, but it is believed to have been about 1800."

I have no late Minutes of this ancient community, and, of course, must omit my usual account of its pastors and churches.

MOUNTAIN ASSOCIATION.

This was formed by a division of the Yadkin, in 1799; it was situated near the line of Virginia, in which State a few of its churches were situated in its early movements, and such, I believe, is the fact at the present time. It was situated, at first, in the counties of Burke, Wilks, Surry, and Ashe, in the obtuse angle of N. C., which is bounded by Tenn. on the west, and Va. on the north. Its locality, probably, does not vary materially from its former bounds. The same remark will apply to this body as to that of the Yadkin, relative to its late Minutes, pastors, and churches.

MAYO ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1827; it is contiguous to the Mountain, in the county of Rockingham, and probably some neighboring ones near to, and partly over the line of Virginia.

The CASCADE CHURCH, is the largest in this body: according to the Minutes of 1845, it contained 142 members—the others were generally small.

BRIER CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1821; but I have no information as to its rise and progress; it contains sixteen churches, most of them are in the county of Wilks; of course it is in the midst of the Mountain and Mayo communities, a thing very common in this region of country, where they split up and multiply their small concerns, about equal to the Scotch seceders. They are all on ground which is in suffering need of missionary aid; and yet no where is the opposition to all benevolent institutions more resolutely maintained than is done by some of the small and famishing bodies, which here drag out a lingering existence. This Association, I should judge from the details of its Minutes, espouses the mission cause.

The BRIER CREEK CHURCH, *Jesse Adams* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

THREE FORK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1840: it has seven pastors, and thirteen churches; all except one are in the county of Ashe, which joins Tenn. on the west, and Virginia on the north.

The COVE CREEK CHURCH, *B. McBride* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

There are three other small associational communities in the upper country, of which I have not acquired sufficient information for the construction of my usual historical accounts; the names are *Bear Creek*, *Lewis Fork*, and *Fishing River*.

BEAR CREEK is dated 1833; its clerk, a few years since, resided in the county of Cabarrus. A church by this name formerly belonged to the Yadkin Association.

LEWIS FORK, is said to have been formed in 1836.

FISHING or FISH RIVER, is a very small body; it is no doubt of recent origin. All these institutions, I should judge, belong to the *non-effort* class, and are situated in the hilly regions of the State this side the mountains.⁸

I shall now bring under review the five remaining Associations in this State, all on the mountains and in the mountain valleys, the history of which, by the aid of good correspondents, and my own personal researches many years since, I am much better prepared to relate than of many whose affairs I have attempted to describe.

FRENCH BROAD ASSOCIATION,

Bears date from 1807; at the time of its formation, the region in which it arose was regarded as the *ne plus ultra* of the white population in this part of the State. The following description of this fraternity is thus given in my 2d Vol., published in 1812:

The French Broad Association is a small body, situated mostly in the county of Buncombe, in a mountainous region in the western part of the State. This county was formerly large enough for a small State, and extended to the Tennessee line.⁹ The county of Haywood has not long since been taken from it. It is, however, very large, and encompasses a number of everlasting hills, and some fruitful valleys. Through it runs a river called the French Broad, which gave name to the Association we are about to describe.

It was at first composed of six churches, viz.: Little Ivey, Locust, Old Fields, Newfound, Caney River, French Broad, and Cane Creek. The three first were dismissed from the Holston Association in Tennessee, and the others from Broad River, in South Carolina. Four churches have been added to this

⁶ In 1845. it reported 104; all the others are under 100.

⁷ In 1845. it reported 118; Three Forks, N. F. —, 102; all the others were under 100.

⁸ All my ideas respecting the three bodies above named, have been gained from the Minutes of the B. S. Convention, for 1843, and Allen's Register.

⁹ A number of other counties have since been formed from this extensive territory.

body since its formation. The ministers which it contained at its beginning, were Thomas Snelson, Thomas Justice, Sion Blithe, Benjamin King, Humphrey Posey, and Stephen Morgan.

From this old community, a number of the neighboring ones have originated, as their history will show.

This old fraternity now extends to the county of Yancy, and probably some of the other shires into which old Buncombe has been divided.

The **LITTLE IVEY CHURCH** is now the largest in this old Association.

BIG IVEY ASSOCIATION

Is an immediate offspring of the one last named; it was organized in 1829, and appears to have been the first colony which went off from this mother body, and not in the most agreeable manner. This has been called a *Free Will Baptist* institution; how it came to be so denominated, is explained by one of my correspondents for this region.

"About the year 1828, an unhappy split took place in the French Broad Association, on principles; the one party inclining to the Calvinistic, and the other to the Arminian side of the controversy. The Arminian party *went off* and formed themselves into a *Free Will or Liberty Association*; since that time, it has changed its name to the one it now bears."¹⁰

The ministers of this body at the time of its formation, were G. Deweese, H. Masters, and M. Peterson. The Minutes for 1846, exhibit a list of 19 churches; none of them, however, amount to 100. The counties are not named on the Minutes; the last session was held in that of Yancy, in which I conclude most of the churches are situated.

TUCKASIEGE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1829, and is another branch of the old French Broad. It is about the same size of the Big Ivey; the churches are also small, compared with many in the low counties, where the colored population abounds; very few of them are found in the high lands and mountains.

The Minutes of this community are arranged in business-like style, as to dates, counties, pastors, &c.

The **LOCUST OLD FIELD CHURCH**, 1803, *W. Haynes* pastor, is the oldest and largest in this body,¹ which is situated mostly in the counties of Haywood and Mason.

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1838; it came from the old mother of baptist interests in this region. This community came into being with unusual strength, for a new and mountainous country; it began with nine ordained ministers, viz.: R. Jordan, J. Cantrell, T. Stradley, J. Blythe, B. Bruce, M. Pickman, W. Mince, J. Evans, and Jos. Kendall, and about 400 members. Two of the Salem churches are in the county of Buncombe, all the others are in Henderson. A portion of the ministers just named, still officiate as pastors in this body. This is a fraction in advance, as to numerical strength of any of the five Associations in this western group.

VALLEY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839, by the name of *Notley* river, which it retained but one year, when it assumed the one by which it is now distinguished. This is still

¹⁰ Letter of James Blythe to the author, 1846. H. Posey, who lived and labored in this region when I was there, in 1810, has given me valuable information relative to the baptist cause in all this end of the State. Mr. P. afterwards removed to Georgia, where he died a short time since.

¹ None of them come up to 100.

To James Blythe, one of the founders of this new interest, and James Brevard, its clerk in 1845, I am indebted for the above details. Mr. B. has given me an account of the colored members in each church. They amount, in the aggregate, to 33, out of between 7 and 800.

a very small body, but is very efficient for its men and means; it employs two domestic missionaries a part or all the time, to supply their feeble churches, and labor in destitute regions. Indeed all the Associations in this interesting group, seem to be the decided friends of the mission cause

James Whitaker, Esq., the clerk of the Valley Association, has given me historical sketches of most of the churches of which it is composed, which I regret my limits will not permit me to insert.

The Valley Association occupies the gore of N. C., which runs down between Tenn. on the west, and Ga. on the east; a few of the churches are in the last named State, but it is regarded as a N. C. institution. The churches are 20 in number, all small and situated in the new county of Kehukee; those on the Ga. side are in the county of Polk. This portion of the State was but lately inhabited by the Indians, and one of the ordained ministers in this body is a *full-blooded Cherokee*.²

Closing Remarks. With much labor and care, I have ascertained the location of all the various associational communities in this State, whatever may be their views and pursuits as to missions, and other benevolent operations. I have been as assiduous to give the history of one class as the other, and this course, as a general historian, I must pursue, so as to give my readers a full view of the baptist population in all parts of the country. I regret to see so many of our brethren engaged on what I believe to be the wrong side of christian efforts and benevolence, and most firmly believe that they will find it so in the end. A portion of them see and feel it so now.³

The old North State contains about as many Associations as its great neighbor on the north, with less than half the number of communicants; many of these bodies are literally but apologies for such institutions, but pursuant to my plan, I have placed them all as far as possible in a juxta-position and geographical connection, beginning with old Sandy Creek and Kehukee. The labor of ferreting out their localities, I may almost say *hiding places*, has not been small; I have had a few good correspondents, but for the most part, if I may judge from my own experience and the complaints of Allen and others, the people here are generally slow and backward in communicating either historical facts or documents, and when all these things are considered, I am somewhat disappointed for the better, in the success which has attended my inquiries.

The North Carolina baptists, notwithstanding all the obstacles which they have had to contend with from *hyper-Calvinism*, and the *Anti, Non*, and *O-mission* parties among them, are evidently on the increase, not only in numbers, but as to activity and efficiency in all departments.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

The WAKE FOREST COLLEGE, and some of their High schools have already been referred to, but I must repeat my statements relative to other States, that all historical details of these institutions must be deferred to my next volume.

² Communication of James Whitaker, Esq., of Jamesville. The Valley Association, small as it is, at its session, in 1846, agreed to divide, and form a new one, by the name of Notley River.

³ In 1841, I went south as far as Georgia, for historical purposes; while passing through North Carolina at midnight, a gentleman came into the Cars with whom I soon fell into conversation on the condition and prospects of our denomination in that region, when he gave me the following account: "I am tired of the course our preachers pursue—our churches are all running down—we have no Sabbath-schools or Bible classes, and very little to engage the attention of the people; I am but a private member, but if I could put our preachers on a different track, I would be glad to do it. But here we are, and what can we do? We have nowhere else to go—our churches are so weak that we can do but little for our ministers—we are dependant on them rather than they on us, and they manage matters all in their own way. But we are worn out with their old and everlasting stories *against* the missionaries. Our churches are all asleep, and fast declining. I heartily wish some of the missionary preachers would come among us, and stir us up—I am sure many of the people would be glad to hear them."

This was within the bounds of one of the *low country* Associations which has been famous for its hostility to all the benevolent institutions of the day.

BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION. This, though limited as to its means, is evidently doing much for the good of the baptist cause in this State; it ought to be more generally and liberally supported. Its whole history I shall hope to give in future.

WESTERN CONVENTION. The same reasons operate in this State as in Virginia, for a second organization in the great field of destitution in the highlands, in the mountains and beyond them, and incipient measures have been adopted to carry the plan into effect.

Correspondents. Samuel Jordan Wheeler, M. D., of Murfreesborough, in the *low country*, has been assiduous from the beginning of my undertaking, and to him I am much indebted for the Minutes of Associations and documents of various kinds, and especially, for his especial efforts to stir up brethren in different parts of the State to collect and forward me directly, or through him, many valuable materials. Most of my efficient correspondents have been named in the course of my narratives, but I will now name them, according to my usual manner, without specifying their localities, or the nature of their communications, beginning in the eastern, and pursuing a western course. Samuel Wait, late president of Wake Forest College, J. S. Purify, H. Lemon, C. Lillibridge, S. P. Norris, N. Richardson, Geo. W. Purify, A. N. Nicholson, E. Dodson, R. Roby, since dead, R. Jacks, Geo. Pearcy, now a missionary in China, Thos. B. Barnett, H. Posey, since dead, then on a visit from Georgia to his old scene of labors, J. Brevard, Jas. Blythe, Jas. Whitaker.

RELIGIOUS NEWSPAPERS.

The **BIBLICAL RECORDER**, published by Rev. Mr. Merideth, in Raleigh, is devoted to the support of evangelical principles, and is expressly designed as an organ of our denomination in this State.

The **PRIMITIVE BAPTIST** is published in Tarborough, under the patronage of the *old school* baptists, so called. I have seen but a few copies of it, although I have made many efforts to have it sent to me in a regular manner, as other baptist papers generally are.

Appendix. After the copy for North Carolina had all gone to the printer, and the proofs had returned, I received from Dr. Wheeler a copy of the Minutes of the N. C. Baptist State Convention for 1846, which contains a full list of all the Associations in the State, of all kinds; and among them I find one by the name of the

UNION ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1844. A. J. Battle, of Goldsboro' is its corresponding Secretary; its total amount of membership was 2796, in 1845. I have never seen any of its Minutes, and have no account of its origin or progress. I shall try to obtain its statistics for my tables at the close of the Volume.

CHAPTER XVII.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

SECTION I.

Early history—First company, 1683—Second do. 1737—Third do. 1760—Charleston Church—Ashley River do.—Euhaw—Welsh Neck.

Early history of the Baptists in South Carolina.

FOR half a century after the founding of the church in Charleston (1683), that body stood alone, as far as any historical facts have come to light in the whole South Colony. When we come down to 1770, we find in all the province in addition to Charleston, but six other churches of the baptist order, viz.: Ashley River, Welsh Neck, 1738; Euhaw, 1746; Pipe Creek, 1755; Coosawhatchie, 1759, and Fairforest, 1765.¹

In 1790, according to Asplund's Register, the churches had increased to 66, in which were 46 ordained, and 27 licensed preachers, and about four thousand communicants. This augmentation of the society, was principally owing to the zealous labors of the New England *New Lights*, or *Separate Baptists*, in the middle and upper regions of the State.

In twenty-two years more, viz., in 1812, when my tables were made up, the number of members was upwards of twelve thousand.

Allen's Register in 1833, makes the total of membership in this State, between twenty-eight and twenty-nine thousand.

I shall now give a summary statement of the settlement of the different companies of baptists, who laid the foundation for the great community, which now exists in this State.

Morgan Edwards will be my principal guide in all matters relative to the early and continued movements of our denomination in the region of country now to be described, indeed, of the whole State, up to the time when his narrative ends, about 1770. Wood Furman's History of the Charleston Association recapitulates all the principal statements made by Mr. Edwards, and brings down the general history of the State, as far as the baptists are concerned, to the year 1810. In addition to these works, my 2d Vol., published in 1812, contains all the new facts which I could collect by personal inquiries on the ground, and by an extensive correspondence with Dr. Furman, Mr. Botsford, and other men of much intelligence, who were then actively engaged in the promotion of the baptist cause.

THE FIRST COMPANY OR SETTLEMENT.

"Of the early settlers of South Carolina, a considerable portion were baptists. They came in separate colonies about the year 1683, partly from the west of England, with Lord Cardross and Mr. Blake, and partly from Piscataway, in the District of Maine. Of the former, some settled about Ashley and Cooper Rivers, others about the mouth of Edisto River. The latter settled at a place

¹ The church of *General Baptists* at Stono was an off-shoot from Charleston, which, at this time, had nearly become extinct.

called Summerton, situated on Cooper River, and at a small distance from Charleston.² Here they were formed into a church under the care of Rev. William Screven.³

"Among the settlers from England, the wife of Mr. Blake, just named, and her mother, lady Axtell were members of the baptist church. Those who came from Piscataway, in Maine, were led hither by Rev. Mr. Screven, who, with a considerable number of his brethren, fled from the intolerant laws of the New England pedo-baptists."

CHARLESTON CHURCH, FOUNDED IN 1683.

This ancient community was formed by the united labors of these two classes of settlers, under the supervision of the distinguished man who presided over it, to the end of his long and useful life. Among the constituents, or at least the early members, were the Screvens, Atwells, Bulleins, Elliots, Ravens, Barkers, Blakes, Childs, Carters, Whitakers, Bryants, Butlers, Chapmans, &c.

Rev. William Screven, the founder of this church, became its first pastor, in which he continued till his death.

"It appears," says Mr. Edwards, "pretty evident that the baptists from old and New England, arrived in South Carolina about the same time;" but it is suggested by him, that those from Piscataway settled here first, and had formed the Church before their brethren from England arrived,⁴ and that the small body which had been formed, received considerable addition on their arrival.

"Before the year 1693, most of the members had removed towards the Neck, on which Charleston now stands, which made it necessary to remove the seat of the church to the town. They held their worship on their removal at the house of one William Chapman, in King-street, until they raised a temporary building in the same street, which they occupied but a short time. In 1699, they erected a brick meeting-house on the same lot with the parsonage-house, in Church street, which was afterwards demolished, having been for some time in a ruinous condition. A party had drawn off some years before, and formed a church upon the sentiments of the *General Baptists*, the history of which will be given in its proper place. The lot on which the meeting and parsonage houses had been erected, was given by William Elliot, whose son was now a leading man among the *General Baptists*."⁵

The details of the troubles which followed, and the efforts of the two parties to secure the exclusive occupancy of Mr. Elliot's donation, are long, and not of special interest at the present day. The result was, that the General Assembly awarded the meeting-house to the *General*, and the parsonage to the *Particular* Baptists; to which decision they cordially assented, as before this time they had erected a new house of worship, and the parsonage premises they found convenient for their minister.

In 1787, the church came into peaceable possession of the whole property, which it has held ever since.

Rev. Wm. Peart, was Mr. Screven's immediate successor; he sustained the pastoral relation till his death, a period of eleven years. Next to him was

Rev. Thomas Simmons. The birth place of Mr. Peart is not known, but Mr. Simmons came hither from England, via Philadelphia, and continued in office till his death, in 1747.

Under his ministry this ancient community experienced scenes of great affliction and trouble, on account of the schism and encroachments of a seceding

² Summerton was, probably, the name of a plantation, as I am informed there is no such place now in the region of Charleston.

³ Furman's History of the Charleston Association, p. 5.

⁴ Mr. Edwards dates the beginning of this church in 1664. His accounts were collected from the tradition of ancient people, who must have made a mistake of about 20 years, so far as Screven is concerned, since it is very evident from Backus' History, that Mr. Screven did not leave Piscataway until some time after the year 1680.

⁵ Morgan Edwards' MS. History of the baptists in South Carolina.

party, which organized as a *General Baptist* society, and also from disputes among themselves; so that only one man and two women were found on the list of communicants, when Whitefield first visited Charleston. This dilapidated church shared largely in the revival which followed the evangelical labors of that great Reformer, and from that time to the present, it has been a strong and prosperous body.

Rev. Oliver Hart, a native of Pennsylvania, became the pastor of this people about 1750, and continued in office thirty years, and was driven from it by the troubles of the war of the revolution. For a number of years during that war, the British held possession of the city.

This church was without a settled pastor a number of years; but, in 1787,

Rev. Richard Furman, D.D., was inducted into this important pastorship, where he continued till his death, in 1825, a period of 38 years. Successor to him, was

Rev. Wm. T. Brantley, D.D. He was settled soon after Dr. Furman's decease, and occupied this station till his death.

Rev. N. M. Crawford, from Georgia, was the next in office here, for about two years, when he was transferred to a professorship in Mercer University, in his native State. The name of his successor, if one has been appointed, I have not learned.

ASHLEY RIVER CHURCH, was organized in 1736; for many years before, it had stood as a branch of the mother body at Charleston.

Rev. Isaac Chanler was its first pastor, and continued in office till his death, in 1749.

"Mr. Chanler was born at Bristol, England, in 1701; came to Ashley River about 1733, and continued the much esteemed pastor of this church, until he died, Nov. 30, 1749, in the 49th year of his age. Mr. Chanler was a man of distinguished talents, piety and usefulness. He was the author of a treatise in small quarto, esteemed an able defense of the Calvinistic doctrines, and entitled 'The Doctrines of Glorious Grace Unfolded, Defended and Practically Improved.' He also published a 'Treatise on original Sin,' and a sermon on the death of the Rev. William Tilly.

"*Rev. John Stephens* was next pastor of this church, which became extinct in the time of the revolutionary war, and their valuable property was seized by an individual, and converted to his own use.

EUHAW CHURCH. "The foundation of this church was laid in 1683, when it is said that some baptists from England, in company with those who settled at Ashley River and founded Charleston church, arrived here with the Lord Cardross. They were visited by Mr. Screven, and the succeeding ministers of Charleston, until God raised up a minister among themselves, whose name was William Tilly. The names of the original members, were William Fry, Thomas Grimball, Providence Grimball, Ephraim Mikill, Joseph Sealy, Joseph Perminter, Isaac Perminter, Thomas Perminter, and some others, besides the females, whose names are not known. These persons settled on Edisto Island, where was the seat and centre of the community, which stood as a branch of the Charleston church. About forty years after this settlement was made, the baptist families here began to remove their habitations, some to Port Royal, an island to the south of Edisto, on which the town of Beaufort now stands, and others to Euhaw, otherwise called Indian Island. But the brethren who went to Port Royal, soon followed those who had gone to Euhaw, and by this means the seat of this body was removed from Edisto to the place where it now is.

"This church has built three meeting-houses. The first was erected on the island of Edisto, in 1726; for before this time they met in a common meeting-house, which they were turned out of in 1732, by their overbearing brethren, the Presbyterians. The meeting-house at Euhaw, which is 36 feet by 30, was built in 1751, and it so happened, that as soon as it was finished, Mr. George Whitefield came along and preached in it for the first time.

Besides these, they built a house at Hilton Head, on the island, about 18 miles off, where was formerly a branch of the church.

“It has already been mentioned, that the first minister which this people had to live amongst them was William Tilly. He was a native of Salisbury, in England; was called to the ministry, and ordained by the church in Charleston.

“He resided on Edisto until his death, which happened April 14, 1744, in the 46th year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Chanler, wherein he thus speaks of the deceased:

“A minister he was, able and faithful to declare unto you the whole council of God. Some of you were ear and eye witnesses of his steadfast hope on his death-bed. With what composedness of mind and solid satisfaction received he the awful summons! How free from all the slavish fears of the king of terrors; how affectionately he recommended you to the blessing and protection of God; and with what cheerful resignation gave he up his spirit to the hands of a dear Redeemer! He lived and died in the Lord.”

“Mr. Tilly died two years before the Euhaw church was constituted. This people, for upwards of 60 years after their settlement here, remained a branch of the Charleston church, and for reasons which are not known, took much pains to be considered in that relation, though solicited by the mother body to become a distinct church. But in May, 1746, they were dismissed, and organized into a church, by the assistance of Rev. Isaac Chanler, of Ashley River.

Rev. Francis Pelot was the first minister they had after this period. He was born at Norville, in Switzerland, March 11, 1720, of Presbyterian parents, where he received a good education. He arrived in South Carolina in 1734, and ten years after, he embraced the principles of the baptists. Soon after the Euhaw church was constituted, he was called to be its pastor, in which office he continued with much reputation, until his death, in 1774. Mr. Pelot was a very distinguished man in his day, amongst the South Carolina Baptists. He possessed an ample fortune, and a valuable library, and devoted much of his time to books. Mr. Edwards, in speaking of this eminent man, who was then alive, observes:

“He possesses three islands, and about 3,785 acres on the continent, with slaves and stock in abundance. This (said he) I mention, not to flatter my friend Pelot, but in hope that his conduct may influence other such planters to preach the gospel among the poor baptists when God inclines their hearts to it.”

“Mr. Pelot assisted in ordaining the late Drs. Samuel Stillman of Boston, and Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill,⁶ and preached the sermons on the occasions.”⁷

The late Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, Mass., was ordained at Pedec four years after.

Rev. Joseph Cook was the next in office in this church. He was born in Bath, England; was converted under the ministry of Whitefield; was a student in Lady Huntington's connection, under whose patronage he, with a number of others, came to America; was baptized in 1776, by Dr. Furman, at the High Hills of Santee; was soon after ordained by Messrs. Furman and Hart, and, not long after, was installed over this people, where he died, in 1790, in the 41st year of his age.

Messrs. Holcombe, Joseph B. Cook, Tison, Dr. Johnson, and Sweet, successively officiated with this church.

Rev. W. A. Lawton was the pastor here in 1845.

BEAUFORT CHURCH was formed by a division of the Euhaw, in 1804.

Rev. Richard Fuller, D.D., is now the pastor of this body.

SECOND COMPANY, ON THE PEDEE RIVER, 1737.

In the year 1737, the following baptist members of the *Welsh Tract* church, which was then in the Province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Del-

⁶ These ministers were both ordained in South Carolina; one at Charleston, and the other at Pedec.

⁷ A number of Mr. Pelot's letters to Dr. Smith, while at Haverhill, are in my possession. They were loaned me by Rev. Mr. Smith, editor of the *Christian Review*. They show him to have been an accomplished writer in all respects.

aware, arrived here, viz. : James James, Esq., and wife and three sons, Philip, who was their minister, Abel, Daniel, and their wives ; Daniel Devonald and wife, Thomas Evans and wife, one other of the same name and his wife, John Jones and wife, three of the Harrys, Thomas, David, and John and his wife, Samuel Wilds and wife, Samuel Evans and wife, Griffith Jones and wife, David and Thomas Jones and their wives. These thirty members, with their children and households, settled at a place called *Catfish*, on Pedee River, but they soon removed about fifty miles higher up the same river, where they made a permanent settlement, and where they all, except James James, Esq., who died at *Catfish*, were embodied into a church, January, 1738.

James James, Esq., was the most distinguished of this company of emigrants, for he was the head of the party, and his son Philip became the pastor of the church. Of him, I can learn no more than that he died at *Catfish*. His son Philip, the first pastor of the Welsh Neck church, was born near Pennepeck, Pennsylvania, in 1701 ; he was ordained over the church in 1743, by Messrs. Chanler and Simmons, and died in 1753.

This company were all either native Welchmen or were the descendants of emigrants from that country, who had resided a while in Pennsylvania and Delaware before they emigrated to this southern location.

This was a substantial company of baptist professors, and laid a foundation for a permanent and highly respectable community, which branched out in different directions, and naturally gathered around it the new comers of the country, who were attracted to them by affinities of national character and language.

Rev. John Brown succeeded Mr. James in the pastoral office. He was born near Burlington, New Jersey, in 1714, but was brought up at Frankfort, near Philadelphia. He came to Pedee about the time the above-mentioned company emigrated hither, where he was baptized and called to the ministry, and where he was ordained, May 7, 1750, but for some reasons he continued not long in the care of the church. He preached in different places around until his death, and for aught that appears, supported a character becoming his profession.

Rev. Joshua Edwards was next pastor of this church. He was born Feb'y, 1703, in Pembrokehire, South Wales, from which place he emigrated to *Welsh Tract*, in Delaware, where he continued almost 30 years, and then removed to South Carolina, and had the care of this church about six years.

Rev. Robert Williams succeeded Mr. Edwards. He was born at Northampton, N. C., in 1717, and was ordained at Welsh Neck, in 1752 ; but, by some means, he continued but a short time in the pastoral office here. He died April 8th, 1788. His funeral sermon was preached by Rev. Evan Pugh, who gave him the following character :

“He was kind to the poor, and remarkably so to the afflicted ; a man of excellent natural parts, and a minister who preached the gospel to the edification and comfort of souls, as many have testified to me ; and, to crown all, a sincere christian,” &c.

The late *Hon. David R. Williams*, of South Carolina, was a grandson of this venerable divine.

Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood succeeded Mr. Williams. He was born at Thorns-bury, Gloucestershire, England. Mr. Bedgegood was, for some time, in the employ of Mr. Whitefield, in his Orphan House, near Savannah, Geo., and was afterwards baptized by Mr. Hart, of Charleston. He was brought up in the establishment at home, and his conversion to the sentiments of the baptists is said to have been effected by a sermon of Dr. Watts, which was *intended* to operate the other way. He concluded that the Dr. had said the best that could be said on the subject, and if so, he saw that the best only proved infant baptism is an unscriptural practice.

Rev. Elhannan Winchester, who afterwards became a famous advocate for the doctrine of *universal restoration*, was five years pastor of this church. After him, came Messrs. Botsford, Lilly, Woods, White, and Dossey.

The seat of this church, many years since, was removed to *Society Hill*, about two miles distant from the old location, where a flourishing village has

grown up. For a few years, this new name was assumed by this ancient body, but a strong attachment to the old and long endeared appellation by which this community had, for about a century, been distinguished, induced them to reinstate the Cambro-British cognomen to their venerable fraternity. The pastor, and most of the white population, reside at Society Hill; here their worship is maintained, and the old location on the river is one of the out-posts of their community.

Rev. James C. Furman, now of the Furman Institute, was pastor here a number of years.

Rev. Samuel Furman is the present pastor. Both are sons of the late Dr. Furman.

Branches of the old Welsh Neck Church.

This body being much the oldest and most efficient, may be considered as the mother of all the churches in this region.

The Cheraw and Antioch were constituted immediately from it.*

THIRD COMPANY OF SEPARATE BAPTISTS.

The beginning of this people in this State has been referred to in the histories of North Carolina and Virginia, in which it was shown that this enterprising community were still pushing on their pious conquest in a southern direction, and that the *Congaree Settlement* was the centre of their first operations in South Carolina. Daniel Marshall and Philip Mulky were the most distinguished among their ministers in these early times.

By far the greater portion of the denomination in this State descended from the infant settlement of these *New-light* Reformers in the middle and upper regions of the State. James Fowler, William Shackelford, David Lilly, Joseph Reese, Samuel Newton, John Rooker, Joseph Camp, and many other ministers, in process of time, came forward in the work to help forward the growing cause; by their efforts, not only were the sentiments of the baptists extended far and wide, but the peculiarities of this singular people were gradually mollified and corrected, and then the way was prepared for that cordial union and consolidation with their brethren of the *Regular* order, which more than half a century since was amicably effected.

On the ground first occupied by the *Separates* have arisen the Bethel, Broad River, Saluda, Edgefield, Moriah, Reedy River, and, indeed, most of the Associations in the State.

But, to return to the commencement of their first operations:—these evangelical adventurers were accompanied by many of their brethren in their removals. Marshall settled at Beaver Creek, where he soon gathered a church. Here he tarried not long, before he removed to Stephen's Creek, where he tarried a while, and then went over the Savannah River, and settled in Georgia, where the remainder of his useful life was spent in the service of his Master.

Mr. Mulky exercised his ministry in different places, in the upper regions of this State, where he was for many years a very reputable and successful minister; but the latter part of his life was most sadly beclouded.

The FAIRFOREST CHURCH, now belonging to the Bethel Association, was founded by him, and as it is the oldest of the *Separate Baptists* in the State, and became the mother of many others, we shall give some sketches of its early history.

In the year 1759, Philip Mulky and wife, Stephen Howard and wife, Benjamin Gist and wife, Obediah Howard and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Charles Thompson, Thomas Thompson, and Rachel Collins, all members of Deep River Church in North Carolina, arrived in this State and settled first at Broad River, where they embodied into a church, and chose Mr. Mulky for their pas-

* Letter of Dr. McIver, of Society Hill, 1845.

tor. After tarrying here about two years, and increasing to 104, the above named thirteen persons (leaving the rest behind) removed to Fairforest, where they were again formed into a church, in 1762, which, in about ten years, increased to 167 members. Some of their habitations were a hundred miles from each other; and besides the main establishment, there were four branches, which in process of time, were organized into distinct churches.

Mr. Mulky's conversion, as related by Mr. Edwards, was truly remarkable. His success in the ministry, says this historian, was so great, that he became exalted above measure in his own esteem, and in that of his converts, but at length, to the grief of the friends of Zion, he began to stumble, and soon fell into many heinous sins, and remained, when an old man, an outcast from the church, and a disgrace to the precious cause of which he had been such an eminent champion.

Much of the history of the company now under review, has been anticipated under the N. C. head; it will be more fully developed in the accounts of the Associations which have sprung from it, which will soon be related.

SECTION II.

ASSOCIATIONS—EASTERN DIVISION.

Charleston Association—Welsh Neck—Savannah River—Histories of each in succession.

ALTHOUGH South Carolina exceeds the North State in numerical strength, yet its Associations are not half so numerous; they are generally much larger, and as I have good correspondents in nearly all of them, and have a well-written history before me of the oldest and most important institution of the kind in the State, my labor in describing them will be much less than I have lately encountered. Indeed, my materials are much more ample than my limits will allow me to insert, as in very few portions of the Union have I found a set of more prompt and efficient coadjutors in my historical pursuits than in the Palmetto State.

CHARLESTON ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed Oct. 21, 1751, and was the third institution of the kind in this country. It was at first composed of the four churches, whose history has been given, viz., Charleston, Ashley River, Euhaw, and Welsh Neck. The reason for this organization is thus related by Mr. Wood Furman, a son of Dr. Furman, in his history of this Association, published in 1811:

“Mr. Hart, then pastor of the Charleston church, having seen in the Philadelphia Association the happy consequences of union and stated intercourse among churches maintaining the same faith and order, was induced to promote the organization now under consideration. Rev. Messrs. Stephens, Hart, Pelot, Brown, and Edwards, were the only ministers in their first meeting. Messrs. James Fowler, William Screven, Richard Bedon, Charles Barker, Benjamin Parminter, Thomas Harrison, Philip Douglas, and John Mikell, were the lay messengers.”

“In 1755, the Association, taking into consideration the destitute condition of many places in the interior settlements of this and the neighboring States (then provinces), recommended to the churches to make contributions for the support of a missionary, to itinerate in those parts. Mr. Hart was authorized and requested, provided a sufficient sum should be raised, to procure, if possible, a suitable person for the purpose. With this view he visited Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in the following year, and prevailed with Rev. John Gano to undertake the service, who attended the annual meeting, and was cordially received. The Association requested Mr. Gano to visit the Yadkin settlement, in North Carolina, first, and afterwards to bestow his labors wherever Providence should appear to direct. He devoted himself to the work; it afforded ample scope

for his distinguished piety, eloquence, and fortitude ; and his ministrations were crowned with remarkable success. Many embraced and professed the gospel. The following year he received from the Association a letter of thanks for his faithfulness and industry in the mission. At the same time, the expediency of raising a fund to furnish suitable candidates for the ministry with a competent share of learning, was taken into consideration, and it was recommended to the churches generally, to collect money for the purpose. The members present engaged, in behalf of their constituents, to furnish one hundred and thirty-three pounds to begin the fund ; and Messrs. Stephens, Hart, and Pelot, were chosen trustees. In 1759, Mr. Evan Pugh was proposed, by Mr. Gano, as a candidate for the ministry. He was examined, approved, and put on a course of studies. Having gone through them, he preached before the Association in 1762, with acceptance, and was soon after ordained.

“ The general contributions from the churches were not so great as was wished. But a society instituted in Charleston, in 1755, which was called the ‘ Religious Society,’ and flourished many years, was highly useful in aiding the Association in its benevolent design. Several young men were furnished by it with the means of pursuing studies preparatory to the ministry. Of this number, were Messrs. Samuel Stillman, and Edmund Botsford, both from the church in Charleston. The former was ordained there, February 26, 1759, and in 1807, finished at Boston, a long life, distinguished by fervent piety, shining talents, and eminent usefulness.

“ In 1767, the Association having previously called the serious attention of the churches to the subject, formally adopted the Confession of Faith published by the London Assembly of 1689. This had been previously held by the churches in their individual capacities, particularly that of Charleston, from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The church at Ashley River, adopted it March 18, 1737. Messrs. Hart and Pelot were appointed to draw up a system of discipline agreeable to Scripture, to be used by the churches. This they brought forward in 1772, and Rev. Morgan Edwards and Mr. David Williams were requested to assist the compilers in revising it. In 1773, it was examined by the Association, and adopted. That, and the Confession of Faith, were printed under the inspection of Mr. Hart.

“ In 1772, a correspondence was begun with the Philadelphia Association, by means of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, one of their ministers, who was present.

“ In 1773, the first regular and full account of additions and other alterations in the churches was taken. Their number of churches was then reduced to eight, which contained 390 members. The few churches from North Carolina had previously withdrawn. Mr. Gano attended as messenger from the Philadelphia Association, in 1774. He, and Mr. Hart, and Pelot, by appointment of the Charleston Association, addressed the Baptist Associations throughout America, in favor of a plan of contributions for augmenting the funds of Rhode Island College. Messrs. Hart and Williams were nominated to receive contributions for that institution, and to transmit the same to Col. Job Bennet, in Newport. In 1775, a correspondence was begun with the Warren and Ketockton Associations. The churches were urged to contribute for the relief of their brethren in Massachusetts, suffering from restrictions on their religious liberties; and the money which should be raised, was directed to be sent to the care of Rev. Isaac Backus.

“ About this time a number of trials were made to effect a union with the *Separates*, who had now become numerous in the upper part of the State, and liberal terms, as the Association esteemed them, were offered to the zealous *New Lights*, but they would be satisfied with nothing short of the *Regulars* coming into their views. So the desirable object was not then accomplished.

“ In 1776, the Association did not meet, on account of the troubles of the war, and for a number of succeeding years, the evils always attendant on such calamitous events were generally experienced among them. Their ministers

were scattered in different directions, and derangement and dilapidation were everywhere seen among their once flourishing and prosperous churches. Their annual meetings, however, were generally continued.

"In addition to all other troubles, about this time, two of their small company of ministers fell under censure, and were silenced from the office, viz., Messrs. Stephens and Bedgegood. These men were in high repute, and their defection was most sensibly felt by this afflicted community. Mr. Stephens became intemperate, and the other had married a second wife, while his first one, whom he had left in England, was still alive. His only plea was, that he had good reasons to believe she was dead. But dissatisfaction ensued, his ministry was crippled, his brethren were grieved, and his usefulness was much impeded.

"But in 1782, they began to recover from their long continued depression, and more favorable prospects opened before them.

"In this year they met at Welsh Neck; a day of thanksgiving was appointed for the interposition of Providence in favor of America; and ministers were designated to visit and assist the destitute churches.

"In 1785, Rev. Silas Mercer and Peter Smith, appeared as messengers from the Georgia Association, with which a correspondence was opened; and the year after, the Rev. Joseph Cook, was desired to address the Kent and Sussex Associations, in England.

"In 1800, this body gave a favorable response to a proposition from the Philadelphia Association, to establish a General Conference of the Baptist Associations throughout the United States, under proper regulations and restrictions."

Our limits will not admit of any farther details of an institution, whose progress, if not so rapid as others, was yet very steady and sure, always exhibiting a careful solicitude for the welfare of the churches in its connection, and for the increasing of the denomination with which it held a prominent and very respectable rank. In my 2nd Vol., of 1812, I find the following notice of the doings of this body:

"There is one item of its history which must not be omitted, as it reflects much honor on these southern brethren for their benevolent efforts in favor of that portion of their members who have ever been numerous in their churches.

"In 1801, they petitioned the Legislature for an amendment of the law passed the preceding year, imposing restrictions on religious meetings, so far as it respects persons of color. The petition was renewed the next year, and attended with a degree of success. The thanks of the Association were returned to General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Major Thomas Pinckney, and Henry William Desaussure, Esq., for their patriotic exertions in its behalf."

This Association has now existed 96 years, and during this long period, it has been uniform in its principles and pursuits, having been under the management of men of intelligence and stability. Among its early doings, it paid special attention to the cause of missions, ministerial education, and all benevolent institutions then patronized and promoted by evangelical christians.

So deeply were they imbued with the spirit of missions, that almost a hundred years since, they sent more than a thousand miles for Rev. John Gano, to become their missionary in destitute parts of their own State, and of N. C. He was appointed and supported in the same manner as missionaries are at the present time.

The Moderators and Clerks, as far as I have ascertained their names, have been as follows:

John Brown,*	Oliver Hart,	F. Wood,	Wm. T. Brantley,
Jno. Stephens,	Evan Pugh,	J. M. Roberts,	S. Furman,
Francis Pelot,	E. Botsford,	R. Furman,	J. B. Cook,
			D. Sheppard.

* Mr. Brown, as has already been stated, was a native of N. J. My list of the Moderators and Clerks, is no doubt deficient since 1810; up to that period I have followed Furman's History of this body; since then my file of Minutes is imperfect. Dr. Furman presided over this body some ten or fifteen years.

The clerks have been

O. Hart,	J. Cowan,	J. B. Cook,	R. Messidine,
N. Bedgegood,	E. McIver,	J. M. Roberts,	W. Riley,
E. Pugh,	— Bainbridge,	D. Collins,	J. Dupre,
E. Matthews,	H. Holcombe,	— Morsley,	Heriot,
D. Williams,	R. Furman,	A. Marvin,	Wm. E. Hughson,
E. Botsford,	F. Wood,	W. B. Johnson,	T. W. Haynes.
E. Winchester,	— Waldo,		

The FIRST CHURCH, Charleston, is the largest as well as the oldest, in this Association.¹⁰

WELSH NECK ASSOCIATION

Was formed almost entirely by a colony from a northern portion of the Charleston, in 1832. It went off by the cordial approbation of the mother body. It begun with 19 churches; it has now just double that number, and most of the additions have been by new constitutions.

The accounts which we have already given of the *Pedee Company*, embraces the substance of the history of this growing and efficient community.

Would my limits permit, so ample are my materials, that I could give historical sketches of most of the old churches in this body, and of some of more modern date.

The WELSH NECK CHURCH, is not only the oldest, but the largest in this body.¹

SAVANNAH RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1802, with only three churches, two in the city of Savannah, and one at Newington, not far distant. It was at first entirely a Georgia institution, but soon after it began its operations, a number of churches belonging to the Charleston Association in that end of the State, united with the new fraternity, and soon it became a large and flourishing community. Since the organization of the Sunbury Association, in 1818, which includes the Savannah churches, this has been a S. C. institution, and is the most populous in the State. It has more than forty churches, of very unequal size; a few of them are of great age, but the most of them have been formed within the present century, and about half of them are of recent origin.

The EUHAW CHURCH, 1745, *W. A. Lawton* pastor, has already been described.

The BEAUFORT CHURCH, 1804, which descended from that ancient community, has been incidentally referred to.

Rev. Wm. T. Brantley, D.D., late pastor of the Charleston church, for many years presided over this great baptist interest, which is an agglomeration of branch churches of the colored population of a number of the surrounding islands.

Rev. R. Fuller, D.D., now pastor elect of a church in Baltimore, resides in Beaufort, and has been pastor of this church for many years.

From the church manual of this important baptist interest, I learn that for a long time it stood as a branch of the old Euhaw establishment, and that the pastors preached on alternate Sabbaths at both places. But as the healthy town of Beaufort, on the Island of Port Royal, was the preferable location, they for

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 1643; all but 261 were people of color; Second do., or Wentworth Street, 312; 200 whites; Georgetown, W. W. Childers, 831; 33 only whites; Columbia, 418; Congaree, T. Adams, 315; Swift Creek, N. Graham, 295; High Hills, T. W. Millichamp, 274; Beulah, 256; Goose Creek, 222; Bethel, 174; Amelia Township, 173; Moriah, 165; Camden, 160; Antioch, 135; Calvary, H. W. Mahoney, 130; Sumpterville, J. Dupre, 122; Four Holes, 120; Santee, 109.

The colored members in the aggregate, are about double the whites in this Association.
¹ In 1846, it reported 477; 83 only were whites; Bennettsville, W. Q. Beattie, 292; Bethel, 231; Gupway, 220; Salem, 182; Catfish, 157; Elim, J. M. Timmons, 150; Black Creek, 146; Mizpah, R. Napier, 126; Lake Swamp, 115; Antioch, 101; Mount Zion, E. Hicks, 101.

the most part resided here ; but the difficulties of passing from the island to the main land, in process of time, led to the detachment of the branch from the mother body.

The two *Messrs. Cooks, Joseph, and J. B., and Dr. Halcombe*, were among the pastors of the old two-fold community. Dr. H. was transferred from this place to the pastorship of the church in Savannah.

Dr. Fuller informs me that the Beaufort church employs a number of missionaries within their own bounds, on their own and the neighboring islands.² This community is the largest in this Association, and probably in this whole region of country.³

The three Associations thus far described, viz., Charleston, Welsh Neck, and Savannah River, contain one half of the numerical strength of the whole denomination in the State ; they are in what is called the Low Country ; about four times the number of associational communities are yet to be brought under review, which are in the middle and upper regions of this commonwealth.

SECTION III.

Congaree Association—Bethel do.—Broad River—Saluda—Moriah—Reedy River—Tiger River—Edgefield—Edisto—Twelve Mile River—W. Union, &c.

We are now prepared to examine the doings of the *New England New-Lights, or Separate Baptists* in South Carolina, to show the result of their operations here in early times—and to trace out the great results of their small beginnings in this, their last stopping-place but one.

CONGAREE ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1771, out of churches which had formerly belonged to the wide-spread community which once extended over a considerable portion of the then settled parts of the two Carolinas and Va.

We have seen, under the head of Virginia, that the old *General Association* which was planted at first by the labors of Stearns, Marshall, Harris, and their evangelical associates, was, by mutual agreement, divided in 1770 ; and that the three companies which arose out of that old and peculiar confederacy, went off into the three Colonies into which their churches had spread. That the Virginians at first assumed the name of *Rapid Ann*, from that of a water course on which one of the churches was situated, but soon after exchanged it for that of the *General Association*, p. 649 ; but the North Carolinians still kept up the endeared cognomen of Sandy Creek ; while the brethren of the South Colony, whose oldest and most important churches were situated on the *Congaree*, applied the name of this important stream to their new organization, which was not fully matured until the year after the division above referred to.⁴ It consisted at first of seven churches, viz., Congaree, Fairforest, Stephen's Creek, Burch River, Mine Creek, and two by the name of *Little River*, one a branch of the Broad River, the other of the Saluda. The centre of this community was

² Dr. Fuller is a native of this place ; his father was an active member of the church, and a local preacher. I was well acquainted with the family while Richard was in his minority. My first visit to Beaufort was in 1810 ; then it was the residence chiefly of planters, whose estates were on the main, and the neighboring islands ; they congregated here on account of the healthiness of the location. In later times I suppose the place has assumed the habits of a business town, which was not the case in its early settlement.

³ In 1845, it reported 2,323 ; Euhaw, 1,100 ; May River, 1,045 ; St. Helena, W. Hall, 919 ; Black Swamp, T. W. Rambaut, 367 ; Coosawhatchie, H. A. Duncan, 300 ; Union, L. M. Brown, 298 ; Smyrna, E. Estes, 175 ; Columbia, 158 ; Great Saltketcher, J. Fant, 152 ; Springtown, 149 ; Barnwell, D. Peoples, 141 ; Rosemary, 112 ; Healing Springs, 112 ; Steel Creek, 106 ; Little Saltketcher, 101 ; Beech Branch, J. T. Sweat, 101.

No distinction is made between the white and colored members in the Minutes of this Association.

⁴ The Congaree is one of the main branches of the great Santee, which empties into the Atlantic between Charleston and Georgetown.

at no great distance from Columbia, the present Capitol of the State. By the advice and assistance of Morgan Edwards, this young fraternity opened a correspondence with the Philadelphia Association, and went on for a time with the usual prosperity of these distinguished reformers. But in the course of a few years the body got into trouble, as Mr. Edwards asserts, by attempting to do more in the affairs of the churches, than properly belonged to an *Advisory Council*, which threw them into embarrassment, hindered the harmony of their associational interviews, and ended in the dissolution of the body, or rather its transformation into a new one, by the name of the

BETHEL ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1789, which for more than half a century, has been one of the most important institutions of the denomination in the middle regions of this State. It arose on the same ground that the Congaree community formerly occupied; indeed it seems to have been the same people under a different name.

This body, at its constitution, consisted of sixteen churches. They immediately delegated James Fowler, one of their principal ministers, to the Charleston Association, who was cordially received; and who, pursuant to his instructions, so far adjusted the little matters of difference, which had heretofore prevented their union with the Separates, that a correspondence was opened, which has been maintained to the present time.

From this period the name of *Separate* began to be disused, and was soon entirely laid aside; so that the baptists in South Carolina, from whatever source they originated, have for many years past been united in their external order and doctrinal sentiments.

The Bethel Association has been a very flourishing body, and has had within its bounds a number of very extensive revivals. It also shared largely in that extraordinary work which prevailed in the southern and western, and some other States, from 1800 and onward.

In 1803, there were received by baptism in all the churches of which it was composed, 1,411 persons, which made its total number at that time, notwithstanding the Broad River and the Saluda River Associations had been set off from it before, 3,518.

For eleven years, this and the Charleston were the only two Associations in S. C., and this growing body appears to have spread over all the middle and upper regions of the State. From it, directly or indirectly, all the other institutions of the kind have originated.

Rev. E. Ray, the clerk of this ancient community, has supplied me with the full details of its operations for upwards of fifty years, with its annual meetings, additions, moderators, clerks, &c.

From these sketches, it appears that its business has always been regularly conducted, and no special hinderance has impeded its progress. It has been well supplied with ministers of activity and influence, and its churches have been well established in faith and practice; its numbers have in many instances gone up to about four thousand, and seldom have fallen below two; the average has been about 2,500: this variation has resulted from the formation of new Associations, which have been made up wholly or in part from its churches.

It took an early stand in favor of missions and other benevolent operations; in 1837, its collections for missions alone, was between four and five thousand dollars.

For a number of years past, the churches have reported the number of their colored members.

In 1838, their white members were 1,502; colored do., 637. In 1843, the whites were 1,804; colored, 1,000.

David Lilly was an eminent minister in this Association, nearly, if not quite from its establishment, until the Edgefield Association was taken from it, when

he united with that body and died within its bounds about 1809. There were sufficient materials for an interesting memoir of his life, which his friends proposed to publish, and from which I intended to select a few biographical sketches of his character; but this tribute of respect, which was due to the memory of an eminent and worthy minister of the gospel, has never been paid.

James Fowler, was long a very useful and distinguished minister among the churches in this region. What little I have learnt of his history, is as follows:

"Some time before the Bethel Association was formed, he, with two other men who were brothers, by the name of Rogers, were together pursuing the same occupation, in a situation remote from any of the baptist denomination. They were brought up presbyterians, and emigrated hither from some of the northern States. Their minds were awakened to religious concerns, and, regardless of the traditions of their fathers, they took the Bible for their creed, and from it they formed a religious system of their own. They at length heard of a baptist preacher, who lived about 20 or 30 miles from them, and to him they delegated one of their number to see how far his religious tenets and theirs would agree. When the messenger returned, he informed them that the minister's principles and theirs were exactly alike, and that he had a large church of the same mind. Having thus found a people with whom they were agreed, and with whom they could associate for the communion of saints, they immediately repaired to them, were baptized, and admitted into their community. Returning home, they soon set up little meetings where they lived, in which Mr. Fowler was generally put forward. In this way he began his labors, and soon became an eminent minister of the gospel of Christ, and finished his course with joy, in February, 1802, being about 60 years of age. He was at first the moderator of this Association, and was, for many years, one of its principal ministers."

The Bethel Association, as it now stands, is in the districts (the same as counties in the other States) of Spartanburg, Union, Newbury, Fairfield, Chester, and York.

The ENOREE CHURCH, *G. W. Brooks* pastor, is the largest in old Bethel.⁵

The Moderators of this body have been as follows:

Jas. Fowler, W. Shackelford, J. Waller,	J. Camp, R. Shackelford, J. Rooker,	Thos. Greer, W. Woodward, S. M. Creery,	Thos. Ray, since 1825 to the present time.
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Richard Shackelford presided over this body seven years, but not in regular succession; Fowler 4 years, and Rooker 6.

The clerks have been more numerous; their names on the records are as follows:—

Wm. Ford, Wm. Lancaster, D. Lilley, S. Eccles,	J. M. McCreery, Chas. Crow, J. S. C—, H. M. Mitchell,	J. R. Wood, J. Davis, O. Woodward, J. K. Johnson,	Wm. Bailey, E. Ray.
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C. Crow, held on nine years in succession; E. Ray has sustained the clerkship since 1839.

This Association spread from the North to the South side of the State, in the time of its greatest enlargement.

BROAD RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1800, and was the first colony which went off from this growing community. It consisted at first of fourteen churches in the north-west corner of the State and some of them were in N. C. The churches were on both sides of the river from which it took its name. This river rises in the mountains, and unites with the Saluda in forming the Congaree, which is a branch of the Great Santee.

This Association experienced very great enlargement soon after it was formed. In the spring of 1802, the powerful work which prevailed at that time throughout this country, began to be experienced by the churches in this

⁵ In 1845, it reported 244; Hopewell, W. Nolen, 168; Calvary, F. Fant, 139; Chesterfield, 128; Concord, C. M. Porter, 125; Rock Creek, 125; Padgett's Creek, T. Ray, 122; New Hope, W. P. Martin, 120; Cane Creek, D. Duncan, 118; Beaver Creek, E. Fant, 106; Unity, Seekwell, Gilead, and Union, are all between 90 and 100.

This body contains about 3,000 communicants; about 1,200 are colored members.

body, and continued more or less for three successive years, in which it received an addition, by baptism of 1,296 members, which increased the whole number to upwards of 2,000.

Most of the churches are in the neighborhood of the Blue Ridge, and none of them are far distant from the mountainous part of the back country.

About one third of this body is in N. C., and the Catawba and Green River Associations, which I have described under the head of that State, went out from it. Those in the South State are in the districts of Spartanburg and some of the neighboring ones.

The SANDY RUN CHURCH, *D. Dobbins* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶ This church is in North Carolina.

SALUDA ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the old Bethel, in 1803; only three years after, the colony which formed the one last named, went off from that growing body. This great increase was owing to the extensive revivals through all this country, which has been already referred to. Its churches were then in the south-east part of the State, on both sides of the river which gave it its name, and like the Broad River, extends to the mountains.

The following historical sketches of this Association were sent me by Rev. A. Rice, whose account begins with 1820, when it contained thirty churches, between 11 and 12 hundred members, and thirteen ordained ministers. Soon after this period, W. B. Johnson, D.D., became a member of this body, and its presiding officer for a number of years, and made successful efforts to enlist the feelings of the churches and ministers in benevolent operations. In 1827 and '29, a considerable number of churches were dismissed to assist in forming the Reedy River and Twelve Mile River Association, and a few years after, three more went off to unite with the Tiger River Association.

"In 1831 a remarkable revival of religion spread its influence throughout the churches, and in one year 1279 were added by baptism, making the total number 2500.

"Other revivals, says Mr. Rice, have been frequently enjoyed in many of the churches, which now (1843) number 29 ordained ministers, 24 churches, and the total of members about 2500."

Elders Elnathan Davis, a native of Maryland, and *Moses Holland*, were distinguished ministers in the early movements of this body. *James Crowther*, *Arthur Williams*, *Lewis Rector*, *James Hembree*, and *Nathan Berry*, are also named as men highly esteemed in this Association. Most of the churches are in Anderson District. Benevolent operations have met with favor among most of the churches; some few, however, have opposed them, and a few years since two of the churches withdrew, to unite with a few others in forming a new interest, on the anti-missionary plan, to which they gave the name of the *Fork Shoal Association*.

I have gained no information of this new body, except what Mr. Rice has communicated. At its commencement it consisted of five or six small churches, which went off from the Saluda, Reedy River, and Twelve Mile River Associations. Their ministers were *James Hembree*, *Jonathan Deweese*, *John Vandavier*, and some others. It is now extinct.

"This Association embraces a small extent of territory; it is situated principally in Anderson District; a few of the churches are in Abbeville and Greenville. The ministers are all advocates of what we call benevolent institutions; the temperance cause generally meets with their countenance and support—ministerial education is also receiving their countenance," &c.⁷

The PENIEL CHURCH, *A. Rice* pastor, is one of the largest in the Saluda community.

⁶ In 1843, it reported 171; Antioch, W. Hill, 151; Goucher Creek, F. W. Littlejohn, 139; Pacolet, J. G. Kendrick, 134; Buck Creek, J. Kirkendol, 123; Providence, S. Morgan, 104. The number of colored members is not distinguished in the Minutes.

⁷ Letter of Rev. A. Rice to the author, 1843.

The FIRST CREEK CHURCH, A. Williams pastor, is of the same size.*

The Edgefield Association, on account of its age and contiguity to the Saluda, would naturally come next under review, but I judge it best to finish the northern part of the State before I take those on the southern and western lines. I shall take those on the upper regions in the order of time in which they arose.

MORIAH ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1815, with the nine following churches, viz. : Beaver Creek, Flat Rock, U. F. Lynch Creek, Fork Hill, Richardson's Creek, Lane's Creek, Gourdvine, Meadow Branch, and Rock River. A part of them were in Anson Co., N. C.; those in S. C. were in the district of Lancaster, but in the course of 30 years, their churches have spread into those of York, Chesterfield, and of Kershaw.

Rev. W. F. Brasington, the moderator of this fraternity, has given me an account much in detail of its rise and progress; from his narratives I learn that George Pope was the moderator of the first meeting, and filled that office till his death, in 1818. Mr. B. speaks of him as a man of much distinction for usefulness in his day.

The moderators after him, for a number of years, were Jesse Lewellen, Jesse Pope, John Kensington, J. Holmes, J. T. Copeland, &c.

Jonathan and J. P. Thompson officiated as clerks the first fifteen years.

The principal ministers of the Moriah Association, for many years from the beginning, were C. Ingram, J. Thompson, Geo. and Jesse Pope, J. Kensington, E. Figg, J. Lewellen, E. Taylor, J. Bennett, W. Blackmon, J. Gullledge, J. Holmes, J. Williams, J. T. Copeland, Wm. McNabb, &c.

This community began its operations on the friendly side of evangelical efforts, and some of their doings, as reported in their Minutes, show a good degree of liberality among the churches.

One article in their Minutes for 1845, with reference to the opposers of the cause of benevolence, speaks in the following emphatic terms :

"A request was made from the Bethel Church, one of their fraternity in N. C., for the Association to give the churches some *advice* how they ought to treat the opposers of the missionary enterprise. A committee, consisting of W. F. Brasington, P. T. Hammond, and J. T. Lee, made the following report :

"In answering the above request, we have regard only to the religious standing of Anti-Missionaries with ourselves, as an Association of Baptist Churches. We regard them in the light of secession—having seceded from the principles and practices of all baptist missionary bodies. By reference to the history of our Association, we may see that missionary principles and practices were interwoven with our early associational existence. Some of these Anties have gone out from us, after having subscribed to those principles and participated in those practices. In *going out*, and in compact form, they have denounced our ministry as heterodox, and our churches as extravagantly corrupt, by declaring non-fellowship with us. It appears to us that their principle relies upon factional strength for success, and consequently threatens the dissolution of christian ties and the destruction of church harmony. In view of these facts, and with a desire to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace, and to perpetuate the rich inheritance to another generation (so far as we can, by example and counsel), we advise the churches forming this Association, to exercise all possible, but laudable means to prevent the access of those characters to, and the deleterious influence of their principles on your respective congregations. Brethren, after having gone as far as they have with us, and then against us, there is no law in nature or charity which will suffice to open our pulpits to them. Matt. x. 16, 17."

This Association appends the dates of their churches to their statistical table; from this, I learn that the church called the

UPPER F. L. CREEK, 1776, J. T. Copeland pastor, is the oldest in this confederacy, and

* In 1846, they reported 204; Neal's Creek, A. Magee, 197; Little River, 171; Broadmouth, W. P. Martin, 141; Anderson Village, 130; Big Creek, 114; Cross Roads, 107; Dorchester, R. King, 107; Washington, A. Acker, 96; Rocky River, 95.

DEEP CREEK, 1778, *J. Gullledge* pastor, is the next in point of age; all the others have been formed within the present century; most of them are of recent date.

FORK HILL CHURCH, *Wm. F. Brasington* pastor, is the largest in this community.⁹

The colored population in this highland region is small, compared with the low country; the members are about 300, being less than one-fifth of the Association.

REEDY RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1825, with seven churches, all from the Saluda; others from the Bethel soon fell in with the new interest, and by the organization of new churches, and the augmentation of the old ones, it has become the fourth in size among the kindred institutions of the State.

Messrs. D. Nance and D. Mangum, are my guides as to the rise and progress of this community; from them I learn that for a long time, a large portion of the members were decidedly opposed to missions of all kinds, foreign and domestic, and all institutions usually called benevolent, and that it was but lately that the Association, as such, could be brought to recognize them as suitable for their countenance and support. Mr. Mangum writes as follows on this whole subject:

"As to Sunday Schools and Bible Classes, they exist in but two places, viz.: *Newbury Village* and *Standing Spring*; the rest of the churches have discontinued them and adopted the prayer-meeting system.

"The churches within a few years past, have got very much in the spirit of improvement, and have now generally good houses of worship; they have for the most part stated pastors, or supplies who attend them monthly.

"As to your interrogatory in reference to the education and support of ministers, I have to say, we are far behind the times—at least half a century. It is but little that any of our ministers get from their churches, and the education of ministers is held in utter contempt by numbers. I am happy, however, to say that the days of darkness and ignorance are passing away, and the dawn of better days appear.

"Some of us have been laboring for a long time against the strongest opposition, to get up a missionary spirit in our Association, and have at length succeeded; this is the second year since we have started it on foot, and it appears to be gaining rapidly."

In answer to my inquiry as to some of the strongest churches, Mr. Mangum names Bush River, Warrior's Creek, Beaver Dam, &c. The succession of pastors in these communities, is given by Mr. M.¹⁰

The WARRIOR CREEK CHURCH, *T. Robertson* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

The BUSH RIVER CHURCH, over which *Mr. Mangum* presides, is the next in size.

This community is situated mostly in the districts of Laurens, Newbury, and Greenville.

TIGER RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This young community was organized in 1833; it was composed of churches from the Bethel and Reedy River, adjoining which it is situated, being, with but two exceptions, in the Districts of Greenville and Spartanburg.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 255; Spring Hill, M. N. Strickling, 168; Flat Rock, 146; U. F. L. Creek, 120; Sugar Creek, J. P. Pritchard, 118; Beaver Creek, 104.

¹⁰ Pastorships, through all the south and west, with but few exceptions, are on the monthly system; and so they are managed here.

¹ In 1845, it reported 230; Bush River, D. Mangum, 201; Columbia, A. Acker, 185; Mount Pleasant, 169; Cross Roads, J. Peterson, 151; Bethabara, W. Hitt, same; Chestnut Ridge, 141; Newbury, S. Gibson, 136; Friendship, B. Boyd, 127; L. Duncan's Creek, E. Lindsey, 120; Rabun's Creek, W. P. Martin, 116; Cedar Shoals, 112; Poplar Springs, W. C. Smith, 114; Hurricane, 100.

EDISTO, TWELVE MILE RIVER, AND W. UNION ASSOCIATIONS. 717

In the doings of this fraternity for 1845, I find mention made of a Board of Domestic Missions, who were authorized to employ one or more missionaries to labor within their bounds, as their funds would permit.

The cause of foreign missions is also recognized and sustained by the annual contributions of the churches of this Association.²

The CLEAR SPRING CHURCH, *S. Knight* pastor, or supply, appears to be the largest in this associational connection.³

I am now prepared to go down to the southern and south-western parts of the State, where a few more associational communities are found.

EDGEFIELD ASSOCIATION.

This institution has existed forty years save one, as it was organized in 1808; it was first called *Beulah*, but this name it soon exchanged for that of the large district in which the churches are situated, which joins the Savannah River on the south. The old Bethel supplied materials for this Association in the outset; this body has set off the *Edisto*, and still it is the third in point of numerical strength in the State. The churches are not so much more numerous than those in its sister communities around, but an unusual number of them are large, as our statistical accounts will show. Soon after this fraternity began its operations, a revival of religion, of uncommon power, spread its influence throughout its bounds, so that in a year and a half, about fourteen hundred persons were baptized into the fellowship of its churches. Not far from one-third of this number were baptized in two churches by Elder Samuel Marsh, one of their most active ministers at the time.

An anecdote connected with this great religious movement, is found in my 2d Vol., p. 161, the details of which I collected on the spot soon after the termination of this distinguished in-gathering:

"A Mr. F——, who had been famous for hilarity and worldly amusement, was taken under concern of mind. His associates were very unwilling to give him up, and tried various methods to divert his attention from what they esteemed a needless anxiety, and draw him again into his former vain and sinful pursuits; but all their efforts proved ineffectual. At length they contrived a shooting match; and as Mr. F—— valued himself on his skill with the rifle, they laid a considerable wager against him, and doubted not but their plan would succeed. Two gentlemen, one of whom has since been a member of Congress, waited on him with much gravity, and explained to him the object of their visit. He saw at once through their design; he hesitated at first, but on the whole manifested a willingness to exert his skill, provided they would let him use his own rifle, and load it himself. This request they declared was altogether reasonable, and seemed much pleased that they had obtained his consent. Mr. F—— then stepped up to his book-case and took down his Bible. 'This (said he), 'is my rifle;' and turning to Acts xiii. 10, he handed his Bible to one of the men, and said, 'There is my load.' The astonished gentleman read as follows: '*O full of all subtlety and mischief, thou child of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness! wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord?*' He immediately hung his head, and settled down as if shot indeed. Conviction from that time fastened on his mind; his brother, also, and both of their wives, were convicted, and in a short time were hopefully converted, and united with the tempted but faithful man, in a religious profession. This was called F——'s *buck load*."

Rev. Wm. B. Johnson, D.D., has, for a number of years, been the pastor *de facto* of the church at Edgefield, C. H., and has officiated as the moderator of this large connection. Dr. J. is also president of the B. State Convention for South Carolina, and for three years was the presiding officer of the B. Triennial Convention of the United States.⁴

² In addition to other acts of benevolence, this body supports an aged brother and family, who has been an orderly minister for 60 years. It contributes annually, for the purpose, from 100 to 150 dollars, a worthy example indeed.

The name of this aged brother is J. Lammence.—*Letter of Rev. E. Ray to the author, 1845.*

³ In 1845, it reported 189; Bethlehem, J. G. Landrum, 174; Mount Zion, 162; New Prospect, 137; Bethel, D. Scruggs, same; Burchy Creek, J. Barton, 132; Cedar Grove, T. Robinson, 119; Unity, S. Drummond, 111; Glassy Mountain, J. Senter, 104.

⁴ Dr. Johnson informed me lately that he had sent on the last Minutes of this Association; also, of the State Convention, but, to my regret, they have not come to hand.

The FURMAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION, under the title of a *Manual Labor School*, was at first located at Edgefield; it has since been removed to Winsborough, in Fairfield District.

The GILGAL CHURCH, *J. Trapp* pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.⁵

EDISTO ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835, with 16 churches, which were dismissed from the Edgefield for the purpose. The principal ministers engaged in this new organization, were C. Howell, J. Cadle, Wm. Brooker, and C. Staley.

From the name of this community, we should naturally expect to find it on the sea-board, but instead of this, it occupies a position somewhat interior, on the head waters of the stream whose name it bears. It has arisen up in a region of country which, for the most part, was formerly in a very deplorable state of destitution as to moral culture and the concerns of religion.

A. W. Fort of Lexington, C. H., and J. G. O. Wilkinson of Aikin, are my principal guides as to the affairs of this young institution. Mr. W., although a lay brother, was one of the active men in bringing this Association into being. Mr. F. has given a gloomy picture of the morals and manners of the people in this region a fourth of a century since; he has also gone with considerable minuteness into the history of the churches of this community, which I regret my limits will not permit me to insert.

This new interest, as a body, is on the friendly side of the missionary and effort system, but have experienced some trouble and embarrassment from the opposing stand which has been taken by some of their ministers and members.

Although this Association contains not far from thirty churches, yet most of them are young and small.

The ROCK SPRING CHURCH, *Z. Watkins* pastor, was the largest in this body when last heard from.⁶

TWELVE MILE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1829; the constituent churches all came from the Saluda connection; their names were Siloam, Cross Roads, Peters Creek, Liberty, Colenoy, Antioch, Secona, New Hope, and Keowee.

This community is situated in the district of Pickens, in a remote corner of the State, which runs out between Georgia on the south and west, and North Carolina on the north. It prospered moderately, until a year or two since, when, notwithstanding its imbecility of action and the paucity of its materials, it came to a division, and a new body was formed, which took the name of the

WEST UNION ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1845; it is situated on the same ground, among the mountains and valleys, in the farther end of the State.

In this case, the missionary party went off by themselves for peace and quiet's sake.

The old fraternity was about 800 strong in 1845; both, of course, must be small for institutions of the kind in the South State.

⁵ In 1845, it reported	- - - - 329	Dry Creek,	- - - - 156
Mountain Creek,	- - - - 310	Antioch,	- - - - 147
Fellowship, W. P. Hill,	- - - - 284	Sardis,	- - - - 146
Little Stephen's Creek, J. T. Paterson,	- 264	Siloam, H. A. Williams,	- - - - 133
Edgefield,	- - - - 210	Buffalo,	- - - - 135
Beulah, W. Royall,	- - - - 202	Rocky Creek, W. Watkins,	- - - - 120
Mount Moriah,	- - - - 201	Bethany,	- - - - 110
Bethel at Republican, S. P. Gritsen,	- 183	Plumb Branch, A. Kennedy,	- - - - 105
Red Oak Grove,	- - - - 179	Bethel, W. Brooker,	- - - - 101
Callihan's Mills, D. D. Brunson,	- 177	Horn Creek, M. M. Abney,	- - - - 101
B. Stephen's Creek, J. Morris,	- - - - 170		

⁶ In 1842, it reported 128; Phillippi, A. Horn, 122; Double Pond, 112; all the others are under 100.

Between two good correspondents, I am *minus* the Minutes for the four last years; they probably depended on each other; such cases, to my disadvantage, I frequently meet with.

Rev. Joseph Grisham, of West Union, is my only correspondent for this whole region of country. His accounts of the inward throes which had been experienced almost from the beginning of the Twelve Mile River Association, are very carefully and cautiously given; but it is plain to be seen that a few restless spirits among them on the subject of benevolent operations, and especially against a union with the Baptist State Convention, was the main cause of the division of this feeble band.

*Mr. Grisham, who is the clerk of this new interest, for many years sustained the same office in the old connection.*⁷

THE TUGALO ASSOCIATION is partly in this up-country region now under consideration, but as it is mostly in Georgia, I shall defer its history till I come to the opposite territory, in that State.

There are two small Associational communities in the midland regions of this State, which are professedly and openly opposed to all missionary operations; I will here give the few items I have learned respecting them.

PRIMITIVE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

This community was organized in 1840, with the eleven churches whose names follow: viz., Crooked Run and Arrarat, Fairfield District, Big Creek, Twenty-five Mile, Jackson, Crain, and Colonel Creeks, Beaver Dam, Bethsaida, Mount Olivet and New Hope, in the Districts of Anderson, Richland, Kershaw, and Darlington. Their ministers were McGraw, Bell, Sen. and Jun., Hammond, Higgins, Purket, Musgrove, Simpson, and Wooten.

This small company seems to have been gathered up from a wide range of territory, where they could find little churches or seceding parties of a kindred spirit.

This new interest began with 238 members, as I learn from their first Minutes. In five years, as I ascertained from their annual doings, as published in the *Primitive Baptist*, (a paper which seems to be the organ of the *old school* party, so called, for both Carolinas, and probably all the south,) it has made but a small advance in numerical strength.

LEXINGTON ASSOCIATION.

Of this small community, I can learn nothing more than that it is situated in the districts of Lexington, Edgefield, and Barnwell. I should infer that it arose after the one last named, and is inferior in numbers and influence.⁸

Closing remarks. I have thus brought under review the whole corps of associational communities in this State, their pedigree, progress and general affairs: by the aid of Edwards and Furman's histories, and by the recent communications from an able company of correspondents, who have labored for my special benefit, I have found them unusually easy of access. Would my limits permit, I could furnish the history of nearly all the churches in this State, of ancient or modern date. As to enterprizes and efforts of an evangelizing character, South Carolina has suffered more from the *O-mission* than the *Anti-mis-*

⁷ Mr. Grisham is P. M. at West Union, Picken's District. In a late communication he writes as follows: "I think I have before informed you that the people are generally poor in this part of the country, and, although some improvement is made, yet there is very great need of more. I would be glad to get industrious baptists to come and settle in this region; I would lease them land for years, or sell to the right kind. I have about *thirty thousand* acres of land, some of the best, very best places for manufacturing by water power. Mechanics of every kind would do well."

Mr. Grisham, in describing the houses of worship, which, with but few exceptions, accommodate, or rather discommode the religious assemblies in this new and rugged region, observes: "They are generally too small for the congregation, but as they are made of logs, the spaces are so wide between the layers, that the people *outside* can see and hear as well as those *within*. We at West Union have a frame building, of comfortable size and finish."

⁸ In the Minutes of the *Primitive Association* for 1840, no mention is made of this community as a corresponding body, which, according to the habits of this people, would certainly have been, had it been in existence.

John Pittman, of Rock Spring, S. C., who I believe is a layman, is my only correspondent relative to these small Associations.

sion class; the last have been few and feeble, the others have exerted a negative power to a very considerable extent by standing off and *omitting* to co-operate with

The BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION, the most efficient body which ever arose within its bounds; its history, as I say in all cases, must be deferred to my next Vol. But I should judge that there is an increasing disposition, on the part of the great body of the baptists in this ancient commonwealth, to come forward in the great work of evangelizing efforts and moral reform, regardless of the quibbles and scrupulosities of a few of their brethren, who have hitherto thrown impediments in their way, and even have opposed the employment of domestic missionaries in places within their own bounds and in surrounding regions, which are famishing for the means of grace.

The South State is inferior in size to its neighbors on either side; the aggregate of the baptist population is superior to the one on the north, and *minus* one-third of that on the south. Their plans for the future seem to be very well laid, and the principal thing wanting is united and energetic advancement in their execution.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

Some seminaries which come under this head, partly for the promotion of ministerial education, have been sustained in former years by some eminent teachers of the baptist order. But all efforts of late years have been merged in one general one, which bears the name of the

FURMAN THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTION, which, as we have already stated, was commenced at Edgefield, but is now located at Winnsborough, in Fairfield District. The history of this seminary, as I say in all other cases, must be deferred for a future description.

Correspondents for historical purposes. Rev. E. S. Ray, of the Bethel Association, deserves first to be mentioned under this head, on account of his labors for my accommodation; a number of other brethren stand on a par as to their assiduity and efficiency in the business of corresponding. I shall name them in somewhat geographical connection, without their titles or locations; W. F. Brasington, E. David, J. K. McIver, J. C. Furman, C. M. Breaker, W. W. Childers, T. W. Haynes, R. Hall, R. Fuller, W. B. Johnson, W. Fort, A. W. Fort, J. G. O. Wilkinson, J. Pittman, J. L. Reynolds, Wm. Nolen, A. Rice, D. Nance, D. Mangum, J. C. C. Legg, Jos. Grisham.

Rev. Mr. Haynes, of the "*S. Carolina Baptist*," has taken much pains to aid me, both by his personal efforts and by publishing my circulars and notices in his paper, which appears to be coming up to be a valuable auxiliary to the baptist cause.

Appendix. After my account of S. C. Associations had gone to the printer, I received the proceedings of a Convention for a new institution, which was duly formed in September, 1846, by the name of the

SALEM ASSOCIATION.

James C. Furman was President of the Convention; E. Ray, clerk.

This new institution appears to be near to and around the Furman Institute.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GEORGIA.

SECTION I.

Early History—First Company—Second do.—Third do.—Daniel Marshall and the New England New Lights—Georgia Association—its history to the present time.

THE commencement of the Georgia Colony, was at a much later period than the Carolinas and the more northern ones, and but few baptists were found within its bounds for about half a century after settlements began to be made. The sentiments of our denomination in this territory were introduced at different points, by three sets of men who came hither from *Old and New England*, directly, or via the various routes which I shall specify; they operated at first by themselves, but in the end all their doings and converts were merged in one consolidated confederacy, which, as we shall see, has pushed forward its conquests with almost unexampled rapidity, so that Georgia now is inferior to but few of the U. S., in point of numerical strength and efficiency, so far as baptists are concerned.

Comparative views of the denomination in this State.

About three-fourths of a century since, when Mr. Edwards visited this infant colony, he found in it but four churches.

In 1790, according to Asplund's Register, the churches amounted to 42, the ministers ordained and licensed, about 70, and the communicants a little over three thousand; they were at that time all in the Georgia Association, the only one then in existence in the State.

Twenty-two years after, viz., 1812, when my tables were made up, the Georgia baptists numbered about thirteen thousand. There were then four Associations wholly in the State, and one, viz., the Savannah River, which was partly in S. C.

The Associations at present in the State, great and small of all kinds, are a little over forty. My facilities for ascertaining their history, have been unusually good.

First—*Mercer's History of the Georgia Association.* In addition to his minute description of that great community, he has pointed out the origin of all the other associational fraternities which colonized from it.

Second—*Sherwoods collection of Historical Papers* have been put into my hands, which have afforded me essential aid. Dr. S. traveled through all parts of the State about seven years since, for the express purpose of making this collection, with the original intention of publishing a local work on the subject of baptist history; but having been transferred to the presidency of Shurtliff College, in Alton, Ill., his plan was abandoned, and his materials were kindly added to my historical documents. And then again my correspondents for this State have been numerous and efficient; but after all, I have found some difficulty in ascertaining the precise number of the living bodies of an associational character in this State, so much do they seek concealment, and so imperfect is the information of their most knowing ones, as to the origin and localities of many of the little companies which, on the principle of *succession* and *come-outism*, have organized among the mountains and valleys, where the sentiments of the order have so rapidly spread.

From these observations I shall proceed in my description of the different companies of baptists which laid the foundation for the numerous churches and communicants which this State at present contains.

FIRST COMPANY, 1757.

The first handful of baptists in Georgia, we find in what was called the old *Orphan House*, an establishment got up by the Rev. George Whitefield, at no great distance from Savannah.

This institution was not exactly what its name imports, but was intended to embrace the cause of education both common and ministerial, as well as to afford an asylum for the fatherless. But before it was fairly under way a calamitous fire destroyed the premises, and thus blasted the fond expectations of its pious and benevolent founder.

Mr. Whitefield brought with him from England a corps of men to manage the concern, and among them was *Nicholas Bedgewood*, who afterwards acted a conspicuous part among the baptists in the south, principally in S. C. Some of his posterity I have seen. He was Mr. Whitefield's agent at the Orphan House, at the time of his conversion to the sentiments of the denomination, which was in the year 1757. He was baptized by Rev. O. Hart, then pastor of the church in Charleston; he was soon after ordained, and baptized a number of the officers and inmates of the institution over which he presided, among whom was Benjamin Stirk and wife, Thomas Dixon, one Dupree, and probably a number of others. Among the early settlers in Geo., Mr. Edwards informs us were some Baptists, as Wm. Calvert, Wm. Slack, Thomas Walker, and a Mr. Polhill. Slack was from Ireland; all the others came from England. The Orphan House converts appear to have united with these original settlers, and went so far as to have the Lord's Supper administered to them at the Asylum of the famous reformer, by Mr. Bedgewood. But Stirk removing from the place, Dupree dying, and Dixon going back to England, the company was dispersed, to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Whitefield, who, as Mr. Edwards remarks, "was so much disturbed about the matter, that he spake unadvisedly with his lips."

But notwithstanding this dispersion from the Orphan House, the denomination still existed in the region; in 1772, according to Mr. Edwards, there were in the low countries of this colony as many as forty baptist families, in which were found about fifty baptized members, who had come hither from the mother country, or the other colonies. From Mr. Polhill have descended a considerable number of members, and some ministers, whose names are familiar in the annals of the Georgia baptists. The name of one of them appears on my list of writers in defense of baptist sentiments.

Such is Morgan Edwards' account of the rise and first movements of the baptists in this State.

SECOND COMPANY, ABOUT 1770.

This company began its operations higher up the country. It spread over the region between Savannah and Augusta, and finally coalesced with the next company to be named. This settlement of the denomination was made under the late *Rev. E. Botsford*, an English emigrant, who afterwards spent a long life in the pastorship of the church of Georgetown, S. C., Benjamin Stirk, and others. Mercer's history will be my guide as to the origin of this settlement.

Mr. Benjamin Stirk, one of Mr. Bedgewood's disciples in the Orphan House, having lost his wife while there, married the mother of the late Rev. Thomas Polhill, of Newington, in the vicinity of Goshen, 18 miles above Savannah, to which place he removed in 1767. He appears to have been a man of good learning, fine natural parts, and eminent piety and zeal. As there was no baptist church in Georgia, he united with the church at Euhaw, S. C. He soon began to preach and set up places of meeting at his own house, and at Tuckaseeking, 20 miles higher up the country, where there were a few baptists, and who constituted a branch of the Euhaw church. But of the useful labors of this faithful servant of Christ they were soon deprived, as he was called to his reward in the year 1770. This was the second bud of a baptist church in the State: indeed, it is not certainly known that they ever became a regular church.

"In the mean time, Mr. Botsford, a young licentiate of the Charleston church, while on a visit to the Euhaw church, received an invitation to come over and help this feeble and destitute branch. Encouraged by the mother church, and accompanied by the pastor (Rev. Mr. Pelot), he came and preached to them; his first sermon was on the 27th of June, 1771. His labors being highly acceptable, he yielded to their solicitations, and remained with them for more than a year. But his anxious spirit would not permit him to remain in one place. He traveled extensively, preaching in all the surrounding country; and towards the close of the next year, he went still higher up the river, and commenced an establishment at what was at first called *New Savannah*, but now *Botsford's old meeting-house*, about 25 or 30 miles below Augusta. Here he had the pleasure of seeing the work of the Lord prosper in his hands."¹

Mr. Botsford continued his ministry in Georgia but a few years, when he returned to S. C., his adopted State, where he remained to a good old age. During his residence here, he founded two churches, besides performing a large amount of itinerant service in the surrounding country.

He found some of the population in a very rude and uncultivated condition, who had but little concern for the cause of religion in any form; others were fast bound with the principles of tradition and the power of bigotry. Many interesting anecdotes were related to me by himself and friends during my first visit there, more than thirty years since, of the ingenuity and adroitness with which he disposed of opposition of all kinds. They are related somewhat in detail in my 2d Vol. Only one of them I will here insert, in an abridged form:

In one of his preaching excursions, he fell in with Mr. L. Savidge, who afterwards became a distinguished baptist minister, and whose name will often appear in connection with the history of the Georgia baptists. Mr. S. was educated in the English Church, and was strongly attached to her faith and forms. After having received answers to his inquiries respecting the road which he wished to travel, the following conversation ensued:

Savidge. I suppose you are the baptist minister who is to preach to-day at Kiokree.

Botsford. Yes sir: will you go?

Savidge. No: I am not fond of the baptists; they think nobody is baptized but themselves.

Botsford. Have you been baptized?

Savidge. To be sure I have, according to the rubric.

Botsford. How do you know?

Savidge. How do I know, why my parents told me I was; that is the way I know.

Botsford. Then you do not know only by the information of others.

After this short parley, the minister mounted his horse and rode on, and left his opponent to meditate on the short but peculiar interview. *How do you know?* kept running in his mind, and harrassed him continually, until he came out fully on baptist ground. He was baptized by Mr. Marshall, immediately began to preach, and was still in the ministry when I was there in 1810.

Botsford's *how do you know?* Mr. Savidge used to say, first put him in a train of thinking, which ended in his conversion to the baptist faith.

THIRD COMPANY, IN 1771.

We are now prepared to give an account of the entrance of the remains of the *New England New Lights* in this then lowest Province of the American Union, after their various wanderings and sojournings, for about fifteen years since they bid adieu to their distant home, and describe their incipient and succeeding movements which resulted in the founding of the great majority of the baptist churches, which in such rapid succession arose in this State. We have seen all along that their course was onward, that the propagation of the baptist faith was their *Alpha* and *Omega*, and that their evangelizing and proselyting efforts were always and every where attended with uncommon success.

Mercer's history will be my principal guide, in the details of the settlement and early movements of this band of pilgrims from the north.

¹ A good amount of biographical matter respecting Messrs. Stirk, Polhill, and a number of other baptist characters who were connected with the company of early settlers in Georgia, is on hand, which must, of course, be deferred till I come to my biographical work.

"A little previous to Mr. Botsford's coming over to Tuckaseeking, Rev. Daniel Marshall, with other baptist emigrants, arrived and settled on the Kiokee Creek, about 20 miles above Augusta. Mr. Marshall began forthwith to preach in the surrounding country. His principal establishment was on the Big Kiokee, and from this circumstance it received the style of the Kiokee Meeting House. It was located on the site now occupied by the public buildings of Columbia county, called Applington.

"Although Mr. Marshall was neither profoundly learned, nor very eloquent as a preacher, yet he was fervent in spirit, and indefatigable in labors, and the Lord working with him, he soon had the happiness of receiving and baptizing many new converts; these, together with the emigrant baptists in that section, were constituted into a regular church in the year 1772. **THIS WAS THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH EVER CONSTITUTED IN GEORGIA.** At this time Mr. Daniel Marshall was the only ordained baptist minister in the State; but besides him, there were several zealous licentiates, as Abraham Marshall, Sanders Walker, Solomon Thompson, and Alexander Scott. By these the word of the Lord was proclaimed through all the *up-country*, and the scattered sheep of Christ were gathered into this fold from the remotest frontiers. Thus the word of the Lord ran and was glorified, believers abundantly multiplied, and the church greatly enlarged.

"By this time Mr. Botsford had received ordination by the church in Charleston, that he might be more fully qualified to enter the large and interesting field of usefulness that lay before him. He had already visited Augusta, Kiokee, and other places, which at that time lay along the frontiers of Georgia and South Carolina. He became acquainted with Mr. Marshall, and though there were, at their first acquaintance, certain slight differences between these ministers with respect to *externals*, Mr. B. being of what was then called the *Regular* and Mr. M. of the *Separate* order, a more intimate acquaintance soon destroyed these distinctions, and these devoted servants of the Most High became perfectly united in their efforts to disseminate the truth, and to build up the Redeemer's kingdom. Previously to the ordination of Mr. B., Mr. M. baptized for him; but subsequently he himself baptized many of the happy converts who believed under his ministrations at New Savannah and in the surrounding country; and in the year 1773, he had the additional satisfaction to see a church regularly constituted in that place. **THIS WAS THE SECOND CHURCH IN THE STATE.** It is still a highly respectable body, and is a member of the Hephzibah Association.

"These devoted heralds—missionaries of the Cross—may well be considered the founders of the baptist interest in Georgia. They continued, each in his sphere, aided by licentiates, to labor incessantly for the up-building of the churches, and to publish throughout the widely extended frontier settlements, the gospel of the Son of God, with a success that furnishes unequivocal evidence that the Lord was with them. Yet it does not appear that any other churches were constituted by them, though materials for several others were prepared.

"Mr. Botsford married and settled on Brier Creek, in Burke county, in the year 1774. But although he purchased land, stuck down his staff and built for himself a house, and for a time thought he would enjoy his peaceful home for life, his heart was so fully set upon his work, that he could not rest. He suffered not the charms or cares of domestic life to abate his fervent desire for the salvation of his dying fellow-men, nor to diminish aught from his activity in the cause of his blessed Master; for, as his biographer says, 'From the Tabernacle which he had pitched upon Brier Creek, he darted out into many surrounding regions, both in South Carolina and Georgia, and preached the Gospel of the Kingdom with his accustomed fervor and success.' During this time the church on the Kiokee was multiplying. Mr. Samuel Cartledge, Lovelass Savidge, and Silas Mercer, were added to the number of her licensed ministers.

“ But about this time the Creek and Cherokee Indians became very troublesome on the frontiers, and by frequent incursions greatly harrassed the inhabitants, and at length broke them up. Soon after, the deeper horrors of the Revolutionary war began to fill all with dismay—Savannah fell—Sunbury surrendered—Gen. Ash was defeated—and at length the whole country was brought to submit to the British arms. Many sought safety in flight. Among these, were Mr. Mercer and Mr. Botsford. These gentlemen were refugees in the interior States, till the close of the war. But the intrepid Marshall stood his ground and never deserted his post; like an Apostle, having his dear people in his heart, to live and die with them. Though the din of war was heard, and rapine, violence, and bloodshed, filled the land with consternation, the zeal and perseverance of this brave soldier of the Cross were not in the slightest degree abated. Assisted by a few licentiates, who remained on the field with him, the good work went on; the spirit of pure religion was progressive, and even in those times that tried men’s souls, very many were converted to God.

“ During the troubles above mentioned, it does not appear that many *churches* were constituted, yet the foundations for them were laid. Indeed it is possible that Red Creek (now Aberleen) Church, was constituted within this period. The Rev. Loveless Savidge, who was the pastor of this church, was one of the early licentiates of the Kiokee church, and it is natural to suppose, that he soon succeeded in raising the church; but of this, we have no certain information. There was also constituted a church on Little Brier Creek, in 1777, which still exists, but under whose labors we cannot now ascertain; probably by the zealous efforts of the Rev. Wm. Franklin and Joseph Buisson, who were residents in this section at the close of the war. They were useful ministers in their day, abundant in labors and good fruits, and their praise was in all the churches. The refugees returned, and those who had remained, both ministers and common members, who had been very much scattered, depressed, and almost estranged from each other, now became animated, arose in various settlements simultaneously, flowed together as by one common impulse, and were soon constituted into many churches.²

“ The Rev. Sanders Walker, who, by way of distinction has been called the *meeek*, residing at that time on Fishing Creek, five miles north of Washington in Wilkes County, having been ordained to the gospel ministry in the mother church, preached the Gospel of the Grace of God in the regions round about him. There were in his vicinity a number of baptists, who either had emigrated thither or were the fruits of the labors of Mr. W. himself and others. Among these brethren was Mr. John Milner, Sen., a most zealous and fervent exhorter, who afterwards become a preacher, and was very successful in his efforts to advance the cause of God and truth among his people. These were soon gathered together, and in 1783 were formed into a regularly constituted church, under the style of the Fishing Creek Church.

“ In the following year, 1784, Upton’s Creek Church was constituted. This was situated in the lower part of Wilkes, and went by the name of Upton’s Creek for some time, but upon building a new and convenient meeting-house, some miles below, in a pine wood, thus surrounded by evergreens, it received the style of *Greenwood*, by which it is still known. By whom this church was founded we know not, but doubtless it was constituted of members from the Kiokee church, and formed under its auspices. Here the Rev. Peter Smith was settled soon after the war closed, and it is altogether probable that he was instrumental in the formation of the church; it is certain that he was the first pastor. In a short time, however, Mr. S. removed to the State of Ohio, where he ended his earthly career. Such was the condition of the churches in this State, when the Georgia baptist Association was organized, and, it would seem, were the constituent members of the body.”

² Mercer’s History of the Georgia Association.

GEORGIA ASSOCIATION, 1784.

I shall follow Dr. Mercer's narrative generally, in the account of the formation of this ancient body, as I have in the incipient movements which prepared the way of that important event.

The commencement of the operations of Daniel Marshall and his zealous associates in this State has already been referred to. This was the terminus of the long line of travel of this distinguished company of New Lights, who set out from N. E., for their western and southern excursion, in 1754. As we have seen in the history of the States through which they passed, their company was subject to continual changes; it was both augmented and diminished at every stage of their sojourn, and although they might truly assume the character of the old Dutch baptists, who gloried in the name of *weaponless christians*, yet in the business of evangelical enterprise and moral reform, they acted the part of an invading army, and, like prudent warriors, left strong garrisons behind them whenever they moved onward for new conquests and victories.

Mr. Marshall removed to Georgia from an adjoining place in S. C., in 1771, then 65 years old, and here the thirteen last years of his eventful life were spent in laying the foundation for that powerful baptist interest in this then frontier region; for it is equally true of this State, as of the Carolinas and Virginia, that by far the greatest part of the baptists in all these States have sprung from *that old stock of pedo-baptist dissenters*, which separated from the churches of that order in the *New Light stir*, about one century ago.

As this Association is the oldest in the State, and has been the mother of many others, it demands special attention. For its history, ample materials are supplied in a volume of 400 pages prepared by the late Dr. Mercer, and published in 1837. This work is occupied mostly in annual details, circular letters, and biographical accounts, a small part of which can be used in this narrative. But it is a satisfaction to have such a work before me as a book of reference in all matters which came under the observation of this talented and discriminating man.

"This Association was organized in 1784,³ thirteen years after Daniel Marshall settled in Kiokee. As the Minutes of its first meetings were not printed nor its records preserved, it cannot be ascertained of what number of churches it was at first composed; 'if,' says Mr. Mercer, 'it was in 1784, the five following were the constituent churches, viz., Kiokee, Fishing Creek, Upton's Creek (now Greenwood), Red Creek (now Aberleen), and Little Brier; but if a year later, the two churches at Philips Mills and Wheatley's Mills were in the first organization; and this was the amount of the baptist strength in Georgia, sixty-three years since, where now are as many thousand members as years have intervened. The principal ministers at first were Abraham Marshall, Sanders Walker, Peter Smith, Silas Mercer, Loveless Savidge, Wm. Franklin, and perhaps Alexander Scott.'"⁴

So rapid was the gain for the first few years, that by 1790 it had increased to thirty-two churches, 2,877 members, and twenty ministers; seventeen of whom were ordained. The Minutes for that year show the churches and ministers in the following order:

³ There is some difference of opinion between Mercer and Sherwood as to this date, which I find is thus given in my old work. I do not remember how this and some other facts were ascertained, but am confident that they were communicated by Mr. Abraham Marshall, as I spent some time with him at his own house at Kiokee, in 1810, where his venerable father died. He had then been in the ministry about 40 years.

Mr. Asplund visited Mr. Marshall twenty years before, to whom he gave the same account as to the date of this body, as appears by his Register for 1790.

Mr. Sherwood's arguments are plausible, and as there were no records to refer to, it would not be strange if Mr. M. was mistaken in a year. Again, as they met at first twice a year, and as old bodies formed as this was generally had preparatory meetings, and grew into an Association in an informal manner--so it might have been in this case. Under these circumstances, it is not strange that there should be a discrepancy of a year in collecting materials so loosely thrown together.

⁴ Mercer's History of the Georgia Association, p. 20.

<i>Kiakee</i> ,	{ A. MARSHALL, JNO. DOSS, JAMES SYMS,	<i>Providence</i> ,	{ JOHN NEWTON, THOMAS MERCER, CHARLES BUSSEY,
<i>Horn's Creek, S. C.</i> .	HEZEKIAH WALKER,	<i>Stephen's Creek, S. C.</i> , .	{ DRURA PACE, JEPHTHA VINING,
<i>Fishing Creek</i> ,	{ SANDERS WALKER, JNO. MILNER,	<i>Long Creek, Ogeechee</i> , . .	DOZIER THORNTON,
<i>Greenwood</i> ,	PETER SMITH,	<i>Clark's Station</i> ,	JAMES MATHEWS,
<i>Philip's Mills</i> ,	{ SILAS MERCER, JESSE MERCER,	<i>Fork Creek</i> ,	
<i>Red Creek</i> ,	LOVELESS SAVIDGE,	<i>Washington Co.</i> ,	BENJ. THOMPSON,
<i>Millstone</i> ,	TIMOTHY CARRINGTON,	<i>Brier Creek</i> ,	WM. FRANKLIN,
		<i>Tugalo</i> ,	JOHN CLEVELAND.

This table exhibits the state of some of the oldest churches at that time. A. Marshall was moderator, and Peter Smith clerk.

The Lord's day was spent in preaching, exhortation, and prayer. The sermons were delivered by S. Walker, P. Smith, and J. Vining.

The ministers invited to set in conference with them, were John Thomas, George Franklin, Charles Blackwell, John Holmes, Baalam Bentley, and Jonathan Boyd.

The two Mercers were appointed messengers to the Charleston Association.

The FIRST COLORED CHURCH of Savannah, then lately formed, sent a letter to this body, asking their opinion as to the validity of the constitution of their church, and ordination of their minister, *Andrew Marshall*, which had been effected two years before, by Abraham Marshall alone. To which they gave answer, that as it was an extraordinary case, they gave it their sanction.⁵

At this session, also, a letter was read from Father, commonly called Col. Harris, of Virginia, exhorting them not to fall out concerning God's decrees.

Hitherto, they had met twice in a year, but now they passed a vote in favor of annual sessions.⁶

In 1792, their number had increased to fifty-six; making, in all, fifty churches which had been gathered within the bounds of this body. The names of the ministers, according to Dr. Mercer's statement, who were now, or had been members of it, were

Daniel Marshall, Silas Mercer, Sanders Walker, Peter Smith, Loveless Savidge, William Franklin, Alexander Scott, Hezekiah Walker, James Mathews, Charles Bussey,	Dozier Thornton, John White, Thomas Gilbert, Jeptha Vining, John Newton, Jeremiah Walker, John M. Leroy, Nathaniel Hall, Mathew Talbot, John Cleveland,	Isaac Busson, Thomas Daniel, Samuel Cartlidge, George Franklin, Thomas Mercer, Benj. Davis, John Thomas, Jesse Mercer, Timothy Carrington, Lewis Shelton,	John Harvey, Benj. Thompson, William Cone, George Tilnan, John Henderson, John Stanford, Edmund Byne.
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I have followed Dr. Mercer's collocation of these names, except that I have put his father, *Silas Mercer*, a little higher up on the list than he had placed him. These were all ordained ministers at this time, and besides them, there was quite a number of licensed preachers, who soon came fully into the field of labor. Some few of these men came from Virginia and the Carolinas, but most of them originated in the newly formed churches. Although they were not equally eminent and successful, yet among them were the pioneers of the baptist cause, who bore the burden and heat of the day.

In the midst of this scene of great prosperity and enlargement, two events occurred of a very trying nature, which required all the prudence of the wisest heads and most skilful hands to manage and neutralize the incipient evils and most mischievous consequences, which, for a while, hovered over them.

⁵ I well remember Mr. Marshall's account of this assumption of episcopal power in my visit to him at the time before referred to, and the embarrassment under which he labored. But there he was, alone, and no other minister within call. All things were ripe, and the interesting church which has since become so large and flourishing, was suffering for the want of an organization and administrators. The thing wanted doing, and he did it, and all worked well.

⁶ These sketches are taken from a copy of Minutes in M.S., found among my old papers; they were presented me by A. Marshall, when at his house. They are well written, and probably were never printed, as that was left with the moderator and clerk to do as they thought proper.

The first was the case of the Rev. James Hutchinson, formerly a methodist preacher, who became a convert to baptist sentiments, and was cordially received as a member. He had been immersed on a profession of his faith while in his former connection. As he united heart and hand with his new associates, and was withal a man of much fervor and eloquence, the thing passed off, at first, without much difficulty. Shortly after, Mr. Hutchinson made a visit to Virginia, where his ministry was attended with much success; here he gathered a church of about a hundred members, the fruits of a year's labor, which, on his return to Georgia, he presented for membership in this infant body. And now came on the difficulty respecting the validity of the minister's baptisms, and of consequence the whole company of his converts. Much controversy ensued; it became a subject of deep interest in the Association; but, in the end, by a major vote, the church was rejected. At this particular crisis, Mr. H. submitted to a re-immersion; and his people, with but few exceptions, followed his example. Thus terminated a most fierce and distressing controversy. "So much," says Dr. Mercer, "for admitting a pedobaptist administration of the ordinance of baptism."⁷

The second cause of difficulty was the defection of *Jeremiah Walker* from the sentiments of his brethren, and his zealous defense of the *Arminian* creed. The trouble arising from this source was much more serious and lasting than the other, as his powerful talents and popularity drew after him a party which produced much annoyance for a number of years. This event was the more distressing, because it occurred simultaneously with the ingress of methodist ministers into the State, who had already opened their artillery upon the principal ministers in the Association. Thus they were assailed by a strong opposition without, and annoyed by a powerful faction within.

But the death of this singular man, some account of whom may be found in the history of the baptists in Virginia, greatly dispirited his followers; and, by a patient and skillful course of conduct on the part of the Association, most of his adherents were reclaimed. Thus was broken up a fearful and portentous dissension, which, like a dark cloud that passes off without rain, produced not such an amount of mischief as was at first apprehended.⁸

In Mercer's history is given the details of all the sessions of this body for about fifty years, which, with but few exceptions, he attended, and officiated either as the clerk or moderator; and during this long period, no trials of sufficient importance to demand attention occurred, but harmony and prosperity generally marked their course.

Daniel Marshall, who may be considered as the father of this ancient community, died about the time it was formed; he had been the leader of this infant company during their incipient movements, and, for more than twenty years after its organization, his son Abraham filled the moderator's chair, with a few exceptions, in favor of James Mathews, Silas Mercer, and Sanders Walker. Most of this time, Jesse Mercer was clerk; but from 1816, and onward, he was the presiding officer of this body, until near the close of his life, a period of about twenty-five years. For about half this time the clerkship was held by Rev. Jabez P. Marshall, a grandson of Daniel. The others who officiated in this office were Rev. Messrs. Brown, Rabun, Sanders, Stokes.

Rev. B. M. Sanders was the moderator, and W. H. Stokes the clerk in 1845. In about twelve years after this fruitful nursery of ministers and churches commenced its operations, it began to send out branches in different directions,

⁷ The opinion of this venerable historian, thus strongly expressed, I believe, generally prevails among our churches in the south and west. This whole subject will be discussed in another place, and an exhibition given of the views of parties of different sections of the country, as reported to me in answer to my inquiries sent out in my circulars.

The only question in this case, seems to have been whether baptism, performed by a minister who according to our views of the ordinance is in reality unbaptized, ought by us to be recognized as valid? The affirmative is now much more extensively admitted than formerly.

⁸ History of the Georgia Association, pp. 22-28.

and this business was continued many years, until kindred institutions were settled around it in almost all directions. Their names will be given when their history comes under consideration.

This body has been in operation upwards of sixty years, and although heavy drafts have often been made upon it for new Associations, it remains the largest in the State. In it have originated most of the institutions in Georgia, so far as the baptists are concerned, for education, missions, foreign and domestic, and among the native tribes.

This parent Association, with the liberal and enterprising Mercer at its head, set an early example in all the benevolent operations of modern times, which was followed by most of the other institutions in the State for many years. It experienced a temporary check in the *backward reforms* which have affected some portions of their wide-spread population, but difficulties of this kind are nearly surmounted, and matters are resuming their former course of prosperity.

The great and almost continual increase of this Association, was owing partly to emigrations from other States, but mostly to the frequent and powerful revivals which prevailed among them. In one year, soon after the commencement of the present century, the number added by baptism was fourteen hundred.

The churches in this Association as it now stands, the most distinguished for age, location, &c., are as follows: *Kiokee Church*, situated on a creek of that name, 18 miles above Augusta, on the site now occupied by the public buildings of Columbia Co., at a place called Applington, as already stated, was gathered by Daniel Marshall in 1772. Most of the churches in this old body are in a southern and western direction from Kiokee, in the counties of Warren, Hancock, Wilks, Lincoln, &c.

This was the first baptist church ever constituted in Georgia, and was under the pastoral care of its founder and his son Abraham, almost half a century.⁹

Rev. J. Harris was the pastor of this people in 1845.

Most of the oldest churches in this ancient confederacy have been brought under review; and their histories, so far as their early movements were concerned, have already been given in my selections from Dr. Mercer's associational history. Its number of churches now is half a hundred, and although it is probable that most of them are of recent formation, yet the number which is old and strong is so large, that I should find it difficult to make a selection I will, however, name the

PENFIELD CHURCH, on account of its peculiar location, and a few items respecting it as supplied by its pastor. This church was organized in 1839, with 20 members.

Rev. A. Sherwood, D.D., was its first pastor, and continued in office about two years, when he was transferred to the presidency of Shurtliff College, Ill.

Rev. Thomas Curtis, D.D., was the next incumbent for about one year.

Rev. V. R. Thornton, was the next pastor or supply for a short time, and was succeeded by

Rev. B. M. Sanders, who was settled in 1842, and still sustains the pastoral office.

Penfield is the seat of Mercer University, an institution entirely under the control of our denomination; the church here, of course, is closely identified with this literary establishment; it has eleven ministers in addition to its pastor on its list of members, and six of them are ordained. This large number of clerical members are no doubt connected with the seminary as teachers or students.¹⁰

⁹ Thus far I have depended on Mercer's history, but as his details are confined to one Association, I must now leave this guide and take another, *Rev. Dr. Sherwood*, late President of Shurtliff College, Ill., whose accounts embrace all the Associations of which he had any knowledge at the time. The materials which he had collected mostly from his personal efforts and interviews, as I have before stated, have been put into my hands by *Rev. Mr. Campbell*, of Clinton, to whose care they had been entrusted.

¹⁰ The Penfield Church, as their pastor informs me, in addition to the ordinary operations of Sabbath Schools, has one expressly designed for the colored people, in which they communicate oral instruction. This method of teaching this portion of their population is becoming common in the south and west.

The SPRINGFIELD CHURCH, city of Augusta, J. Walker, pastor, is the largest in his body.¹

This large community, with the pastor, and a large corps of exhorters and local preachers, are all of the colored race.²

SECTION II.

Hepzibah—Serepta—Ocmulgee—Ebenezer—do. No. 2—Washington—Central—Flint River—Ichaonna—Rehoboth—Houston—Pulaski—Bethel and Columbus Associations.

THE history of the old Georgia confederacy seemed to be a part of the early history of the State, as its rise and progress is identified with the first movements of the denomination in an unorganized form.

I shall now go on to describe the different and numerous Associations which here are found, in my usual manner, beginning with the immediate offspring of the ancient society whose affairs have already been brought under review.

This State being somewhat extensive in its geographical boundaries, and its associational communities, great and small, unusually numerous, for the amount of the baptist population it contains, I shall divide it into three sections—*middle, eastern, and western.*³

MIDDLE, OR CENTRAL DIVISION.

This section, according to the collocation which I have adopted, includes a larger amount of the numerical strength and efficiency of our society in Georgia, than either of the other two.

¹ In 1845, it reported	- - - -	1,173	Fishing Creek, M. A. Lane,	- - -	140
Spirit Creek	- - - -	330	Philip's Mills, V. R. Thornton,	- - -	140
Bethel Crawfordville,	- - - -	264	Union, Warren, J. A. Carter,	- - -	137
Beard's M. H., I. L. Brooks,	- - - -	264	Sweet Water, W. P. Steed,	- - -	129
Kiokee	- - - -	251	Bethlehem,	- - -	127
White Plains,	- - - -	204	Grove, T. J. Beck,	- - -	126
Augusta, W. T. Brantley,	- - - -	187	Horeb, W. H. Stokes,	- - -	125
Bethesda, J. L. Baker,	- - - -	187	Greenwood, J. Q. West,	- - -	119
Rehoboth, E. Calloway,	- - - -	183	William's Creek,	- - -	111
Sardis,	- - - -	182	New Providence,	- - -	110
Antioch, Vandiver,	- - - -	170	Long Creek,	- - -	108
Washington,	- - - -	167	Ebenezer,	- - -	107
Powelson, D. G. Daniels,	- - - -	164	Goshen, I. N. Bolton,	- - -	105
Newford,	- - - -	154	Smyrna, — Hill,	- - -	104
Elim, R. Gunn,	- - - -	145	Shiloh,	- - -	104

In this case, as in all others, where the compound motion prevails. I put down for pastors those who are named as *pastors or supplies*, but do not insert the name but once, however often it occurs.

² This church is put down *African* on the Minutes. This is well enough, as all understand what is meant by it. But I have thus far done, and shall continue to employ the term *colored* in my descriptions of the communities of this people, unless when I make extracts from the Minutes. My reasons are,

1st. It agrees with the matter of fact, better than that of *Blacks* or *African*, as with scarcely any exception, all societies of them are what Jeremiah denominates, a *mingled people*.

2nd. Although many of them were born in Africa, yet by far the greater part of them are native Americans. One of my correspondents, a baptist minister at the west, objects to the term *African* in the following manner:

"Most of us were born in this country, and of course we claim to be *Americans*; our ancestors, it is true, came from Africa; those of the white people came from *England, Germany, France, &c.*, and it would be just as proper to call all their descendants, *Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen,*" &c.

Brother Jacob, as he was familiarly called, is since dead. I have preached for him a number of times in his capacious house of worship, and to his large congregation, with much satisfaction, and the most interesting part of their *modus operandi* was, to see the exhorters, or lay preachers, and their excellent band of singers, carry on a conference meeting, after the preaching services were closed.

³ In this division I have followed substantially the advice of Dr. Sherwood, and the plan pursued by him in his *Gazetteer of Georgia*, published in 1837. I have departed from the collocation he marked out for me, relative to the Hepzibah Association, for the purpose of placing it in connection with its parent, the Georgia.

my lines of demarcation are somewhat loosely drawn, as my principal objects are to consult my own convenience, and give my readers such views of the localities of the different bodies whose histories I shall attempt briefly to describe, that they may easily trace them out. After noticing in due form the various offsprings of the Georgia company and their immediate descendants, I shall take a western course, branch out as I progress on either side, till we arrive to the Alabama line. The belt of land contemplated in this central portion of the State, is generally fertile, and abounds with our institutions and communicants.

The Georgia Association, adjoining S. C., has always occupied the same position as to its northern bounds, and in the time of its greatest enlargement its churches were scattered over a large portion of the section now under consideration.

HEPZIBAH ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1794, with eighteen churches, which were dismissed from the Georgia community, and was the first colony which went out from that nursery of churches and ministers.

For upwards of twenty years this Association moved on with a moderate degree of prosperity and without any special impediment, but in 1819, a very decided demonstration was made against missionary efforts, which were then beginning to appear; a few of their ministers became very active, and at one time the opposing party bid fair to have the preponderance. This state of things continued eight or ten years, when the cause of benevolence bore sway and the others went off in a new organization by the name of Canoochee. The old body, from this period, resumed its former course, and is now in a flourishing condition.

Wm. Franklin and Norvell Robertson, for many years officiated as moderator and clerk.

This community is situated in an eastern, or down-country position, as it respects the parent institution; its churches are situated principally in the counties of Warren, Richmond, Jefferson, Washington, and Burke.

The **BUSHY CREEK CHURCH**, *W. L. Tucker* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁴

SEREPTA ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1799, of the seven following churches, which were dismissed for that purpose from the Georgia, viz.: Shoal Creek, Van's Creek, Dane Creek, Hollowspring, Cabbin Creek, Nails Creek, Millstone and Trail Creek; all of them were then in the upper settlement of the State. D. Thornton, J. Cleveland Wm. Davis, Thomas Johnson, and Thomas Gilbert, were the ministers at that time.

This body is in an opposite position from the Hepzibah, and lies in a north-western direction from the parent institution; and a portion of the churches, for some time after its formation, were in the frontier settlements.

From the sketches of the annual sessions of this old community, as given by Dr. Sherwood, its course has generally been harmonious and prosperous. In the business of revivals it has had an unusual share. More than a thousand members were added in one year, soon after its formation, and in 1812 the number of baptisms was 1,265. Then it had 41 churches and upwards of three thousand communicants.

Rev. Dozier Thornton was one of the leading ministers of this Association from the beginning, and although he had been a long time a member of the neighboring Association of Tugalo, yet such was the estimation of the character of this venerable man, that the following resolution was passed, and entered on the Minutes of 1843:

⁴ In 1845, it reported 228; Rocky Creek, J. Polhill, 231; Providence, 182; Piney Grove, J. H. T. Kilpatrick, 174; Bark Camp, 155; Reedy Creek, J. Huff, 144; Botsford M. H., W. B. P. Bricket, 133; Sardia, 125; Ways' M. H., 114.

"We feel it to be our duty to notice the death of our aged and much esteemed brother, Dozier Thornton, who departed this life on the 14th of this month, at his residence in Franklin county, in the bounds of the Tugaloo Association, after spending a long life of toil and labor in preaching the gospel, and bearing the glad news of salvation to dying men. He was among the first ministers that preached in this part of Georgia, and was many years the moderator of the Serepta Association, in the bounds of which he labored much, and, we believe, was instrumental in turning many to righteousness. He has now gone home to reap the reward of his doings."

The only church of which any historical sketches have been communicated, is the one called

VAN'S CREEK CHURCH, situated at Ruckersville, Elbert Co. This church was constituted in 1786.

Rev. D. Thornton was its first pastor, and officiated in that capacity about forty years. Successor to him was

Rev. Francis Calloway, about seven years.

Rev. Asa Chandler, their present pastor, assumed the office in 1833.

The following ministers have gone out from this old and successful community, viz.: Rev. Reuben Thornton, son of the old pastor now in Alabama, John Harris, John Ford, W. B. Jones, B. Thornton, J. H. Goss, and W. R. Goss.

This church has been favored with a number of extensive revivals of religion, in which large additions have been made to their numbers.⁵

The churches of the Serepta Association are principally in the counties of Oglethorpe, Elbert, and Franklin; at the time of its formation, it occupied the western frontier settlements of the State, on the Georgia side of the Savannah river, in an opposite direction from its elder sister, the Hepzibah.

The MILLSTONE CHURCH, P. P. Butler pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

OCMULGEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1810, and was the third colony from the Georgia establishment; it began with twenty churches, and such was its prosperity and enlargement, that, in fourteen years, its churches had increased to upwards of sixty, and its membership to about three thousand.

Dr. Sherwood has entered extensively into the history of this once flourishing community, and has shown that in ten years, beginning with 1820, it received by baptism, a little upwards of forty-eight hundred members, so frequent and general were the revivals of religion which had prevailed among them; and, after all the heavy drafts which had been made upon this growing interest, it still numbered about three thousand and a half communicants. At this time, some of their ministers became tinctured with the spirit of opposition to the *General Association* and benevolent institutions generally, and finally succeeded in severing their union from them, and the body fell in with what they called the *primitive* principles of the gospel, under the influence of which, in another decade of years, they came down to less than a thousand members; this is the present amount of this once populous fraternity.

This Association arose in a southern and south-western direction from the seat of the mother body, in what was then denominated *The New Purchase*, in the counties of Baldwin, Jones, Putman, Morgan, and Randolph (since called Jasper), between the Oconee, and Ocmulgee Rivers. This region of country, at the period of its first settlement, was in the outskirts of civilized population in that quarter.⁷

⁵ Letter to the author from Rev. Asa Chandler, who has promised me some biographical sketches of his venerable predecessor, D. Thornton. He has also sent me a memoir of the late Jesse Reeves, prepared by Wm. Davis, which will be used in my biographical work.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 232; Cloud's Creek, 207; Van's Creek, A. Chandler, 202; Fork, B. R. —, 193; Academy, — Hutchins, 143; Bethel, 128; Falling Creek, P. Matthews, 122; Sardis, B. Thornton, 121; Davis Creek, P. F. Burgess, 113; Cabin Creek, E. Jackson, 111.

⁷ *Oakmulgee* is the way the name of this famous river was spelt in former times, but Dr. Sherwood has paid much attention to the etymology of Indian names in all this territory; his uniform construction of the word is as I have given it above.

I have none of the late Minutes of this body, and of consequence cannot give my usual statistics of its churches.

These four Associations, viz., the Georgia, Hepzibah, Serepta, and Ocmulgee, and the Savannah on the sea-board, embraced the whole baptist population in Georgia about thirty years since.

The immediate offspring from the four first of the *Separate* order were the *Tugalo*, 1817, *Canochee* and *Washington*, both in 1828, *Ocmulgee*, No. 2, 1839.

We are now prepared to travel on in a southern line through the breadth of territory which is embraced in our *middle* or central division, and, without a strict regard to the chronology or the peculiar views of the different associational institutions, I shall endeavor, as much as possible, to locate them in juxta-position and geographical connection; although I do not expect to carry out this arrangement to the letter, yet I presume I shall come near enough to it for the assistance of my readers who are not familiar with the geography of the State.

EBENEZER ASSOCIATION.

This is a body of upwards of thirty years' standing, having been organized in 1814; the constituent churches came principally from the Hepzibah fraternity, others from the Ocmulgee.

At the session of 1816, at Mt. Koreb, in Pulaski Co., Dozier Thornton, Jesse Mercer, and Luther Rice, were with them and preached on the Sabbath.

Nothing special appears in the doings of this old community until the early part of the anti-mission movements, when the spirit which has since had an extensive spread, began to show itself in vetos and negatives on the moderate share of sympathy which had been shown by them in favor of benevolent operations. This state of things continued for many years. Resolutions were passed and recinded in quick succession, and for a long time the opposing party seemed to have had the ascendancy; correspondence with some of the most important Associations was discontinued, and thus matters went on until 1836, when the test came up before them on the abstract merits of the mission cause. One whole day was spent in discussing the question, whether the support of the institutions of missions, &c., was consistent with the original principles of the Association. The affirmative was carried: a division was the consequence, and a new Association, which assumed the name of the *Primitive Ebenezer*, was formed.

"From this period, the Association began to move forward in harmony and peace. In two years after, they report having had two missionaries, Murrow and Lee, to travel within their bounds a part of the year, and a collection of sixty dollars at the close of a missionary sermon by Mr. Tharp."

To the Minutes of this Association for 1836, is appended *reasons* for corresponding with the Central Association, one of the bodies which had been dropped on account of their reputed heresy on some of the strong points of Calvinism. This document had been published a short time before, by the Georgia Association, to obviate similar complaints, which had been made against them. It was adopted by this body as containing their own views; the following extract is all our limits will permit us to make:

"We admit that the Central ministers are more practical in their preaching than some of our brethren; they do not in a formal manner discuss election, predestination, and the covenant in every sermon, though they have again and again avowed their belief in them. They do not hesitate to urge obligation upon saints and sinners to repent, and upon saints to be holy; they urge the church to awake to the solemn command of Christ, 'go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.' If this is Arminianism, then are the central ministers Arminian, then is the Georgia Association Arminian, then were Christ, Paul, and all the Apostles, the greatest Arminians that ever lived."⁸

This Association is situated in the counties of Wilkinson, Twiggs, Laurens, and Pulaski.

⁸ Minutes, and Sherwood's papers.

The **STONE CREEK CHURCH**, *C. A. Sharpe* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

Rev. C. D. Mallory, who is favorably known to the baptist public, is one of the pastors in this community.

EBENEZER ASSOCIATION, NO. 2,

Was formed by a secession from the old body, in 1836; the manner in which it arose has already been suggested; its *Primitive* character, as they call it, is still maintained. It is of course on the same ground with the mother institution; its numerical strength, in 1845, was a little short of five hundred.

We are now on the eastern edge of our first division; we will go up and give a brief account of some important institutions in a more central position.

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed by churches from **Hepzibah**, in 1828; others soon after joined from the **Ebenezer**, and **Georgia**, so that in six years it contained 19 churches, and nearly twelve hundred members.

M. R. Stansel was active in effecting this organization, and was its first moderator, but soon after he removed to the State of Mississippi.

The seat of this body is in the county from which it received its name.

No late Minutes of it have been received, but from those of the State Convention, I learn that it has gained much in numbers within a few years past, and is ranked among the decided supporters of evangelical efforts.

CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

Arose in 1834, out of churches which had belonged to the **Ocmulgee** and **Flint River** Associations. Its name indicates its locality, which is in the neighborhood of **Milledgeville**, the Capitol of the State, in the counties of **Putnam**, **Baldwin**, **Jones**, **Jasper**, **Newton**, **Munroe**, **Butts**, and **Henry**. At its formation, besides their own ministers, there were present, **I. M. Allen**, now secretary of the **A. and F. B. Society**, **G. J. Heard**, and **A. Sherwood**.

Although the body has never abounded with numbers as to ministers, churches, or members, yet its doings show it holds a rank among the most active and enterprising institutions of the kind in the State. It is on ground occupied by **Mercer**, and men of a kindred spirit, both in the early settlement of the region, and in after times, where their principles were deeply planted and widely diffused. Probably no other body of the kind in the State, with the exception of the old **Georgia**, has exhibited a greater degree of effort and liberality during the time of its existence.

Two years after their organization, when they had but 800 members, they resolved to raise *twenty thousand* dollars to endow a professorship of sacred literature in the southern baptist college, and nearly one half of this sum was subscribed on the spot by about a dozen persons.¹⁰

At the same meeting they agreed to raise twenty-five hundred dollars for foreign missions, by the next session of the State Convention.

At the next session, which was in 1837, when they had but six ministers and about nine hundred members, their receipts for missions and other objects of benevolence were a fraction over three thousand dollars.

This meeting was attended by the venerable **J. Mercer**, who by special invitation preached the annual missionary sermon.

A number of the sessions of this body (some of them extra) were more like *protracted meetings* than Associational interviews: their first meeting lasted twelve days; the next lasted a week.

⁹ In 1845 it reported 244. **Poplar Spring**, **W. R. Steeley**, 177; **Richland**, same; **Rocky Creek**, 167; **Beach Spring**, 165; **Wood's M. H.**, 105.

¹⁰ At this time, although a college was decided on, it was not yet settled whether it should be in **Washington** or **Penfield**, where it was finally located.

In the Minutes of 1837, are found historical sketches of the twelve churches of which this body was then composed, a thing unusual in this region of country. Some extracts from them will be made, in the order in which they are found.

CARMEL CHURCH was constituted in 1835, of 17 members, by the assistance of A. Sherwood, C. D. Mallery, Wm. A. Calloway, J. E. Dawson, and J. H. Campbell.

Rev. Wm. A. Calloway was the first pastor, and was succeeded by T. U. Wilks.

RAMOTH CHURCH is situated 10 miles south of Eatonton, in Putnam Co. This church was gathered by the labors of J. H. Campbell, and was organized in 1836.

CLINTON CHURCH was formed in 1734, of only four members. This town is the capitol of Jones county, about twenty miles from Milledgeville, on the road to Macon.

Rev. James McDonald was the first pastor.

Rev. J. H. Campbell was his successor.

Rev. Thomas B. Slade was sent into the ministry by this people.

I have no Minutes of this body later than 1841; at that time, the

EATONTON CHURCH, *Rev. J. E. Dawson* pastor, was the largest in the connection.¹

ANTIOCH is an old church for this region, having been formed as early as 1809.

Rev. Messrs. Flourney, Hambrick, Shackelford, Brooks, Davis, and Campbell, have, in succession, been in the pastoral office with this people. This church has been distinguished for religious revivals.

Eatonton Church was constituted of ten members, in 1818, by *Elijah Morsely* and *F. Crowder*.

Rev. Jesse Mercer was the first pastor, whose successors were *A. Sherwood* and *J. E. Dawson*.

In 1827, more than 100 were baptized within the bounds of this body.

SHARON CHURCH was formed in 1824.

Rev. Messrs. Reeves, Wilson, Travis, and Collins, have been their pastors; the two last were raised up by this church.

Camp-meetings were held five years in succession by this and the *McDonough* church, much to their benefit and advantage.

Of the remaining churches, *Sardis* was formed in 1823, *Madison* 1834, *Indian Creek* 1808, *Monticello* 1808, *Paron* 1823, *Milledgeville* 1811, and *McDonough* 1825.

In addition to the officiating ministers in these different churches, I find the names of *Mallery, White, Kendrick, Thornton, Lowry, Martin, Willis, and Hand*.

The *Milledgeville Church*, although of more than thirty years' standing, and has had, in succession, *Hand, Brooks, Sherwood* and *Mallery*, for their pastors, yet, by late accounts, had not attained that strength and efficiency which is common for old communities in metropolitan locations.

This successful association, on account of their activity and zeal in all evangelical efforts, have been regarded as a company of *new-lights* by some of their brethren, and no little opposition has been raised against them on this account. They have been accused of being *Arminians*, by the *hyper-orthodox*, because of the freedom of their addresses to the unconverted, &c.

Some account of the reputed heresies of this zealous and successful body may be found in the history of the *Ebenezer Association*.²

¹ It reported 165; *Milledgeville*, *S. G. Hillyer*, 123; *Sugar Creek*, 104. The Association, as a whole, has had an addition of about 400 members, as I learn from the Minutes of the B. S. Convention.

² My information relative to the Central Association, has been derived from *Sherwood's Historical Papers* and the communications of *Rev. T. U. Wilks*, its clerk.

FLINT RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1824, of churches which had belonged to the Ocmulgee, and probably some other neighboring communities.

It began with twenty churches, six of which were new constitutions. The country through which most of the churches in this and the Ichaconna Associations are situated, was acquired by treaty with the Indians, in 1821, and soon after the churches began to arise.

In four years after this body was formed, it received by baptism in one year, about 1900 members.

The same anti-missionary spirit which had agitated the neighboring Associations, pervaded this body for a number of years; a number of parties at different times seceded, to form new communities on what they denominated the *primitive model*, but the main body was satisfied with the original constitution, and has a firm standing in the General Convention of the State.

The churches are in the counties of Munroe, Pike, Butts, Henry, and Fayette, in a western direction from Milledgeville, between the Ocmulgee and the river whose name it bears.

The MACEDONIA CHURCH, J. Carter pastor, is the largest in this body.³

ICHACONNA ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1829; it is situated in the counties of Monroe, Bibb, Crawford and Houston. The body last named was its parent institution.⁴ It moved on in a regular and usual manner, until it had attained a good degree of strength and maturity, when some of its members introduced, and finally carried by a major vote, a resolution to proscribe all institutions for missions, &c. Since then their members have fallen off about half, and their principal efforts have been directed against the *effort system*.⁵

None of its late Minutes have come to hand.

REHOBOTH ASSOCIATION

Is on the same ground with the one last named, from which ten churches withdrew in 1838, on account of the *non-fellowshipping resolutions* above referred to.

These proscribed brethren assumed the name of *Rehoboth*, the meaning of which is, *the Lord hath made room for us*,⁶ for the same reason that Jacob applied it to the place where he could rest in quietness and freedom.

The MACON CHURCH, J. R. Kendrick pastor, is the largest and most important establishment in this connection.⁷

The church in this important town has passed through scenes of a trying character, although not altogether unexampled in the annals of our people. Relying too much on one of their members, a man of wealth and enterprise, they, like many others, run deeply in debt for a new and commodious house of worship, which they had enjoyed but a short time, when this brother died, and they were left in circumstances of trial and embarrassment. In the end, the house was sold, and went into other hands, and the church was dispersed and nearly lost its visibility; in this state of things,

Rev. A. T. Holmes, then a licensed preacher, by the earnest solicitation of the few members who still held together, took a school in the city, and began to re-edify the dilapidated interest, spiritually and materially. In due time, this

³ In 1846, it reported 238; Towallaga, W. Jarrell, 172; Sardis, —, 133; Flint River, 124; Bethlehem, 106. The colored members in this community are one-seventh of the whole.

⁴ Ichaconna is a creek which falls into the Ocmulgee within the bounds of this body, after which the Association is named. It is an Indian name, and signifies in English, *Deer-trap*.⁵—*Sherwood*.

⁵ Sherwood's Historical Papers.

⁶ Genesis, xxvi. 22.

⁷ In 1845, it reported 347; Haynesville, A. T. Holmes, 157; Bethesda, 135; Sand Ridge, 107; Fellowship, A. King, 100.

HOUSTON, PULASKI, BETHEL, AND COLUMBUS ASSOCIATIONS. 737

afflicted people saw themselves built up to about two hundred strong, with a commodious house to meet in, and *paid for*. Not long after this event, Mr. Holmes returned to his present location.

The ministers who have officiated here as pastors or supplies, have been A. Sherwood, J. H. Campbell, J. S. Law, C. A. Tharp, A. T. Holmes, C. D. Mallery, Thos. Curtis; this brings us down to Mr. Kendrick, who, I believe, is a New England man.

The HAYNESVILLE CHURCH, A. T. Holmes pastor, is the next to Macon in size. The pastors before Mr. Holmes were F. Barbor, A. Culpepper, and J. Davis.⁸

HOUSTON ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1830, with the Beulah Church, in the county from which it took its name. The churches of which it was composed came from the Ebenezer and Ichaonna Associations; it prospered moderately, until the mission question came up among them; on this subject, the churches, 18 in number, took opposite sides: nine were for holding on to the old platform, and an equal number assumed an opposite attitude, and decided that all societies and institutions for benevolent objects were unscriptural in their construction, and injurious in their tendency.

This measure produced much confusion and heart-burnings with this feeble interest, but they have now regained their former standing—employ two domestic missionaries within their bounds a part of the time, and appear to be progressing with quietness and comfort.

HAWKINSVILLE CHURCH, Rev. Joseph Hough pastor, is the largest in this body; in 1845, it was a fraction less than 100: all the others are under it in size. The churches of this community are mostly in Dooley county; a few of them are in the adjoining shires.

PULASKI ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839, of the nine churches which withdrew from the Houston; in 1846, it had seven small churches, mostly destitute of pastors or stated supplies. The county from which this body took its name, adjoins Houston and Dooley.⁹

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1833; it is one of the large and influential institutions in south-western Georgia, but I find no account of its origin or progress among Sherwood's papers or in any of the communications of my numerous correspondents for the State. It extends quite to the Chattahoochee river, which, for a long distance, divides Georgia and Alabama; its churches, 39 in number, are scattered over many counties, but most of them are in Randolph, Baker, Stewart, and Sumpter.

The MACEDONIA CHURCH, E. Cody pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

PALMYRA, Jonathan Davis pastor, is the next in size.

COLUMBUS ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1828; it took its name from the large and flourishing town which is the centre of this community, as it is in all business transactions in this direction.¹

⁸ Letter from Rev. A. T. Holmes to the author, 1846.

⁹ Letter of Chas. H. Higdon, Esq., clerk of the Houston Association.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 229; Palmyra, 137; Richland, J. Rushing, 129; Friendship, 125; Shiloh, Stewart, 118; Shiloh, Randolph, 112; Benevolence, J. Matthews, 110; Mount Zion, T. Muse, 109.

¹ This town is situated at the foot of the falls, on the East Branch of the Chattahoochee River, 300 miles above its confluence with the Flint. The river just below the falls is only 364 feet wide, but soon widens to 250 yards.

There is an easy and safe steamboat communication between this town and the Gulf of Mexico, and boats are plying between it and New Orleans.—*Sherwood's Gazette*

The Minutes of 1842 contain historical sketches of all the churches, upwards of thirty in number, from which a few extracts will be made. But few of them were constituted prior to 1829, and an unusual portion of them arose in that year.

COLUMBUS CHURCH was constituted in 1829, of twelve members.

Its pastors, from the first, have been Rev. Messrs. Martin, Gray, Stokes, Hand, Dawson, Calloway, Granbury, Baker, Slade. It was reported vacant in 1846.

TALBOTTON CHURCH bears date from the same year as the last. It is situated in the large and flourishing town of the same name, in Talbot Co., about 100 miles west of Milledgeville.

The pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Hambrick, Henderson, Ross, Pennyman.

BETHEL was formed in the same year. Pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Smith, Waldrop, Granbury, Willis.

BETHESDA was formed in 1828. The pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Smith and Willis.

BETHLEHEM was constituted in 1829. Pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Waldrop, Harris, Kendrick.

COUNTY LINE was constituted in 1831.

Rev. H. Powell became their pastor at first, and, for a rare case, continued with them some 12 or 15 years. *W. Barry* was the incumbent in 1846.

ANTIOCH was formed in 1838.

Rev. J. W. David was their pastor for a few years. *S. W. Durham* was in office last year.

The numerical strength of the Columbus Association is exceeded by only two others, viz.: the Georgia and Sunbury.

The *Columbus* church is the largest in this body.*

We have now gone through the State, from Augusta to Columbus, the belt of land which we had allotted for our *middle* or central division; about one-third of the Associations in the whole State, but in reality much the largest portion of the baptist population, strength, and efficiency has been brought under review.

SECTION III.

EASTERN DIVISION.

Sunbury Association—Canochee—Middle—Piedmont—Swanee—Ocklocknee—Harmony—United Baptist—Chattahoochee United—Salem do.

This section of the State is large in its geographical dimensions; the baptist communities in it are also considerably numerous, but, for the most part, they were always feeble at their best estate, and they have made themselves much more so by the unwise and injurious policy which, for many years past, most of them have pursued.

This division extends from the Savannah River on the east, to the sea-board and Florida line on the southeast and south, and on the north to the Associations which have already been described, and to the Alabama line.

SUNBURY ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1818; it was formed by a mutual division of the old Savannah community, which was organized in 1802, as has been related under the

* In 1846, it reported 333; County Line, 189; Hamilton, G. Granbury, 152; Talbotton, J. Pennyman, 151; Bethlehem, J. W. Cooper, 120; Harmony, C. C. Willis, 112; Ebenezer, Jno. Howell, 112; Liberty Hill, C. H. Stillwell, 111; Mount Zion, W. Barry, 107; Cane Creek, S. Harris, 105; Pond Town, F. T. Sieg, 103; Concord, J. King, 102.

South Carolina head. The principal ministers in the mother body in the early times of its existence, were Rev. Messrs. Johnson, Holcombe, Williams, Goldwire, Polhill, Marshall, Cunningham, Sweet, Villard, Hagood, Screven, Brantley, Wilson, Sugg, Peeples, and Thomas; all but the two last were ordained.

The Savannah Association, for many years, maintained a correspondence not only with the South Carolina and Georgia communities near home, but also with the Warren and Philadelphia, and some other kindred institutions at the north.

Next to the Georgia, this is the largest in the State, and has, from its commencement, held a conspicuous stand among the American baptists.

It has been the first in projecting plans of benevolence at home and abroad, and supported them with a willing and liberal hand.

Although its corps of ministers have never been large, yet among them have been found men of superior talents and commanding influence, not only within their own bounds, but throughout the whole connection.

This Association, whether under its original or present name, has been remarkable for the amount of its colored population, and now the three churches in Savannah contain about three thousand members. And, although it is in the low-country, where the colored race are generally supposed to be less regarded than in the higher regions, yet, during its whole progress, this large portion of their members have been treated with kindness and respect. *Their* churches, with *their* pastors' names, uniformly stand on their Minutes, according to their seniority as to their organization. And in the Minutes of the old Association for 1812, I find the following article:

"The Association is sensibly affected by the death of the *Rev. Andrew Bryan*, a man of color, and pastor of the first colored church in Savannah. This son of Africa, after suffering inexpressible persecutions in the cause of his Divine Master, was at length permitted to discharge the duties of the ministry among his colored friends in peace and quiet, hundreds of whom, through his instrumentality, were brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. He closed his extensively useful, and amazingly luminous course, in the lively exercise of faith, and in the joyful hope of a happy immortality."

Religious revivals have been frequent and extensive in this community, especially among the colored population. In 1812, they received by baptism about fifteen hundred members.

Brief sketches of some of the oldest and most prominent churches will now be given.

SAVANNAH. This church was constituted in 1800, but was begun six years before in the following manner: In 1794, Messrs. Jonathan Clark, George Morse, Thomas Polhill, of Newington, and David Adams, one of the deacons of the church in Charleston, S. C., proposed the erection of a house of worship for the baptists in this city. But the smallness of their number, and the want of means, threw many obstacles in their way.

About this time, Mr. Rees, from Wales, the same man who led out the company of Welsh people to the mountains in Pennsylvania, visited Savannah, and, with much zeal and address, encouraged the design of building the house which had been proposed. A plan of it was drawn by Dr. Furman, of Charleston; aid was solicited by the above named gentleman and others; and so great was their success, that in 1795, a house, fifty feet by sixty, was erected. It was, at first, merely inclosed. The next year it was rented to the Presbyterians, who had lately lost their house by fire. They occupied it three years. Such was the posture of the affairs of the baptists in Savannah in 1799, when Mr. Halcombe (who was the pastor of the church at Euhaw, but lived at Beaufort), by the invitation of the pew-holders in their meeting-house, came to reside in the city. So much success attended his ministry, that, in 1800, it was judged proper to organize a church in the place.

Rev. Mr. Holcombe became their first pastor, and continued in office several years. Successor to him, was

Rev. Wm. B. Johnson, D.D., for a few years.

The entire list of pastors of this church, I am not able to give.

Rev. H. O. Wyer was in office here a number of years. After him, was *Rev. J. G. Binney*, now a missionary in Burmah. *Rev. A. Williams* is the present pastor.

The baptist population of Savannah, of African descent, for more than half a century, have been very numerous, and have held a very respectable rank as members of our community. Our historical writers have taken much pains to ascertain the history of the church in this city, whose affairs I shall relate somewhat in detail.

FIRST COLORED CHURCH. The origin of this church was in the following manner.³ About the beginning of the American war, *George Leile*, sometimes called *George Sharp*, but more commonly called among his brethren and friends by the name of brother *George*, began to preach at *Brampton* and *Yamacraw*, near the city of Savannah. He had been converted about two years before the war, by the preaching of a baptist minister in *Burke county*, whose name was *Matthew Moore*; by this minister he was baptized, and by the church of which he was pastor he was approbated to preach. His labors were attended with a blessing among the people of his own color on different plantations, and many of them were brought, by his means, to a saving acquaintance with the gospel. When the country was evacuated by the British, *George*, with many others, removed from Georgia to *Kingston*, in the island of *Jamaica*. Here his labors were attended with great success, and by him a large church was soon raised up; in giving the history of which, we shall relate more at large the character and labors of this worthy man.

"Previous to *George's* departure for *Jamaica*, he came up to the city of Savannah from *Tybee river*, where departing vessels frequently lay ready for sea, and baptized *Andrew Bryan* and *Hannah*, his wife, and two other black women, whose names were *Kate* and *Hager*. These were the last labors of *George Leile* in this quarter. About nine months after his departure, *Andrew* began to exhort his black brethren and friends, and a few whites who assembled to hear him. *Edward Davis, Esq.*, permitted him and his hearers to erect a rough wooden building on his land at *Yamacraw*, in the suburbs of Savannah. Of this building they were in a short time very artfully dispossessed. It appears that these poor defenseless slaves met with much opposition from the rude and merciless white people, who, under various pretences, interrupted their worship, and otherwise treated them in a barbarous manner. *Andrew Bryan*, and his brother *Samson*, who was converted about a year after him, were twice imprisoned, and they, with about fifty others, without much ceremony, were severely whipped. *Andrew* was inhumanly cut, and bled abundantly; but, while under their lashes, he held up his hands and told his persecutors, 'that he rejoiced not only to be whipped, but would freely suffer death for the cause of Christ.' The chief-justices *Henry Osbourne*, *James Habersham* and *David Montague, Esqs.*, were their examiners, who released them. *Jonathan Bryan, Esq.*, the kind master of *Andrew* and *Samson*, interceded for his own servants, and the rest of the sufferers, and was much grieved at their punishment. The design of these unrighteous proceedings against these poor innocent people, was to stop their religious meetings. Their enemies pretended, that under a pretence of religion, they were plotting mischief and insurrections; but by well doing, they at length silenced and shamed their persecutors, and acquired a number of very respectable and influential advocates and patrons, who not only rescued them from the power of their enemies, but declared that such treatment as they had received would be condemned among barbarians. The chief-justice *Osbourne* then gave them liberty to continue their worship any time between sun-rising and sun-set; and the benevolent *Jonathan Bryan* told the magistrates that he would give them the liberty of his own house or barn, at a place called *Brampton*, about three miles from Savannah, and that they should not be interrupted in their worship. From this period, *Andrew* and *Samson* set up meetings at their master's barn, where they had little or no interruption for about two years."

Such was the beginning of the first African church in Savannah, which, after having been the mother of others, now contains about 1200 members.

Not long after *Andrew* commenced his ministry, and his converts began to increase, they were visited by an aged baptist minister, whose name was *Thomas Burton*, who, on a credible profession of their faith, baptized eighteen of their number; to these were added forty-five more, under the ministry of *Rev. Abraham Marshall*, of *Kiokee*, who paid them a visit in 1788, and formed them into a church, and ordained *Andrew* as their pastor. He was accompanied by a young preacher of color, by the name of *Jesse Peter*, of *Augusta*.

³ *Rippon's Register* for 1791; *Halcombe's Repository* for 1792.

This church at first consisted of about eighty members, and so rapid was its increase, that in four years it amounted to two hundred and thirty-five, and besides these, there were three hundred and fifty who had been received as converted followers, many of whom had not obtained permission of their owners to be baptized.

Andrew Bryan continued in the pastoral office until his death, which happened in October, 1812. He was supposed to be about ninety years of age. His remains were interred with peculiar marks of respect. Addresses were delivered at the meeting-house by Rev. Drs. Johnson, of the baptist, and Kellock, of the presbyterian church, and by Rev. Thomas T. Williams, at his grave. He was succeeded by

Rev. Andrew Marshall, his nephew, who still continues the aged and useful pastor of this large community.⁴

THE SECOND AFRICAN CHURCH originated from the first, and was formed in 1803.

Rev. Thomas Anderson is their present pastor.

THE THIRD DO., is of more recent origin, but its date I have not ascertained.

Rev. Isaac Roberts is its present pastor. All these pastors are men of color.

SUNBURY. The church in this place arose in 1804, under the ministry of

Rev. Charles O. Scriven, who officiated as its pastor about five-and-twenty years. This body, from early times, has abounded with colored members; its white population has always been small. Mr. Scriven died in the pastorship in 1830, while on a visit to New York for his health.⁵

James Smith, Esq., one of his deacons, has given me very ample materials for the history of this and all the surrounding churches in this region of country, which I regret my limits will not permit me more fully to insert.

From no part of Georgia have I had such full details as of the churches of Sunbury, Darien, Newport, indeed, of all the interests of our order, between the rivers Ogechee and Altamaha. Deacon Smith is a matter-of-fact man, and exhibits an intimate acquaintance with baptist affairs in all this region of country: he has supplied me with biographical notices of all the ministers of distinction who have labored in this part of the State for many years past, also an unusual number of autographs of these men, and among the rest, with an extended memoir of Mr. Scriven, from his childhood till his death. All matters of this kind will be carefully reserved for my biographical work. Neither my space nor my plan allow me in this volume to enter into the history of distinguished ministers, but relative to Mr. Scriven, it may be proper to say that he was a descendant of Rev. Wm. Scriven, who fled from persecution in Maine, and founded the first church, Charleston. He was educated at R. I. College, now Brown University, under President Maxcy; afterwards settled on his paternal estate, in Bryan county as a planter, which was near the scene of his ministerial labors during a long and useful life; he was also the pioneer and apostle of an extensive field of action on the seaboard, at some distance to the south of the city of Savannah.⁶

Rev. Samuel Law was Mr. Scriven's immediate successor, and held the pastorship till his death, in 1836. Next to him was his son,

Rev. Josiah Law, who was in office here in 1845. Mr. L. was a graduate of Newton Theo. Institution, in Mass.

DARIEN. The church here is the offspring of Sunbury, from which it colonized with the utmost cordiality, in 1834.

For a few of the first years after the formation of this church, it had for its pastors as supplies

Rev. Edward Postell, who died in the pastorship in 1836, and

Rev. James McDonald, who is now in Florida.

⁴ Both these ministers were slaves when they began to preach. Andrew Bryan left an estate valued at about \$3000.

⁵ He was buried in the cemetery of the Amity Street, Dr. Williams' Church, N. Y.

⁶ "He was the son of Gen. James Scriven, and great-grandson of Rev. Wm. Scriven, above named. Gen. Scriven fell in the war of the revolution, at Laurell Hill, near Medway church, by an ambuscade of British and Tories. After Savannah was taken by the British troops, the commanding officer sent word to Gen. Scriven to give up Sunbury also—his answer was, 'come and take it.'"—*Letter of Mrs. B. R. Scriven, widow of the late Rev. C. O. Scriven, to Rev. Mr. McIntosh, 1845, for my use.*

Rev. William H. McIntosh, the present pastor of this people, was settled in 1837. Mr. M. was educated at the Furman Institute, in S. C.

Probably in no Association in this country is there so large a proportion of colored members as in the Sunbury. Just one-half of its churches, twenty in all, are wholly composed of this people; and, with but few exceptions, they are much the most numerous in the other half.

By the last returns, this body contained about forty-three hundred members; less than five hundred of them were whites. The first colored church in Savannah is the largest in this community.⁷

I will now go up to the northern parts of this section of the State, in the territory between Savannah and Augusta, where are a few small associational communities, and then take a downward course, towards the seaboard, Florida and Alabama.

CANOCHEE ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed by a secession from the Hepzibah, in 1828, in consequence of disputes about missions, education, &c.

Jordan Smith and *James Gray* were the principal movers in this undertaking.

The churches are in the counties of Bulloch, Emanuel, Tattnall, Washington, Scriven and Bryan.

In 1845 its churches were upwards of thirty—its membership eleven hundred and fifty; none of its churches came up to one hundred.

MIDDLE GROUND ASSOCIATION⁸

Is another small community, which is still lower down the country, towards Savannah. It was formed in 183 . It is situated in the counties of Burke, Scriven, Effingham and Chatham.

I have seen none of its Minutes later than 1843; then it had eight churches, and about four hundred members.

The *LITTLE OGECHEE*, *J. L. Southwell* pastor, was then the largest in this body; its number was a fraction under one hundred.

PIEDMONT ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1817. Two years after their formation they passed a formal vote "to have nothing to do with missionaries."

This is a small community towards the seaboard, in the counties of Liberty, McIntosh, Wayne and Appling. Its Minutes for seven years past I have not seen; then its whole number was about two hundred.

SAWANNEE and *OCKLOCKONEE* are two bodies of but moderate size; they are situated in the south-east corner of the State, near the Florida line. I have gained but little information respecting them from Sherwood or any other source. They are said to be of the O-Mission class as to any activity in benevolent operations, and general report places them among their opposers. They are in the counties of Lowndes, Thomas, Decatur, &c.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 1202, Second do., 567; Darien, 543; First Savannah, all whites, 316; Third, colored, 300; White Bluff, colored, 293; South Newport, 232; St. Mary's Branch of the second colored Savannah, 168; White Oak, colored, 143; St. Catharines, colored, 139; Beth-el, 111.

⁸ This is the manner in which it was at first designated: probably because it was about *midway* between the Savannah and Georgia Associations. This small fraternity is claimed by both sides on the missionary dispute; according to the classification of the G. B. State Convention, its position is somewhat neutral. I see it corresponds with the Sunbury and Hepzibah, which are decidedly the friends of all benevolent institutions.

⁹ Both the above institutions take their names from rivers which rise in Georgia, and pass through Florida into the Gulf of Mexico. The Sawannee is the principal stream; the other is one of its branches. Och-lock-nee is an Indian name, pronounced as if it had but three syllables.—*Sherwood*.

HARMONY ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1839; it is situated principally in the counties of Early, Randolph and Stewart, on the great Chattahoochee, adjoining the State of Alabama. I have obtained no account of its origin or progress, and have seen none of its Minutes later than 1845; then it contained upwards of a thousand members.

NEW BETHEL CHURCH, 139 members, was the only one which came up to one hundred.

We have thus traversed the *low-country* by a somewhat circuitous route, to the neighborhood of the Bethel and Columbus Associations, near to the line of Alabama. In this region, and in what I have allotted for the *western* division, is a number of small Associations of what are called the *United Baptists* or *Whiteites*, whose affairs, so far as Georgia is concerned, I will relate before I go into the great range of country which yet remains to be explored.

UNITED BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

This community was formed by a secession of a small party from the Flint River Association in 1831.

Rev. Cyrus White, who died a short time since in Alabama, appears to have been the leader of this party at first, but, in due time, other ministers, and a multitude of others fell in with his views, so that in a few years, they spread abroad extensively in this State and the adjoining parts of Alabama.¹⁰

The Minutes of this body for 1843, which purports to be the twelfth session, are the latest I have seen; then it had fourteen churches, about the same number of ministers, ord. and lic., and a little upwards of seven hundred members. It is situated in Pike and a few adjoining counties.

The TEMAN CHURCH, Henry Co., *Rev. Spencer Harvey*, pastor at the date above given, was the largest in this body. It numbered just one hundred; all the others were under that size.

CHATTAHOOCHEE U. B. ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836; this appears to have been the second company which assumed an associational form on the peculiar principles of Mr. White and his associates; the latest account I have seen of it is in the Minutes of the G. B. S. Convention, which makes it between five and six hundred strong.

This small fraternity is scattered over an extensive field, from above Columbus down to the counties of Stewart, Randolph and Early, and a few of them are over the great river whose name it bears, on the Alabama side.

SALEM U. B. ASSOCIATION.

This is still another associational connection, which was formed by this enterprising company in 1843.

The history of the origin of this new interest I will copy from a communication from its clerk, who has also furnished me some account of the peculiar sentiments of Mr. White, and his coadjutors and successors.

"Most of the churches in the Salem were, formerly, members of the *Chattahoochee United Baptist Association*, from which they withdrew by letter, in Oct., 1843. In December following, their delegates assembled in convention, and constituted a new Association. This body, unlike the one from which the constituent churches had withdrawn, rejected *open communion*, and declared that immersion administered by pedobaptist ministers is invalid.

"At their next session, in 1844, they proposed correspondence with the Bethel Association of *Regular* baptists. The correspondence was cordially accepted, and thus the breach which had existed for several years among the *Liberal* baptists in this section was virtually healed. The brethren expressed their grateful acknowledgments to God by suspending business and devoting a short time to thanksgiving and prayer. It may be worthy of remark that the right hand of fellowship was first given and received by the two brethren who had devised the plan of union two or three years before.

¹⁰ The peculiarities of this people will be briefly described in the history of the Salem U. B. Association, which will soon follow.

"The churches composing the Salem Association hold to some sentiments which may be considered rather singular. Maintaining that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practice, they feel themselves obliged to reject all human creeds. The deductions which men draw from the scriptures may be true, but since the scriptures are full and sufficient, they suppose that everything which men should believe and obey may be found in some command or plain declaration of the Bible."¹

My correspondent goes on to state that "these liberal baptists are the decided advocates of what are regarded orthodox sentiments on the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the utter helplessness of man," &c.

SUMMER HILL CHURCH, A. Cumbie pastor, is the largest in this body.²

So far as my knowledge extends, these three small communities embrace all the churches who adopt the sentiments of this seceding party in Georgia. A considerable number of them are found in Alabama.

This class of baptists are entirely different from the so-called *old school* party, as they are full of effort and enterprise for the spread of the gospel, and the propagation of their sentiments.

In the Minutes of one of their Associations, I observe they appointed a committee to correspond with the Free-Will baptists in N. C., to inquire how near their opinions were alike.

The *United Baptists*, or *Whiteites* are a very zealous and active people, and have had much success in their wide-spread efforts.

Open Communion, to some extent, was practised among them at first; but, from all that I can learn, I should judge that they are gradually becoming assimilated in all respects to the old body, and will soon again be wholly absorbed in their ranks. A little more patience and forbearance may be well on both sides.

I am now prepared to enter the great field which yet remains to be explored; in it are a large number of associational communities; many of them, it is true, are small; a few are of good size and efficiency. This *division* is bounded by Alabama on the west, and Tennessee and North Carolina on the north.

Note. Between the time of this part of my work going to press and the proofs coming back, I have completed my accounts of the Alabama Baptists, and they have gone to the stereotypers. I omitted to give any further definition of the party called *Whiteites*, or *Liberals*, and by their opponents *Arminians*, and *heterodox*, as I proposed to do in note 2 above. As I find a space here in the proofs, I will merely say, that although this people are somewhat numerous in Alabama, yet I do not find any Association of them altogether in that State, except it be the North River, of which *Mr. Andrews* is reputed the corypheus or leader; and they, I should think, act rather by themselves. But all these distinctions are melting away, in my opinion; for this reason, I have not made them so prominent as a historian who is under the *esprit du corp*, the spirit of the party, or either, might have done.

¹ Communication of Rev. Thos. J. Bowen, of Florence, Geo., to the author, 1845.

² In 1845, it reported 165; all the others were under 100.

My principal authorities for the affairs of the *United Baptists* in Georgia, are Rev. Thos. J. Bowen, of Florence, Stewart Co., and Thomas M. Slaughter, Esq., of Piedmont, Harris Co.

More will be said of this people under the Alabama head.

In the Minutes of the first session of this body, in Dec., 1846, I find the following recommendations:

1. "Never to constitute a church without, at least, three or four discreet male members, and unless there is a prospect that it will become a permanent and thriving body, and that it can obtain a pastor when constituted.

2. "To be cautious in licensing young ministers, and to limit their license in such a manner that it may expire at the end of one year, unless renewed by the church.

3. "To have no minister ordained unless he has all the requisitions enumerated in Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus.

4. "To choose no person a deacon unless he answers to the character laid down in the Scriptures."

This is followed by very suitable advice to their ministers, as to their studies and pursuits in general, and to avoid, as much as possible, the unprofitable and exasperating pulpit controversies, too common in this day," &c.

SECTION IV.

Western Association—Yellow River do.—Rock Mountain do.—Appalachee do.—Oconee do.—Chattahoochee do.—Tugalo do.—Mountain do.—Valley River do.—Chestatee do.—Elijah do.—Hightower do.—Uharley do.—Tallapoosa do.—Upatoie—Towaligee—Little River—Coosa—Adelpha—Closing Remarks—Correspondents.

WESTERN ASSOCIATION.

THE origin of this body is given in the Minutes at the time of its formation, Nov. 1829, by which it appears that the Yellow and Flint River Associations, at their late sessions, had appointed committees to assist in this new undertaking, which consisted of Rev. Messrs. Colley, Gunn, Daniel, Milner, Moseley, Henderson, Carter and Nichols, at the time above named.

J. Colley was moderator, and J. Milner clerk.

The number of churches at first was sixteen; members, four hundred and ninety-five.

The name of this body would seem to indicate that the region of country which it occupied was then on the farthest edge of civilization.

Mercer attended the second session, and Sherwood some of the succeeding ones.

So rapid was the increase of this new community, that in 1836 it numbered upwards of three thousand members. In that year it received by baptism more than six hundred.

The year after this great increase, four churches, in their letters to the Association, declared a non-fellowship with all benevolent institutions, a thing of frequent occurrence about that time, and wished the whole body to adopt their views, which was not done. This led on to the formation of a duplicate body of the same name, as has happened in a considerable number of Associations, in this, as well as in many other States.

The Minutes for 1844 contain historical sketches of all the churches, thirty-five in number, from which the following extracts concerning a few of the largest are made:

LAGRANGE, in Troup Co. was organized in 1828; the pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Reeves, Stokes, Wood, Smith, Posey, Moon, Granbury and Dawson, under whose ministry an extensive revival and great enlargement was experienced.

"This is one of the most efficient churches in Western Georgia. It contains in its membership a number of educated and talented men: Among them was Elder Otis Smith, late President of Mercer University, now Principal of the High School at Brownwood, near the village, and Mr. M. E. Bacon, at the head of the Female Seminary of the first order in the village.

"LONG CANE is in the same Co., ten miles south-west of Lagrange; it was organized in 1829. It has enjoyed the pastoral labors of James Reeves, G. Leverett, H. Posey and F. Callaway, who still supplies them.

"HEBRON CHURCH is in Merriweather Co., about 100 miles from Milledgeville, and was formed in 1831. Its pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Caldwell, Bankston, Holmes and Rainwater.

"BETHANY CHURCH was organized in 1828; it is in Troup Co., 17 miles south-west of Lagrange.

"Rev. Mr. Cooper is their pastor.

"BETHEL CHURCH, in Heard Co., was organized of nine members, in 1828. The pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Wood, Frey, Bankston and Rainwater.

"NEWMAN CHURCH, in Coweta Co., was formed in 1828. The pastors have been Rev. Messrs. Wood, Holmes, Davis and Fleming.

"HOLLY SPRING is in the same Co., and was organized in 1829. It has had for pastors Rev. Messrs. Frey, Henderson and Holmes, who has had the care of it since she rescinded her *non-fellowship resolutions*.

"MOUNTAIN CREEK, in Harris Co., was constituted in 1829.

"*Rev. John W. Cooper* has been the pastor of this church from the beginning."

LAGRANGE CHURCH, *J. E. Dawson* pastor, is the largest in this body.³

Rev. James Whitten, one of my active correspondents, is a member of this body; his residence is at Whitesville, 15 miles south of Lagrange, in Harris Co.⁴

WESTERN ASSOCIATION, NO. 2.

This arose out of a division of the old body, about benevolent institutions, &c. It was formed in 1837.

The churches, with scarcely any exception, are in the same counties as the mother institution.

The first Minutes give, in full detail, their reasons for withdrawing, &c. The substance of them are, that the old body "had become connected with a variety of institutions not known in the scriptures, which caused a general confusion in the churches, by attempting to unite them with the world in the spread of the gospel. *Come out from among them, be ye separate, touch not,*" &c. is the language of exhortation which the seceding party addresses to their brethren.

None of the churches in this community amount to one hundred.

YELLOW RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed of twenty churches, in 1824; it went on prosperously for a number of years, and had become a large and influential body, containing upwards of twenty-seven hundred members.⁵

About 1835, it opened the chapter of *Resolutions* relative to all benevolent institutions; the effect has been, that its numerical strength is diminished a little more than 100 per cent.

Rev. Joel Colley, the moderator of the first session, sustained that office fifteen years. For the want of documents, I must omit my usual account of the progress and statistics of this community.

By the friendly attention of *E. Henderson, Esq.*, the Minutes of this Association, for 1846, came to hand just as this portion of my copy was going to press. I shall alter it enough to add, its churches are 45—all under 100; its membership a little over twelve hundred. *Joel Colley* is the moderator still. Its churches are principally in the counties of Newton, Walton, De Kalb and Gwinnett, in a central position in the State.

ROCK MOUNTAIN ASSOCIATION⁶

Was constituted in 1839. It consisted at first of ten churches, which have increased to seventeen. Most of them withdrew from the Yellow River Association, and refused to go with her in her acts of non-fellowship, against the mission and other benevolent societies. The churches are in the counties of De Kalb, Gwinnett, Newton, Walton and Henry, near the central parts of the State.

³ In 1846, it reported 258; Long Cane, *G. Leveret*, 197; Bethel, *R. Fleming*, 181; Bethany, *J. W. Cooper*, 156; Hebron, *J. Rainwater*, 154; W. O. Grove, *J. B. Davis*, 127; Western, 124; Newnan, 108; Antioch, *J. Moon*, 102; Mountain Creek, 101.

A little over one sixth of this Association are colored members.

⁴ To this brother I am much indebted for Minutes, not only of his own, but of a number of other Associations, which he has collected in his preaching excursions, in the upper parts of the State. Also for directions for suitable men to address, in different directions, on the subject of my history, and for a world of good will towards my undertaking.

⁵ The date of this Association I have ascertained from a copy of the first Minutes, which I found among *Sherwood's* papers. The fact of its opposing stand in the mission cause was communicated by *E. Henderson, Esq.*, of Social Circle, Walton Co.

⁶ From the name of this Association, we should naturally expect to find it in a mountainous region. Instead of this, it is in an open and fertile country, which is in a good state of cultivation. The Rock in question, rises on a plain to the height of 900 feet above common level, and upwards of 2000 feet above the sea; it is about one mile in circumference at the base, and presents a level platform on the top 100 feet square. On the summit, for the purpose of an Observatory, a number of years since, a tower was erected, 180 feet in height. This mountain rock is a place of considerable resort from all the surrounding country, by people of all descriptions. The Georgia Rail Road winds around the base of this immense pile, which was probably raised to its present position by volcanic power in ages past.—*Dr. P. Check's communication to the author, in 1844.*

The circumstances under which this body was formed, sufficiently indicate its disposition as to benevolent operations.

INDIAN CREEK CHURCH, *H. Collins* pastor, is the largest in this community.⁷

APPALACHEE ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1835 ; it began with only three churches and two ordained ministers, viz. : John Kendricks and A. Hadaway ; but, under the influence of frequent revivals of religion, and an evangelical ministry, this young institution has been built up to fourteen hundred strong, with eighteen churches, and about an equal number of ministers.

The Appalachee community is surrounded by the Ocmulgee, Yellow River, and Serepta ; a part of its churches came from these bodies, others have been organized during its progress.

Rev. John Hendricks has been the moderator of this growing interest from its commencement ; and by his kind attention, would my limits permit, I could give historical sketches of most of its churches. They are situated mostly in the counties of Morgan, Green, Walton and Clark.

This fraternity supports a domestic missionary a part of the year, within its own bounds.

The SANDY CREEK CHURCH is the largest in this body.⁸

Athens, the seat of the Georgia University, is within the bounds of this Association.

OCONEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed with six churches, from the Serepta, in 1837 ; the seceding party went off from the old body, because, in their opinion, they were taking sides too strongly in missionary and other benevolent objects. It is a small community of less than five hundred members, and is situated in the counties of Ogelthorpe, Green and Clark. I have a copy of its first Minutes, but none of a later date.

CHATAHOOCHEE ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1826, with nine churches, mostly from the Tugalo and Serepta ; the place in which it arose was then a frontier settlement, and adjoining on the north and west the territory of the *Cherokee Indians*. This soon became an active and prosperous community, and in eight years its numerical strength amounted to fourteen hundred. Not long after, heavy drafts were made upon it in favor of new organizations, which brought it down to about one-half that number. It has gained moderately for a few years past.

The Associations contiguous to this, are, the Mountain on the north, Chataatee on the north-west, and Hightower on the west.

All the churches in this community, except three, are in the county of Hall.

The MT. MORIAH CHURCH, *Richard Phillips* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

The Chattahoochee River Association, of U. B., is entirely another affair ; this is on the head water of the river, the other is far down the country, below Columbus.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 151 ; Liberty, D. Cooke, 117 ; Rock Bridge, 98.

The colored members comprise about one-seventh of this community.

⁸ In 1846, it reported 219 ; Mar's Hill, H. Jackson, 185 ; Munroe, 108 ; Sugar Creek, 103 ; Pleasant Grove, 102 ; Antioch, W. Wright, 101.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 104 ; all the others were under 100. *Rev. James Whitten* has given me a full account of the origin and progress of this Association. He was its clerk for ten years from its commencement, when he removed to his present location in Harris Co.

TUGALO ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1817; the churches which composed it came principally from the Serepta. Its name was derived from a river, on both sides of which it is situated;¹⁰ it extends to the Savannah river, and a minor portion of its churches, from the first, have been in S. C., but as a majority of them are in Ga., I place it under this head.

According to Allen's Register, this community, in 1836, contained about fifteen hundred communicants; its number is somewhat less now, as exhibited in the Minutes of the Ga. B. S. Convention. As I have none of its late Minutes, its statistics cannot be given.

The session of this Association in 1819, was distinguished for having two delegates in attendance, viz.: Elders *Cleveland* and *Gilbert*, who were over 90 years old.

Thus far, in this western division, I have kept, for the most part, on the eastern side of the Chattahoochee river, till I came to the head waters of the Savannah; I shall now go on to the mountains and highlands beyond this noble stream, and describe the remaining communities in *Western Georgia*, some of which come in contact with N. C., Tenn. and Ala.

MOUNTAIN ASSOCIATION

Was formed of twelve churches, partly from the Chattahoochee, in 1832; its name is descriptive of its location. The churches are mostly in the counties of Habersham, Rabun and Hall.

Bethlehem, Mudcreek, Antioch, Mineral Springs, Dewbury, Namoochee, Liberty, Mt. Salem and Flat Creek are among the oldest churches, some of which were formed as early as 1821-22. None of them come up to 100.

VALLEY RIVER ASSOCIATION,

At first called *Notley's Valley*, is properly a N. C. institution, as but four of the churches, including about 170 members, are in this State. Its history may be found among the Associations in that State.

CHESTATEE ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in part from the Chattahoochee, and bears date from 1835¹: it abounds with small churches, which are situated mostly in the county of Lumpkin; a few are in Habersham, Union and Hall. It is no great distance from the head waters of the Savannah river.

Its churches, eighteen in number, are generally small, as its whole numerical strength is short of six hundred.

ELLIJAH ASSOCIATION.

This is another small body, in the mountains of Gilmer and Union. It began with five small churches, in 1840.

James Adams was moderator, and John J. Dickinson clerk of the first meeting.

This Association, for a rare thing, takes its name from that of the county-seat of Gilmer. This county borders on N. C. and Tenn.

HIGHTOWER ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1835 of ten churches, a part of which had belonged to the Chattahoochee Association. The names of Crompton, Haynes, Foster, Hembree and Phillips appear on committees for missionary affairs at their first ses-

¹⁰ Sherwood's Historical Papers.

¹ This date is rather assumed than settled; it is certain that, according to Mr. Whitten's account, that some of the churches, at that time, were dismissed from the Chattahoochee to unite with this body; its formation may have been earlier, but could not be later.

sion, which was with the Mt. Zion church, Cherokee Co. In this shire, Forsyth, Gwinnett, and a few adjoining ones, this community is now situated.

LEBANON CHURCH, *H. Collins* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

My collocation of the Associations in this region cannot be very accurately made, as I have no guide but the map of the State; and then again, a number of them being got up in disaffection, they, in many cases, run into, by, and around each other. Their lines of demarcation are often difficult to be defined. My general course is laid for the wide spread *Cosa* establishment.

UHARLEY ASSOCIATION

Was an offshoot from the one last named, in 1839; the few churches of which it was formed, came out with the stale string of

Resolutions "against all the institutions of the day, for missions, bibles, tracts, temperance, theological seminaries, &c., and all who aided or abetted them, as being incompatible with the *primitive* principles of the gospel."³

It is a small community, of about three hundred members, in the counties of Cass, Paulding, &c., near the line of Alabama. None of its churches, in 1845, amounted to half-a-hundred.

TALLAPOOSA ASSOCIATION

Is a new institution, in this same region. It was formed in 1838, and is situated in the counties of Paulding, Cable, Carroll, Campbell, &c.

No historical sketches of it have been received.

The ENON CHURCH is the largest in this body.⁴

UPATOIE ASSOCIATION.

This is an institution of about eight hundred members, formed in 1837; it is situated near the Chattahoochee river, in the counties of Muscogee, Talbot, &c., in Georgia and the adjoining parts of Alabama. It cannot be a great distance from Columbus, as some of its churches are in the same county of that emporium, of that side of the State. It was first called the *Apostolic* Association, but for what cause, I have not been informed; they afterwards applied to their community the name of a creek within their bounds.⁵

I have none of its Minutes later than 1845; then its churches amounted to twenty-six; the largest was seventy-one. It had nine ministers, all ordained but two.

TOWALIGEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838, by a large number of churches, which had seceded from the Flint river, on account of the everlasting altercation about the institutions of the day, &c.

Rev. J. Grier was moderator, and A. B. Read clerk of the first meeting. This body began with twenty-five churches, over a thousand members, and but six ordained ministers.

Their first Minutes contain eight reasons, long and elaborate, why they could not continue in fellowship with missionary and other benevolent institutions; some of them are of a somewhat novel, and one, in particular, of an extraordinary character.⁶

² In 1845, it reported 132; Bethel, S. Roberts, 110; Beaver River, S. King, 96; Salem, D. Hutchins, 93; the others are all under this size, but still they are not so small as the churches generally are in this region. The whole number is 24; the aggregate of membership is about 1400.

³ Letter of Wilson N. Hurt to the author, 1845.

⁴ In 1845, it reported 124; Noonday, 112; Bethel, A. Strickland, 98.

⁵ Sherwood's Historical Papers.

⁶ *7th Reason*. "The fact does exist, that in the northern section of the United States there is a direct connection existing between the society of system baptists and the abolitionists." A letter

The churches are in the counties of Butts, Munroe, Pike, Henry, Upson, &c.

This and the Upatoie communities turned out, on a closer inspection into their localities, to be lower down in Western Georgia than I had supposed; the Towalige is in quite a central position, amidst the strongest of the friends of missionary and other benevolent institutions.⁷

LITTLE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1841; the constituent churches came, mainly, from the Hightower, Tallapoosa, and Yellow River Associations. It is a small company of a little over three hundred members; it is located in the counties of Cobb, Cherokee, and Cass.⁸

COOSA ASSOCIATION.

It seems quite a relief, after having had under review so many of the communities who are so scrupulous as to the scriptural and beneficial character of benevolent institutions, to get into the midst of an extensive fraternity who accord with their brethren, generally, as to their lawfulness and tendency.

The Coosa Association was formed in 1836; it is spread over an extensive field in the south-west corner of the State, adjoining Alabama and Tennessee. It is in a new and rugged country, but for its age and means is making considerable progress in the business of evangelizing its own region, and of disseminating the gospel in a wide circuit around.

Relative to the boundaries of the Coosa community, and a number of other things, the clerk of this body, *Thos. A. Sullivan, Esq.*, in answer to my requests, has made the following communications:

Boundaries—"Alabama is the line on the west, Tennessee on the north, Paulding Co. on the south, Cherokee Co. on the east. Nearly all the missionary churches in the counties of Floyd, Chattooga, Walker, Murray, Cass, and Paulding, belong to our Association; its territory is very extensive.

The strongest and most influential churches?—"In answer to this, I consider the Pettit's Creek, New Bethel, Beulah, Chattooga, Grove Level, Lafayette, Shiloah, and Cave Spring, the strongest and the most influential churches within this body, but none of our churches give an adequate support to their pastors; in fact, a majority give comparatively nothing; yet I think more of it is done than was five years since; none of our churches have, and support a pastor all the time."

Houses of worship?—"We have some very good frame buildings, but most of our churches still occupy the log houses which the first settlers put up; most of them are tolerably comfortable for this part of the country."

The Hearn Manual Labor Seminary is at the village of the *Cave Spring*, within the bounds of this Association.

From different correspondents, my materials for the history of this Association are much more complete than my limits will permit me to insert. Its churches are numerous, but not large.

PETTIT'S CREEK CHURCH, *J. Crawford* pastor, is the largest in the Coosa establishment.⁹ That called

UNION PEAVINE, *G. W. Selvidge* pastor, is the next in size.

from Mr. Burney is the principal voucher to this fact.—*Minutes Association for 1838.*

It is truly painful to see how good men may be imposed upon, and what havoc may be made among them by restless partizans with a very small amount of capital, and a few items of gross misrepresentation.

In one or two cases before, I have found this same kind of appeal to southern sensibilities. It is a considerable of a compliment to the party implicated.

⁷ Most of my information respecting it is derived from Sherwood's Papers, and a copy of the early Minutes found with them. From Mr. S., I learn that the hard-sounding name of this body is taken from a creek which runs through its bounds; it is of Indian origin, and signifies *dried scalps*.

Wm. May, of Bibb Co., has given me some items of information respecting this and the Ichonna Association, and lots of arguments against "the *system baptists*."

⁸ For a knowledge of this infant body, I am indebted to Rev. P. H. Mell, Secretary of the Georgia B. S. Convention; also its Minutes for 1845.

⁹ In 1846, it reported 129; Union, 128; New Providence, 96; all the others, upwards of forty, are of less size.

ALPHA ASSOCIATION

Is a small community of recent origin, of about four hundred members; its churches are all small; it is situated in the low country, in the counties of Ware, Apling, Camden, &c., and denominates itself of the *primitive* order.

There is also the *Springfield*, and probably some other small concerns among the mountains, of which as yet I have obtained no historical accounts.¹⁰

The *Valley Association* I have set off to N. C., where its principal strength is located; as an offset I count Tugalo, which is partly in S. C., as a Georgia institution.

As Florida has but one Association, and is bounded on Georgia and Alabama, I shall notice it in connection with the history of the latter State.

By the aid of Sherwood's Papers and my correspondents, I have settled the dates of a number more than Mr. Mell has done.

I shall hope to receive late Minutes of most of the Associations before my tables are closed.

I have thus ascertained the localities, and, with but few exceptions, the dates of forty-four Associations in this State; there are a few other small communities, of which I have not gained sufficient information for the construction of my usual heads.

Closing Remarks. From the foregoing details, it appears that our denomination has had a rapid spread in this State; and although its progress has been checked considerably for a number of years past by the *efforts* and opposition of a large *anti-effort* party, who claim to build on the *primitive* principles of the gospel, and denominate themselves *old school* baptists; yet evangelical efforts have gone on—the opposing party for the most part are stationary or retrograde.¹ As I have said in reference to some other regions, our people have more to fear from the *O-Mission* than the *anti-mission* class, so it is in this State; much of it is a fertile region. The baptists were among the first settlers; many of them have an abundance of worldly means, and might carry forward evangelical enterprises with much more strength and energy than is usually done. The Georgia, Central, and a few other Associations, come up nobly to the work, and show that in the science of *donation*, they are not altogether behind their brethren in other States; but most of the Associations *stand off* from any formal connection with their

State Convention, which is making vigorous efforts to elicit and combine the energies of the denomination in the State, in the great business of spreading the gospel at home and abroad. But they are coming in by slow and cautious steps, and soon we hope to see all who profess to be friends of missions, and all the objects of benevolence rally around a common standard, and save the Minutes of the State Convention from the singular appearance they now present.²

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

A number of *Manual Labor* and *High Schools* have been maintained and still exist in different parts of the State, some of which have had in view the business of ministerial education, but the

MERCER UNIVERSITY was the first regularly built college which our denomination has attempted to found in this State; it is located at Penfield, in a cen-

¹⁰ Mr. Mell, in his statistical tables in the Minutes of the Geo. B. S. Convention, makes the associational communities in the State amount to 46, exclusive of *Little River*, of which he had no account until they were made up. But in order to do this, he counts the Florida and Valley under the Georgia head.

¹ These people claim Georgia and Alabama as two of their strong-holds in the States east of the mountains; this I learn not only from their printed documents, but from their private correspondence.

² When I shall have gone through all the other States where what are called missionary baptists are among the *absent*, at the annual meetings of public organizations for missionary and other benevolent purposes, I shall speak with more decision on this discrepancy between their profession and practice.

tral and fertile part of the State, and is probably more amply endowed than any baptist institution in this country, old or young. My remarks, so often made in reference to all public bodies, must again be used; their history must of necessity be deferred to another volume.

Correspondents. Sherwood, the historian, for a long time a baptist pastor and pioneer in this State, James Smith, of the *low*, and James Whitten, of the *up* country, ought to be named first in this list. A considerable number of other brethren have been very prompt and efficient; many of their names have been mentioned in my narratives. I will recapitulate the whole, with the omission of their titles or localities, pursuing the same course which I have in the general divisions of the State.

Jesse Mercer, B. M. Saunders, J. S. Baker, P. H. Mell, Thomas Stocks, T. U. Wilks, E. Henderson, J. H. Campbell, A. T. Holmes, C. H. Higdon, T. J. Bowen, H. Mercer, P. A. Lawson, Wm. McIntosh, J. O. Screven, Mrs. B. R. Screven, J. K. Test, R. Fleming, T. A. Sullivan, T. M. Slaughter, E. Lumpkin, H. Posey, F. A. Gates, P. Cneck, J. Hendricks, W. N. Hurt, Wm. May, A. Chandler, F. M. Haygood.

The publishers of the Christian Index have also been very attentive to publish all the requests in my papers and circulars.

CHAPTER XIX.

ALABAMA.—NORTHERN DIVISION.

SECTION I.

Early History — Associations — Cahawba — Alabama — Bethlehem — Ebenezer — Bethel — Mulberry — Buttahatcha — Union — Pilgrims' Rest — Liberty — Conecuh River — Salem — Wetumpka — Tuskegee.

THIS new State is but the second and western part of Georgia; it has increased in population and in baptist institutions with astonishing rapidity, so that, so far as our denomination is concerned, it contains something more than half the numerical strength of the parent territory.¹

So recent have been the settlements of our community in this government, and at so many points did they almost simultaneously locate themselves in this fertile region, that we cannot group the original planters of baptist societies, as in the more northern States, into different companies, and trace out their progress in their expansive operations in their evangelizing efforts.

Rev. H. Holcombe's History of the Baptists in Alabama. This work was published in 1840, and will be my principal guide in the brief sketches I shall give of our growing community in this commonwealth. Mr. Holcombe spent most of his long and useful life in the different capacities of pioneer, missionary and pastor in Alabama. Towards the close of it, by the request of his brethren, he set about collecting materials for the work which was published at the date above given, and it probably contains, in substance, the most interesting facts pertaining to the *Rise and Progress* of the denomination, in the great field which, with untiring assiduity, he explored. He has settled the dates and localities of all the Associations and most prominent churches in the whole territory, and very grateful would I be for such local treatises on all the great States which are yet before me. His details are much more minute than my plan or my limits will allow me to follow.

Introduction to the History of the Alabama Baptists.

"In the year 1800, the region which now forms the States of Mississippi and Alabama, was erected into a Territorial Government. In 1817, this territory was divided, and the western part of it, having formed a Constitution, was admitted into the Union as the State of Mississippi. The eastern portion was then formed into a territorial government, and received the name of Alabama. In July, 1819, a convention of delegates met at Huntsville, and adopted a State Constitution, and in December following, Alabama was admitted into the number of the United States.

"Madison county, in the northern part of the State, north of the Tennessee river, was settled earlier than other parts of the State, and among these early settlers were some baptists. John Nicholson, John Canterbury and Zadock Baker were among the first baptist

¹ There is a striking, and, I may say, embarrassing similarity of names as to counties, Associations and churches between this State and Georgia. The universal propensity of all colonial adventurers, to perpetuate the names of places from which they have emigrated in their new locations, is exhibited here to a very full extent; so much so, that I have often found it necessary again to turn to the map to see, for a certainty, if I was in one State or the other. But, after getting the hang of the thing, I went on with more ease. I shall endeavor to make my descriptions as plain as possible to my readers, but, after all, they will find it needful to constantly bear in mind that we are now over the line, and are in *Alabama*, although *Georgia* names perpetually occur.

ministers who labored in this wilderness. The fertility of the soil, combined with many other advantages for the rapid acquisition of wealth, drew a dense population into this region, and within a few years of its first settlement, a number of baptist churches were formed, chiefly however of emigrants from other States. The hearts of preachers and people seem to have been inordinately fixed on worldly gain; discipline was greatly neglected in these churches, and the variant elements of their composition prevented that cordial union and co-operation, which are essential to success, and which are the usual result of extensive revivals, even on those communities which before were least homogeneous.

"In 1808, a few baptists were found in the southern part of the State, in Clarke and Washington counties. William Cochran, a licensed preacher from Georgia, is said to have been the first in Clarke county, and a Mr. Gorham in Washington. A baptist church was organized by Rev. J. Courtney in the county of Clarke, in the year 1810. There was, however, very little increase of baptists in this part of the State for the next six years. From the year 1816, a continual flood of emigrants was pouring into this *Indian country* (as it was then called) from almost every State in the Union:—Churches were rapidly formed, and a number of laborious and indefatigable ministers settled among them.

"In 1820, there were about fifty baptist churches in the State, generally very small. In the next ten years they had increased to nearly 200 churches, 95 ministers, and about 8,000 members. During the last ten years, the increase has been nearly in the same proportion, and is almost unparalleled in modern times. There are at present at least 30 Associations, embracing about 500 churches, 300 ministers and 25,000 communicants. About one-sixth of this number have been added by baptism during the last year (1839), in which revivals were experienced in nearly a score of the different counties of the State.

"Houses of worship were scarce for several years after churches began rapidly to multiply. Many of those first erected were like Indian wigwams, only more open and uncomfortable. The minister most frequently used to take his stand in some shady grove, and his audience seated themselves around him on the ground. Large congregations would frequently thus assemble, and remain so attentive to the word, that a hard shower of rain would not disperse them. Some ten or twelve years ago, better houses of worship began to be built, and several recently erected are an honor to the cause, and every way suited to the convenience of the congregations."²

Associations.—Most of my accounts of the Alabama baptists will be given under the head of these institutions, which, with scarcely any exception, embrace the whole population of the State, so far as church members are concerned. The history above referred to, made them of all kinds upwards of 37 years ago. A few have been added to the list, for whose history I shall depend on my correspondents. I shall place them, without respect to their views on missions and other benevolent institutions, in my usual manner, as nearly as possible contiguous to each other, under two divisions, *southern* and *northern*, and shall take the *southern* first.

Mr. Holcombe has generally followed the chronological order in his collocation of these institutions, which of course, forced him often to make rapid transitions from one part of the State to the other; this method is well enough in some cases, but does not comport with the plan I have thus far pursued. My line of demarcation will run rather loosely from about opposite Columbus, in Georgia, in a westerly direction to Sumpter and Pickens counties, which adjoin the State of Mississippi; and as it is one of the largest and strongest communities in the State, I shall begin with the

CAHAWBA ASSOCIATION,

Which was organized at the Cahawba Valley Church (now in Bibb Co.) in 1818; it consisted at first of nine churches, in addition to the one where it was formed; viz., Mulberry, two by the name of Bethel, one in Cahawba Co., the other in Tuscaloosa, Union, Alabama, Salem, Canaan, Enon and Ebenezer.

The whole number of its members at its commencement was about two hundred and fifty.

²The above article is copied from the American Quarterly Register, for 1841. It was prepared for that work by Rev. R. Babcock, D.D., and is professedly taken in general from Mr. Holcombe's History.

Mr. H. was a self-taught man; he began the business of authorship late in life, and as he showed a commendable zeal to tell all about the affairs of his own people, his style is sometimes prolix, and his narratives are carried to needless minuteness, and require much abridgement for such summary statements as I am of necessity confined to.

By quoting freely from Holcombe's History, I had prepared an article more full in details as to individual churches than the one which, by re-writing and abridging much of it, I now present. But it is as full, on many points, as in the States where our institutions are of recent origin.

Holcombe's History will be my guide in the accounts of Associations as such; but their annual sessions and doings I do not, in any case, follow out, even of the oldest and most important bodies.

The ministers then on the ground who were ordained, were Wm. Callaway, Nathan Roberts, James Baines and Moses Crowson; Henry Haggard, John Tubb, Thomas Kerb and John Henry were licensed preachers.

Elder Moses Crowson was the moderator, and Willis Davis clerk of the first meeting.

Soon after this young community began its operations, Wm. Hazzard, Thomas Baines, Wm. West, Isaac Suttle, Enoch Little, Thos. Willingham, Hozea Holcombe, Thomas and Charles Brown, were added to their list of elders; the last one named, with but few exceptions, presided at the annual sessions about twenty years. Who have sustained this office since Holcombe's account closed, I have not learnt. In the few Minutes I have seen, John Dennis and A. G. McGraw were among the number.

This being the oldest Association in this part of the State, it soon spread abroad its branches in different directions, as our subsequent narratives will show. Like all new institutions in the midst of an increasing population, whose associational propensities always incline them to attempt new organizations full as fast as prudence and sound judgment requires, while their numbers were rapidly augmented by new acquisitions, they were also diminished by the frequent drafts which were made upon them for the purpose of getting up new interests in a wide circuit around.

"The Cahawba Association is a large, benevolent, and efficient body; its energetic support of the temperance cause has exercised a great and happy influence in the country. It also gives liberally to missionary and bible societies and other benevolent institutions, and does much in aiding the Baptist State Convention.³

Marion, the seat of *Howard College*, and the *Judson Female Institute* is within the bounds of this Association.

Mr. Holcombe has given historical details of the churches in this connection; none of them, however, present facts of unusual interest for general history; this institution has probably taken a more prominent and efficient stand since his narratives were closed than it had before done.

I regret that some one has not supplied me with the interesting facts of its modern history.

The **SILOAM CHURCH**, *J. H. De Votie* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁴

The **OAKMULGEE CHURCH**, *A. G. McGraw* pastor, is the second in size.

PROVIDENCE CHURCH, *E. George* pastor or supply, holds the third rank as to numbers, and

SALEM CHURCH, *D. P. Bestor* incumbent, is the fourth as to numerical strength.

SECOND CHURCH, Mobile, has lately become a member of this fraternity; its history will be given under the head of the Bethlehem Association.

The dates of the churches are not put down on the Minutes, neither is there anything said as to the number of colored members.

The churches in this Association are located, principally, in the county of Perry, on a stream of the same name of the body, which is a branch of the Alabama river; A few of them are in the counties of Bibb, Green, and some others adjoining.

³ Letter from a correspondent within the bounds of this community; as it has respect to his own fraternity, and was not intended for publication. I do not think it advisable to give the name; it will, however, be mentioned in my list of correspondents.

⁴ As *Marion* does not appear in the Minutes, I conclude the old name of the church is retained, in the midst of which the new and flourishing town has risen up: a thing of frequent occurrence at the south and west.

In 1845, this church reported 422; Oakmulgee, 378; Providence, 241; Salem, 238; Fellowship, 199; Hopewell, 193; Bethsaida, A. J. Forester, 189; Bethel, 133; Shiloh, J. Everts, 126; Pisgah, 104; Selma, B. Stickland, Antioch, Liberty, and Salem, Dallas Co., are all over 90.

The Minutes for 1846 have not been received; I suppose my friends here depended on each other. By the account of the last session, in the A. Baptist, it had received by baptism about 600.

ALABAMA ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1819; it is adjoining the Cahawba, and is next to it in point of size. Mr. Holcombe informs us that this community, for a number of years, encountered strong opposition from a party within their bounds, who took a decided stand against missionary and all benevolent institutions, which much impeded their progress during the time of its continuance, but I learn from one of my correspondents, not a member of it, that, although this account was correct at the time, yet the body has gained strength of late years on the cause of benevolence, and is now efficient and salutary in its influence on a wide circuit around.

Their Minutes for 1846, show additions by baptism of between four and five hundred members.

This community was very small in its beginning, and, although about half its members went off at one time, to form the *Ebenezer* connection, yet it now contains three thousand and a half communicants.

MONTGOMERY CHURCH, *H. Talbird* pastor, is the largest in this Association.⁵

This church has had for its pastors or supplies, Rev. Messrs. Lee Compere, S. D. Worthington, J. H. De Votie, A. Travis, J. Hartwell, and W. C. Crane, the predecessor of the present incumbent.

Montgomery is spoken of as a flourishing town, and all accounts concur in favor of the efficiency of our community in this important location.

This Association is situated on the river from which it takes its name, and, with but few exceptions, is in the counties of Montgomery, Lowndes, Dallas, and Autauga.

BETHLEHEM ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1816, and is the second associational fraternity which was gathered in the territory. It, in its beginning, was called Beckbe; was composed of a few churches, at first, in the counties of Clarke and Washington; as early as 1821, its total amount of membership was about as many hundreds as it now has thousands. It now holds the third rank among its sister communities as to numerical strength; it has about half a hundred churches, which are located in many counties near the south-west corner of the State. Most of them are in Wilcox, Monro, Conecuh, Baldwin, and Mobile, whose commercial emporium is within the bounds of this community, of which the St. Anthony Street Church is a member.

CITY OF MOBILE. Two baptist churches are found here; one is a member of the Cahawba, the other of the Bethlehem Association.

FIRST, or ST. ANTHONY STREET CHURCH has been in existence a number of years, and has had pastors or supplies in somewhat quick succession; a particular account of the various changes under this head I am not able to give.

"AFRICAN CHURCH, Mobile, is an interest of some years standing; since 1839, it has been attached to this body as a branch; they have a fine house of worship built by themselves, and have some excellent leaders or licensed preachers among them.

"They originated with the first church of Mobile, which was dissolved in 1839, i. e.; the white members dissolved, and organized under the name it now bears. The following ministers, at different periods, have officiated with our denomination in this city, viz.: Heard, Hinton, Hale, Stone, Collins, Schroebel, and Grant.

⁵ In 1846, it reported 363; the white members were less than 100; Elim, T. D. Armstrong, 278; Centre Ridge, J. Lee, 237; Antioch, C. M. Breaker, 229; Town Creek, 216; Mount Gilead, 163; Bethany D. Lee, 156; Shiloh, 152; Hopewell, 137; Cubihatchee, W. A. Chambliss, 134; First Wetumpka, P. H. Loundy, 130; Providence, —, 105. The colored members are a little more than half the whole number.

"SECOND CHURCH is a young interest, which was organized in 1845.

"*Rev. John Grant*, of Mississippi, was the pastoral supply, as they call it, in this county, until early in 1845, when

"*Rev. Solon Lindsley* was called to the pastorship, in which he still continues."⁶

COUNTY LINE CHURCH, *Rev. Platt Stout* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

Although the three Associations I have thus far described are spread over a wide extent of territory, yet they are so contiguous that they all have one or more of their churches in the county of Dallas, where *Dr. Hartwell* resided many years before he went to his present station at Marion.

These communities embrace nearly one-third of the baptist communicants in the whole State.

EBENEZER ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a disaffected colony, who withdrew from the Alabama, in 1838; the seceding party took a decided stand in opposition to missions, &c., on which ground I conclude they still remain, as they add *primitive* to their name, which, in this country, indicates an opposing attitude as to the cause of benevolence.

This community is located in the counties of Montgomery, Lowndes, Butler, Wilcox, and Dallas.

The BETHEL CHURCH, *H. M. Toad* pastor or supply, is the largest in this community.⁸

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1820; its original churches, *Mr. Holcombe* supposes, came principally from the Bethlehem community, to which it is near; historical sketches of the churches and ministers of this fraternity are minutely recorded by their own historian; but few events, however, have transpired from which any paragraphs of a general nature can be constructed.

Rev. Wm. Dossey, in former years pastor of the Welsh Neck Church, S. C., is one of the ministers in this body.

Rev. D. P. Bestor, one of the pastors in the Bethlehem Association, according to the custom of the country, has the spiritual oversight of one of the Bethel churches.

Missionary and other benevolent objects appear to receive a good degree of attention from this people, and by them a number of domestic missionaries are kept in destitute regions within their own bounds.

SHILOH CHURCH, *D. P. Bestor* monthly pastor or supply, is the largest in this connection.⁹

FRIENDSHIP CHURCH, *T. Tucker* pastor or supply, is the next in size.

MULBERRY ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1828; it was a branch of the Cahawba. In 1840, according to *Holcombe's* table, its membership was a fraction less than 1000; subsequent accounts ascribe to it an increase of about 20 per cent.

I have none of its Minutes later than 1843; then the

MULBERRY CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in the body.¹⁰ It is situated in the counties of Shelby, Bibb, Autauga, and a few others.

⁶ Letter of *Mr. Lindsley* to the author, 1846. *Mr. L.* is a graduate of Columbian College, Washington, D. C., and was some time a tutor in Howard College, Marion.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 247; *St. Anthony St.*, Mobile, 210; *Bellville*, 192; *Beulah*, A. Travia, 140; *Fellowship*, —, 126; *Bethany*, —, 112; *Olive Branch*, C. P. Salter, 110; *Indian Spring*, G. Longmire, 106; *Flat Creek*, N. Goodwin, 104.

⁸ In 1843, the latest Minutes I have seen, it reported 185; *Union*, —, 106; all the others are under 100.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 177; *Friendship*, 155; *Bethel*, S. Perkins, 143; *Nanafalla*, J. G. Williams, 142; *Hebron*, 130; *Mount Pleasant*, —, 122; *Shiloh*, Wm. Dossey, 115.

No distinction is made in the Minutes between the white and colored members.

¹⁰ At that date it reported 143. *Shady Grove*, B. Strickland, 111; *Chestnut Creek*, J. Yates, 104; *Fort Williams*, A. Watson, 102; *Ebenezer*, D. M. Floyd, 99.

BUTTAHATCHA ASSOCIATION*

Was formed in 1826; a part of its constituent churches were dismissed from the Cahawba. Lemuel Pruitt, Wm. H. Cook, H. Petty, R. Portwood, P. May, Charles Stewart, and Jacob Crocker, were the principal ministers in this institution in its early movements. Mr. Crocker was from South Carolina.

I have none of its Minutes to guide my inquiries, but from all I can learn relative to its location, numbers, &c., it is a small body, on the line of this State and Mississippi. The churches on the Alabama side are in the counties of Pickens, Fayette, Marion, &c.

UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the one last named, in 1835. In this case, the missionary party were, in effect, the seceders, and, like all operations of the kind, matters were managed, at the time, not in the most harmonious manner.¹⁰

Elder Charles Stewart was the first baptist preacher who officiated in Pickens county, which appears to be the seat of this community; his name still stands on the Minutes among the pastors. The other ministers first on the ground within the present bounds of this Association, were R. Wilkins, J. H. Taylor, W. R. Stansel, J. P. Taylor, J. W. Wilson, Henry Petty, Silas Dobbs, &c.¹

One or more domestic missionaries are employed by this people a part of the time; the principles which led them to come out in a new organization they still maintain.

GRANT'S CREEK CHURCH, J. C. Foster pastor, is the largest in this connection.²

BIG CREEK CHURCH, C. Stewart, is the next in size.

PILGRIMS' REST ASSOCIATION.

This very inviting name was applied to a community which withdrew from the one last named, in 1827; it is on the same ground, in the counties of Pickens and Green.

Three years since, its membership amounted to upwards of half a thousand. Its Minutes of no date have I seen; of course all accounts of its churches and pastors must be omitted.

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION—SOUTH.

Mr. Holcombe's account of this small interest is as follows: "It was formed of churches which had belonged to the Choctaw Association, whose boundaries extended into both the States of Mississippi and Alabama; this body was dissolved in 1838, and out of it grew four or five others." A more full account of this transaction will be given when we come to Louisville Friendship Association in Mississippi.

As most of the constituent churches of this community are in Sumpter Co., Mr. H. fixes its locality in that shire; but as the baptist papers of the State denominates it *south*, in distinction from the two others, which it calls *east*, and *north*, I have adopted their nomenclature. It is a small institution, respecting which very little is said by their own historian. It is in a region of country where the denomination is numerous, but for some cause, this fraternity has not had much increase.

Mr. H. informs his readers that it was settled upon a sort of neutral plan, as to missions, &c., or what he entitles "liberal principles."³ This circumstance may account for its stationary character.

¹⁰ Mr. Holcombe has related the transactions here referred to in minute detail, but the public will take no interest in their repetition. The men who were the cause of the unpleasant scenes, may not be now alive, but if they are not dead, it is hoped that their controversial spirit has long since died away.

¹ Letter of Rev. T. S. Thomas to the author, 1843.

² In 1845, it reported 170; Big Creek, 127; Friendship, B. C. Clement, 106; Enon, J. H. Taylor 103; Beulah, M. P. Smith, 97.

³ Holcombe's History of the Alabama Baptists, p. 272.

I have none of its Minutes, and, of course, my usual statements as to its churches and ministers must be omitted.⁴

CONECUH RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1827; Mr. Holcombe has given a brief history of this community, from which I can gain no facts of special interest, except that out of it arose the

SALEM ASSOCIATION,⁵

Which was formed in 1839, by that portion of the body who could no longer endure the hostile attitude which the mother institution had assumed in relation to benevolent operations.

The Salem Association was small in its beginning, but has attained a rank among the second class in the State, as to numerical strength and efficiency. It was but lately organized when Mr. Holcombe's accounts were made up, and although their Minutes have been received, yet no historical sketches of its churches have come to hand.

The LIBERTY CHURCH, pastor not known, is the largest in this body.⁶

This community, to some extent, supports domestic missionaries within their own bounds.

IWERTON CHURCH, *Wm. P. Pattison* pastor, is reported in the Minutes for 1843, but it does not appear in those of 1845.

This community is spread over a number of counties near the south-east corner of the State, but those of Pike and Barbour embrace most of the churches.

The Pea and Chactawhatchee rivers, on which small communities were formed a few years since, are in this region of the State. I have seen them named in the list of corresponding bodies, in the Minutes of some of the little anti-mission confederacies in Georgia, but have not gained sufficient information respecting them for any historical details. There may be some other institutions of recent origin and minor size in Southern Alabama, whose names I have not learnt.

We will now go up to more central regions, and describe a few institutions which I have placed in this section.

WETUMPKA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1842; it takes its name from that of a young city, in Coosa Co., in a central position in the State. Its churches are all small, and probably young. No historical sketches of this new community have come to hand; it is located principally in the counties of Coosa, Tallapoosa and Macon.⁷

TUSKEGEE ASSOCIATION

Is of still more recent origin, having been constituted in 1845, mostly from the Liberty community, near the same ground. This young institution is in what is here called *eastern* Alabama; it commenced its operations with unusual strength for this region of country, and bids fair to be an active and efficient body. Its membership amounted to upwards of twelve hundred at its

⁴ I shall make some comments on the great embarrassment which, as a historian, I experience in consequence of a number of Associations being designated by the same name, in the same State, when I come to some of the other *Liberty* communities which the Alabamians have instituted.

⁵ "This body takes its name from a river which heads in the counties of Mason, Pike, Montgomery, Butler, &c.; it unites with the Escambia, and they ultimately fell into the Pensacola Bay, after passing through Florida."—*Holcombe's History, &c.*, p. 244.

⁶ In 1845, it reported 148; Bethlehem, 146; Euflawia, the same; none of the others come up to 100. No distinction is made on the Minutes between the ministers and other delegates. Brother Thomas Gransbury informs me, that, to the best of his knowledge, there are nine ordained.

⁷ The Minutes, which are got up with more than usual neatness, have been sent me by Rev. Benjamin Lloyd, its clerk; they purport to be of the fourth annual session. This good item for Associational Minutes is generally omitted in all this country. With the Minutes, came a friendly letter from Mr. L., who informs me that this is an institution of the *Primitive* or *Old School* order. I am sorry for that, as to my private feelings, but as an historian, I treat them all alike.

first annual session. This Association has taken a different stand from its neighbor, the last named, in the business of missions and other benevolent institutions.

An excellent set of *Resolutions*, pertaining to the vexed questions which have for a long time agitated and divided our denomination in this State, as well as Georgia, were adopted by this new interest in its commencement; the two first were as follows:

“*Resolved*, that we look upon the divisions of the baptist denomination with mortification and deep concern, and lament that such unhappy divisions exist.

“*Resolved*, that the spread of the gospel is a bible doctrine, taught by Christ, and practised by the apostles.”

The document proceeds to recommend charity and forbearance on matters where difference of opinion exists, and that all be left to the free exercise of their own consciences and judgments, as to the support of the gospel at home and in foreign lands.

Rev. Messrs. R. Thornton, B. M. Ware, J. Chipman, J. Nichols, T. J. Miles, D. Elkins, W. Conway, J. M. Watt, T. Granbury, W. B. Jones, D. B. Calbarson, J. P. W. Brown, J. Britton, Wm. Lloyd and J. R. Hand were the ordained ministers at its organization; G. C. Powell and G. Thomas were licentiates.

Clark Aldridge, Esq., the clerk of the Association, has supplied me with historical sketches of the rise of the churches of which it is composed; from his communication the following extracts are made:

“The eastern part of Alabama, in which this body is situated, was inhabited by the Creek Indians until 1835; there had been preaching among the Indians prior to that date, but no churches were organized.

“CONCORD is the oldest church in this body; it was constituted in the summer of 1835, by elders Francis Calloway and John W. Cooper. Mr. Calloway sustained the pastoral office with this people about seven years; successors to him have been Reuben Thornton and B. M. Ware.”

I regret that my limits will not permit me to give more details of the history of this young and interesting fraternity. Its churches are located mostly in the counties of Macon and Russell, opposite Columbus, in Georgia.

The GOOD HOPE CHURCH is the largest in this body.^a

SECTION II.

Liberty Association, East—Beulah—Coosa River—Will's Creek—Cherokee—Mt. Zion—Canaan—Tuscaloosa—North River—Tallassahatchie—Muscle Shoals—Flint River—Liberty, North.

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION—EAST,

WAS formed in 1836, with eleven churches, viz.: Antioch, Bethel, Bethesda, County Line, Lafayette, New Hope, Providence, Harmony, Sardis, Sharon and Union. These were all new constitutions.

Ordained ministers, Francis Calloway, B. Lloyd, F. Sweet, J. J. Nichols; licensed preachers, W. A. Hunter, G. Jordan, J. W. Butler, J. M. Spurlin, J. Sykes.

^a In 1846, it reported 143; Tuskegee, J. Britton, 133; Pine Level, D. B. Culberson, 113; Auburn, W. B. Jones, 109; Concord, 98.

Rev. Thomas Granbury, one of the ministers in this connection, and Clark Aldridge, a lay brother, whose name has already been mentioned, are my authorities for my statements relative to this community. Their communications came in good time, and in an intelligent style. From G. W. Gunn, Esq., whose name I see on the Minutes as a delegate to the State Convention, I have had some verbal information in corroboration of the written accounts I have received.

This has been a community of working men, and great success attended their laborious efforts. In nine years they were augmented to fifty churches, and upwards of three thousand members.

In 1845, a heavy draft was made upon them, for the purpose of forming the Tuskegee Association, which took off about one-third of their numerical strength.

The following selections, from my principal correspondent for this original formation, exhibits the manner in which our brethren did the thing in planting evangelical principles among the aborigines of the country :

"It may be interesting to give a history of the settlement of the first churches comprising this Association. You are apprised of the fact that its location is in *Eastern or New Alabama*. Soon after the treaty with the Indians for that section, the white citizens of Georgia emigrated and settled among the Indians; among some of these there were baptists, but none or very few preachers. The few baptists met together, and formed themselves into churches by ministers from Georgia. I am not prepared to say who were the first who preached in *New Alabama*, but I know that brother John M. Gray was among the first in Chambers Co.; said Gray and myself took a tour through this county, preached at the county site in a *log building*, which was both *court house* and *church*. While on the above tour, the venerable brother Gray fell a victim from the effects of *steam medicine*, and I was left alone, then only a licensed preacher. The above circumstance took place in the summer of 1833. About this time, Rev. Francis Calloway moved from Georgia, and settled among the Indians, before they emigrated to the West, and perhaps I. Nicholas and J. Blackstone. They took charge of what churches they could supply, and preached to the white and red people of *New Alabama* with success, for both classes gave evidence of the power of sovereign grace, and united in obeying their Saviour in following him into the liquid grave; therefore the wilderness did blossom as the rose, and the solitary places were made glad.⁹ * * *

The churches in this community, as it stood in 1846, after the Tuskegee colony had by mutual agreement withdrawn, were principally in the counties of Chambers and Tallapoosa, near the line of Georgia, and at no great distance from Columbus, in that State.

COUNTY LINE CHURCH, *R. M. Steel* pastor, is the largest in this connection.¹⁰

BETHESDA CHURCH, *J. R. Humphries* pastor, is the next in size.

BEULAH ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1838; it is on the same ground with the one last named, but takes the opposite side as to benevolent operations. It was constituted with the ten following churches: viz., Enon, Macedonia, Concord, Sharon, Mt. Hickory, Mt. Carmel, Mt. Gilead.

Elders J. Blackstone, J. M. Duke, F. Swint, E. Jackson, M. Gunn, J. Pearson and B. Lloyd were the ordained ministers. Some of them were engaged in the formation of the Liberty community.

This Association has many churches, which in the aggregate amount to about a thousand members, but few of them contain half a hundred.

COOSA RIVER ASSOCIATION¹

Was organized with but five churches, at Talladega, in 1833; the ministers who engaged in the formation of this small institution were Sion Blythe, Jos. Hill, P. Archer and Wm. McCain.

The Minutes of this fraternity contain many recommendations of missionary and benevolent operations generally.

⁹ Communication of Rev. Thos. Granbury to the author, 1844.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 171; 44 were colored members; Bethesda, 165; Lafayette, —, 151; Sardis, Levi Parks, 144; New Hope, 113; Antioch, F. Callaway, 111; Providence, —, 102; Farnsville, J. Cadenhead, 100; Beth-el, B. Goss, 99. The colored members were about one to seven.

¹ This Association is so called, from a river which rises in Georgia, on the head waters of which is an important institution which has been described under the head of that State.

"The region of country where this Association is situated, was formerly occupied by the Creek Indians, who remained in the neighborhood two or three years after it commenced operations, and many of them were rather unpleasant neighbors."²

Elder Jacob Lawler was among the ministers in the early movements of this infant establishment, whose history is somewhat peculiar; I will briefly relate in the note below.³

TALLADEGA CHURCH, *O. Welsh* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁴

The county of Talladega embraces most of the churches of this community; a few of them are in Shelby and Benton.

I find a difficulty in following my plan for the collocation of the numerous small associational fraternities in this State, so much do they run into and lap on to each other. My general course for the remainder of the territory now under review, will be around the northern end, on the sides next to Georgia, Tennessee and Mississippi, till I come in contact with the communities where I first began.

For the purpose of giving the line of succession of the Associations, or how they sprung from each other, I find it needful, in some cases, to go ahead to describe the mother bodies, and then come back to notice their offspring, and so I must do now.

MOUNT ZION ASSOCIATION

Was formed of a few churches, which came principally from the Cahawba, in 1823; this institution flourished for a number of years, and supplied materials for at least two sister communities, wholly or in part, viz., the Will's Creek and Canaan; at present, however, it does not amount to half a thousand communicants, who I should judge from their Minutes, are very thoroughly imbued with what are called the principles of the O. S. baptists. It has churches enough for a strong body, but they are generally small, and are principally in the counties of Blount and Walker.

CANAAN ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1833 with seven churches, which were dismissed from the one last named. They withdrew from the mother body on account of her principles and measures as to benevolent institutions.

Mr. Holcombe, the historian, was an active member of this body, which took its name from one of its churches, and officiated as pastor within its bounds; his accounts of its early operations, and of opposition, mostly from their own brethren, are spread out in minute detail, but I find nothing in them beyond the ordinary cause of events in such cases. It is a growing body, whose general principles appear to be sound and salutary. None of its churches amount to the numerical strength which I place in my statistical accounts. They are situated principally in the counties of Jefferson, Shelby and St. Clair.

WILL'S CREEK ASSOCIATION.

The following notice of this then young fraternity is found in Holcombe's History:

² Holcombe's History, &c., p. 247.

³ Mr. Lawler was a native of North Carolina,—removed, with his father, to Tennessee, when about ten years of age—came to Alabama while in his minority—became a baptist preacher when about thirty—this sacred function he never abjured, but officiated first as a pastor, and afterwards, occasionally, as often as his numerous secular avocations would permit.

His civil and secular employments.—His first appointment was judge of the County Court—then a member of the Legislature—next of the Senate of his adopted State—not long after, he became Receiver of public moneys for the Coosa land district. In 1835, he became a member of Congress, and continued in that office for about three years, and died in Washington in 1838, at the age of 42.—*Holcombe's History*, p. 249.

⁴ In 1846, it reported 151; Friendship 118; Blue Eye, W. McCain, 100.

United Baptists. This compound term so often occurs in the names of Associations at the south and west, that I inquired of elder S. G. Jenkins, a minister in this connection, and one of my active correspondents, what it meant? I see the Minutes for 1844 has a query on the same subject. Mr. Jenkins' explanation is as follows: "some good old brethren concluded that they must have *United* in the constitution, merely to be like others in *old times*."

"About half the churches composing this Association are situated in the county of St. Clair, the other half in the Cherokee nation, in the counties of Cherokee and De Kalb. It was organized in November, 1836, of churches principally dismissed from Mt. Zion Association."

This body attained a moderate degree of numerical strength until a majority came out so decidedly against all benevolent institutions, that their friends and supporters felt themselves compelled to withdraw from the connection, and united in getting up a new institution, now known by the aboriginal cognomen of the

CHEROKEE ASSOCIATION,

Which was organized in 1841. It is composed of twelve churches, which, according to the Minutes of 1846, contain, in the aggregate, a fraction short of half as many hundred members. The counties of Cherokee, De Kalb and St. Clair embrace this infant community.

The first, or at least the early ministers in this institution, were elders Wm. C. Mynatt, Thomas Holland, Thomas Grogan, A. P. H. Jordan, A. G. Hammock, Wm. Penn, A. Horton, J. E. Reeves, F. M. Hardwick and Jesse A. Collins.⁶

The Unity, Mount Pleasant, Antioch, Will's Creek, and Lebanon, are among its largest churches.

Much of the territory occupied by the Cherokee Association, as we should naturally expect, was but lately inhabited by a portion of that famous tribe of red men whose name it bears.

TALLASSEHATCHEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1834, with but a few churches, and a small amount of membership; but it has increased to upwards of a thousand, notwithstanding a seceding party has withdrawn from it from disaffection on account of missions, &c.⁶

This community, Mr. Holcombe informs us, is situated in the northern part of the Creek county, near the line of Georgia.⁷

MOUNT ZION CHURCH, *Richard Pace* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁸ Its churches are located in the counties of Randolph, Benton, and Cherokee.

I shall now go up to the very head of the State, where the first churches of the denomination were planted, and branch out in different directions as occasion may require.

FLINT RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1814, and was the first institution of the kind which arose in this territory, which then went under the name of Mississippi. It arose on the borders of Tennessee—indeed, the organization took place in Lincoln county in that State; and probably the ministers from the old settlements in that government were the means of raising up the churches of which it was at first composed, but from Mr. Holcombe, nor any other source, have I gained any definite information on this point.

Isaac Reed, George Brown, Wm. Calloway, F. W. Baker, J. Nicholson, J. Lakey, J. Childress, and Willis Hopwood, were the ministers present at the first meeting.

This community spread over a wide circuit around, and experienced a moderate increase, until it became tinctured with the paralyzing and withering principles to which we have so often referred; since then, it is said to be in a declining and deplorable condition. As none of its Minutes have been received, no account of its churches can be given.

⁶ Mr. Collins has given me a very full history of all the movements, resolutions, &c., of the Will's Creek Association, which ultimately caused its division, and led to the formation of the one above described, which was, at first, called *Liberty*, making a fourth of that name in the State; also, of all the churches in the new connection, but the scantiness of my limits compels me to lay his copious documents aside for future use.

⁸ History of the Baptists in Alabama, p. 232.

⁷ Id., 283.

⁹ In 1845 it reported 162; Harmony 103: all the others are under 100. The Minutes do not distinguish the ministers from the other delegates.

MUSCLE SHOALS ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1820; this is also an *up-country* fraternity, and from a small beginning, it has become a large and flourishing interest, being inferior in size to but few institutions of the kind in the State.

John Davis, Jere. Ward, H. W. Hodges, J. Baker, D. Briggs, J. Hardin, D. Lancaster, Jere. Burns, H. Garrard, A. Jones, J. L. Towns, and Wm. Smart, are reported by Mr. H. as being the ministers in this fraternity in its early movements.

As the Muscle Shoals Association⁹ is on nearly the same ground as the Flint River, and as it arose six years after, there is a strong probability that it originated wholly, or in part, from that body; nothing, however, is said on this point in Holcombe's History.

From the Minutes, and from Mr. Stovall, the clerk, I learn that this people have two domestic missionaries to travel a part of the time within their own bounds.

TUSCUMBIA CHURCH, *R. B. Burlison* pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

This community is located in the Counties of Franklin, Lawrence, Morgan, and Blount, on the southern side of the famous *Shoals* described below.

MUD CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1825; it is a small interest in the extreme north-east corner of the State, adjoining Tennessee on the north and Georgia on the east; its numerical strength, in 1844, was about 600. No items of its progress, suitable for the construction of general history, have been obtained; its sympathies and intercourse, according to Holcombe, are with the opponents of benevolent operations.

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION, NORTH.

This is a young community, which was constituted, in 1838, with six churches, formerly in connection with the Flint River, "from which," says Holcombe, "they were forced out by her inquisitorial decrees on the subject of missions," &c.

This fraternity has never attained to any considerable strength, but its course has been steady and moderately increasing; among its pastors and ministerial sons, I find the names of D. P. Bestor, A. Peebles, Geo. Tucker, Wm. H. Holcombe, a son of the historian, &c.

None of its Minutes have been received, and of consequence, my usual accounts of its pastors and churches must be omitted. It is located in the counties of Madison and Limestone, on the northern line of Alabama, adjoining Tenn.¹

Mr. Holcombe mentions a very large church of colored people at Huntsville, the county seat of Madison in another part of his book, but nothing is said of it in connection with this Association.

SHOAL CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1825; it is located near the south-west corner of the State, in the counties of Lauderdale and Limestone. Its number, when last heard from,

⁹ The great Tennessee River, in its crooked course, passes through North Alabama, on its way to the Ohio. The *Shoals*, which give name to this body, are in the State now under review; "they extend about 25 miles; the river spreads out to the width of three miles, and is full of islands."—*Morse*.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 213; all but 42 were colored members; Mount Pisgah, 189; Mount Pleasant, Wm. Leigh, 186; Liberty, J. C. Vincent, 183; Bethel, —, 172; Town Creek, A. L. Stovall, 164; Hopewell, S. Gibson, 162; Mount Nebo, —, 156; Shiloh, S. W. Woolard, 138; Enon, —, 121; Salem, J. M. Cummings, 118; Spring Hill, Wm. Lucas, 115.

¹ This is the third Association by the name of *Liberty* in this State; they, to be sure, are far apart, and the people there understand it well enough, as they append *Sumpter, Chambers, and Madison* to each of them; but it is embarrassing to historical inquirers, and is a thing which ought not to be. I suppose the meaning is, in all cases, that they have taken the stand of *freedom* in opposition to the oppressive decrees of their anti-brethren.

was less than three hundred, and, in addition to their anti-mission character, what is called the *Two Seed* doctrine, has spread its blighting influence among them.

NORTH RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1835, with six small churches, and only three ordained ministers. This body, at its commencement, adopted the plan of *open-communion*, but soon saw her error, and abandoned the practice. It has moved on in union and love from the beginning, is active in domestic missions, and is friendly to all the benevolent institutions of the day.

This Association is located in what one of my correspondents denominates a poor and remote region, from which many Macedonian cries are proceeding. It consists of fourteen churches, which are spread over a part of the four counties of Tuscaloosa, Fayette, Marion, and Walker, near the borders of the State and Mississippi.

Rev. D. W. Andrews, a pioneer in this region, and *T. Howell*, their principal domestic missionary, are active members in this body.³

SALEM CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.³

The method of getting up camp-meetings among this people is thus described in the note below.⁴

TUSKALOOSA ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1833; its constituent churches came mostly from the Cahawba, which it joins. *Mr. Holcombe* has given detailed accounts of all the churches in this establishment which were in its fellowship at the time his work was prepared; it appears to be a strong and efficient community, and is the firm supporter of the evangelical enterprises which our Alabamian brethren are coming up to with considerable activity and zeal.

The seat of the Alabama University is within the bounds of this Association; this is not a baptist institution, but

Rev. B. Manly, D.D., its president, is of our connection, and is an active member of this body.

Rev. A. Woods, D.D., now a resident of Providence, R. I., for a number of years presided over this literary establishment.

BIG CREEK CHURCH, *Rev. Robert S. Adams* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁵

MOUNT MORIAH CHURCH, *Dr. Wm. S. Meek* pastor, is the next in size.

TUSKALOOSA CHURCH, *Rev. Thos. F. Curtis* pastor, is the third in point of numerical strength.⁶

³ Letters to the author, by *Rev. B. B. Smith, D. W. Andrews, T. Howell*; also *T. M. Gabbert*, the clerk of the Association. This last named brother has given me historical sketches of all the churches of the body, which my limits will not allow me to insert. And then again, as it is hoped the difficulties they have encountered will soon die away, it may not be best to detail them to the public.

Although, according to their own account, they made some mistakes in the outset, in departing from the custom of their brethren in the article of communion, yet their efforts have evidently been successful, as two hundred were added to their churches in 1844. They also adopted a different exposition of the doctrines of the atonement, and more in accordance with the Fuller system, so called, than was entertained by the baptists generally in the country. This made them especially obnoxious to the *anti-mission*, or what is called the *Old School* party, with whom their contests have been mostly maintained.

⁴ In 1845, it reported 107; *Shepherd, Fayette Co.*, 97.

⁵ *Resolvid*, "That we recommend to the several districts composing this Association, the propriety of their appointing some suitable place in each district, as near the centre as convenient, for the purpose of there building an *encampment*."

⁶ In 1846, it reported 194—16 only were colored members; *Mount Moriah*, 145; *Tuskaloosa*, 140; *Hopewell*, 113; *Spring Hill, John Walters*, 111; *Haysop, Levi Boydston*, 95. The colored members constitute about one-seventh of this community.

⁷ The old way of spelling this name was *Tuscaloosa*, but the use of a *K* instead of a *C* seems to be the modern practice; it is adopted in the Minutes which are printed at this city, by *M. D. J. Slade*, who, I am glad to see, is a baptist brother. A number of other Associations have their printing done at this office. He brings out his work with more neatness than some of his brothers of the type are accustomed to do.

The county of Tuscaloosa embraces, by far, the greatest part of this body; a few churches are in Bibb, Pickens, and Fayette.

Closing Remarks. I have now, in this government, ascertained the origin, dates, and localities, of 28 associational institutions. In Holcombe's History, and De Votie's Table of Associations in the Alabama Baptist, I find mention made of a number more of these small bodies, which are situated on the borders of this and the adjoining States, as the *Macedonia, Mount Zion, &c.* The first is evidently partly in Georgia, the other in Mississippi. All the others named in Mr. De Votie's catalogue, which run into this State from Georgia, Mississippi, and Tennessee, either have been, or will be noticed where the bulk of them are found. This plan I shall uniformly pursue. The custom of splitting border Associations I entirely disapprove, and shall, in no case, follow it; I have had too much trouble with it myself in Allen's and other works, to subject my readers to similar embarrassments and perplexities.

From the foregoing narratives, we see that this young and fertile territory, which was admitted into the Union in 1819, as an independent State, has had an astonishing increase in its population, and especially of the baptist order. In round numbers, it is stated in the last Baptist Almanac at about thirty-five thousand. I shall not, in this, nor any other case, attempt numerical accuracy, until my statistical tables are made up. Splits and divisions, to some embarrassing extent, as to missionary and other institutions, usually styled benevolent, have apparently, at some points, impeded the progress of our society in a government where entire freedom, so far as the civil government is concerned, is enjoyed. The reader will discover that in my historical statements I treat all alike, and say no more relative to sectional collisions and discrepancies than what is needful to carry forward my narratives. My judgment and sympathies, of course, are on the side of the friends of evangelical efforts and moral reform, and I am sorry that any who bear the baptist name, should become their antagonists and impugnors; but, as a general historian of all sorts of baptists, my course is plain, and must be pursued, through the extensive regions which are yet before me. *Patience and perseverance*, two of the cardinal graces of the christian system, are very much needed here; the effort party have nearly all the strength of the denomination, moral and numerical, in their own hands; their true policy is to go forward in their work of labor and love, and be more assiduous to arouse to *action* the O-mission and Non-mission party, than to repel and vanquish those professedly of an opposing character.

My remarks on other States where opposing *efforts* have been made against the *effort* system, will apply to this; the liberal party have men and means enough for a great increase in their doings in the support of missions at home and abroad, education, tract, bible, and all other institutions which the great mass of the denomination have resolved to patronize and promote.

The B. S. Convention. I had written off a long article from Holcombe's History on this society, which, as in all the governments we have passed through, has been found very beneficial in this, but, for the reasons often repeated, it must be laid by for future use.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

The HOWARD COLLEGE, and the JUDSON FEMALE INSTITUTE, both located at Marion, the county seat for Perry Co., are said to be coming up in a successful and promising manner, and are exerting a salutary influence on the baptist population in this State. Their history must be deferred to my next volume.

Correspondents for Alabama. As there was a general impression in the minds of most of our people in this State that Holcombe's History would be all sufficient for my purposes, but few, comparatively, have taken it upon them to correspond with me on historical matters. But as I am obliged to follow close on the heels of time, I soon found it needful to have additional materials to fill up the space of seven years since Holcombe's accounts were made up, especially in a region where our denomination is extending its boundaries and augmenting its efforts and institutions with great rapidity. Mostly at my instance, a number of brethren have come forward to afford the necessary aid.

D. P. Bestor, Thomas Granbury, T. S. Thomas, J. A. Collins, Prior Reeves, Clark Aldridge, S. G. Jenkins, O. Welsh; these men have labored with assiduity and attention for my special benefit, in their endeavors to furnish me with historical facts and documents, to supply what was wanting in Holcombe's History, and illustrate and explain some of his statements which were thought to be defective or obscure. To a number of others, I am indebted for friendly and valuable communications; I will mention their names as usual, with the omission of titles or localities.

J. H. De Votie, B. Manley, S. Lindsley, A. Kean, J. Hartwell, J. H. Holcombe, E. Baptist, H. Talbird, A. L. Stoval, R. Pace, D. Lee, J. M. Scott, B. B. Smith, C. Stewart, S. M. Norris, T. Norris, T. Howell, T. M. Gabbert, R. B. Burlison, Wm. W. Mitchell, D. J. Holcombe. The two Holcombes are sons of the elder and historian. The last one named has given me the following intelligence of his venerable deceased father: "he lived to see all his children (eleven in number), but one, members, and three of them ministers of the baptist church."

The ALABAMA BAPTIST, the organ of the denomination in the State, has also been very attentive in publishing my historical notices of different kinds.

FLORIDA ASSOCIATION, 1842.

Our denomination in this new State has thus far done but little by way of gaining proselytes or getting up churches, but at the date above given, they found a sufficient number for the purpose of organizing the community above named; it is adjoining the two States of Alabama and Georgia, in which a part of the churches are located.

I have had but little information of the doings of our people in this far south location.

Rev. James McDonald is an active correspondent, and the only one I have in this State. Mr. M. informed me, not long since, that within a few years past, he had baptized upwards of thirteen hundred converts, mostly people of color.

Rev. Mr. Mercer, while in Georgia, gave me some communications relative to the baptists in that State, but none since he has been a successful missionary in Florida.

Rev. Dr. Johnson lately set out on a mission into this floral region, but was recalled before he was fairly located.

The Church called ΒΕΤΗΡΑΞ is the largest in the Florida Association; ⁷ the whole number of which is not far from a thousand and a half.

Rev. Messrs. R. J. Mays, S. C. Craft, B. S. Fuller, H. S. Linton, H. Mercer, and W. B. Cooper, are the only ordained ministers in this community.

ALACHUA ASSOCIATION.

Between the time of this portion of my history going to press and the proofs coming back, I have found, in the "Alabama Baptist," the following notice: "From the telegraph we learn that an Association with this name was constituted on the 16th ult., at Fort Clark, Alachua county, Florida. James McDonald was chosen moderator, T. J. Prevatt clerk. Elders Tucker, Edwards, and McDonald were the Presbytery.

This body embraces 12 churches and 500 members, of whom 230 are blacks. It has four ordained ministers and one licentiate. Its limits are 250 miles by 120.

⁷ In 1845, it reported 190; Shiloh, 146; all the others are under 100. Nothing is said on the Minutes as to the proportion of colored members; the presumption is, that most of them are of that class.

CHAPTER XX.

MISSISSIPPI, LOUISIANA, ARKANSAS, AND TEXAS.

SECTION I.

MISSISSIPPI.

Early history—Comparative view—Mississippi Association—Pearl River—Leaf River—Ebenezer—Union—Central—Yazoo—Primitive Baptist—Mount Pisgah—Choctaw—Noxubee—Louisville—

THE three States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, extend from the Atlantic ocean on the east, to the Mississippi River on the west. The two first have come under review, and I now enter the third with much embarrassment, for the following reasons :

In Georgia and Alabama, I had the result of a number of years' labor of two industrious men, Sherwood and Holcombe; but here I find the footsteps of no local historian, but must depend entirely on the communications of my correspondents, and what few items I can pick up from the Minutes of the Associations, which, however, appear to be very deficient in historical details.

Early history. A few people of our denomination were found in the neighborhood of Natchez and a few places in that region, about the commencement of the present century, by whom one Association, which will soon be named, was got up, which, in time, spread its branches around, and became the mother of a number of others.

According to Allen's Register, as late as 1833, there were but three associational confederacies wholly in this State; the number was doubled in the next three years; the number is now not far from twenty, as the succeeding narratives will show.

If our brethren, the first settlers in this State, located in companies, which I am inclined to think is not the fact, no accounts of such settlements have been received.

For the purpose of carrying out my usual plan as to the collocation of the communities to which my attention is principally directed, I shall arrange them in this State under two heads, *Southern* and *Northern*.

MISSISSIPPI ASSOCIATION—SOUTHERN DIVISION.

In my second Vol., I find the following notice of this mother institution in this State :

" This Association was formed in 1807; it now contains about 12 churches, many of which are situated at no great distance from Natchez;—the baptists by whom these churches were planted, emigrated mostly from Georgia and South Carolina.

This is all the information I was then able to communicate relative to our denomination in this important section of the Great Valley of the West.

This infant and isolated community became a central point of operations for our society in this quarter. Richard Curtis, Moses Hadley, Thomas Mercer,

David Cooper, David Snodgrass, and Ezra Courtney, were the ordained ministers at the time its full organization was effected. Their number of communicants in the outset was less than 200.¹

In eleven years, its churches amounted to forty—its membership to thirteen hundred and a half; then it began to send out colonies to form new institutions, of which it has done a commendable share.

LIBERTY CHURCH, *H. D. F. Roberts* pastor or supply, is the largest in this old connection; it is a fraction less than 100; the churches, generally, are of usual size, but none of them come up to this amount of numerical strength; they are located principally in the counties of Amite, Pike, and Copiah, near the south-west corner of the State, at no great distance from the great river of the west.

PEARL RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was organized by a colony from the mother institution just named, in 1820, and was the first and most important company which went out from that nursery of our society in this then new region of the west.

Two good correspondents, whose names may be found below, have furnished me with dates and facts relative to the origin of this and a number of other institutions, which arose in early times in this territory, in a very accurate and ample manner.

Incipient measures were taken for getting up this second interest in this part of the Valley of the Mississippi, as early as 1818, but the organization was not matured until the date above given. The circumstances under which this community arose, I shall describe in the language of a correspondent, who is well acquainted with all its affairs.

"The Mississippi Association had existed several years; its churches amounted to forty; its boundaries had become extensive, and its numerical strength was rapidly increasing, when she was requested to detach from her body some of her members to form two new associational interests, one on the north (the Union), and the other on the east, which is the subject of this sketch."

The Pearl River company took the lead with 23 churches; not all, however, from the old Mississippi. The names of the whole number of constituent members of this fraternity may be seen in the note below.²

The first ministers who belonged to this Association, were:

Nathan Morris, Wm. Cooper, Wm. Whitehead, James Shipen, Geo. W. King, Abram, Harper, J. P. Martin, Wm. Cook, David Cook, Asa Chaddick, James Powell, Norvell Robertson, sen., and Shadrach King. These were all ordained. The unordained were Shadrach King, John Nall, Jesse Scrivener, James Bailey, and Ben, a man of color.

The visiting ministers who were present at the time of the constitution, were Davis Collins, Ezra Courtney, Samuel Marsh, John Smith, Daniel McCall, and John Burch.

Some items of intelligence respecting the early settlement of the territory in which this community arose, may be seen in the note below.³

¹ Letter of Elder E. Courtney to the author, 1844. Mr. C., as we see by the above list of names, was on the ground at the time. He has given, very minutely, the increase of the body for different periods.

² Moon Bluff,	Pearl River,	Balley Chitto,	Dillon's Creek,	Tallahala,	Bethany,
Bogue Chitto,	Union,	Beulah,	Silver Crk, Pike co.,	Providence,	Ebenzer,
Mount Nebo,	Fair River,	Friendship,	Do. Lawrence Co.,	Pentecost,	Bethesda.
Antioch,	New Chapel,	Poplar Spring,	Sweetwater Branch,	African,	

³ "Until the close of the late war with Great Britain, and the cessation of Indian hostilities, the whole country on the waters of the Pearl and Pascagola Rivers, except near the coast, was in the entire occupancy of the Choctaw tribe of Indians. But soon after the conclusion of peace, the middle portion of the valley of these rivers was opened to white settlers, and began to be generally, though sparsely settled, about the year 1816. The influx of citizens, chiefly from Georgia, Tennessee, and the two Carolinas, was considerably rapid, and among them were a number of baptists, of whom some were highly respectable and intelligent men. Churches were established on the tributary waters of Pearl, Leaf, and Chickasawhay, and there were a few ministers to attend their little flocks. The region on Pearl, and especially on the west side of that river, possessed some advantages, being settled rather earlier, and also being more convenient to the older settlements, on the Amite and Mississippi rivers.—*Rev. N. Robertson, for the Pearl, and Elder E. Courtney, for the Mississippi Association.*

"Perhaps very few Associations have been formed in new countries with more auspicious prospects. It embodied a good degree of talent, and much harmony and good feeling existed among the members. Of the ministers, several possessed a respectable measure of learning, and not a small proportion of them were men of much experience, and were well skilled in ecclesiastical discipline. They were orthodox in their doctrinal views, and were constructed upon what I suppose are called strictly Calvinistic principles."

"The Pearl River Association has been as much favored with peace and harmony in the transaction of business as almost any that has ever existed for the same length of time. The brethren, generally, deserve high commendation for the degree of charity and forbearance exercised by them in matters where there has been difference of sentiment. The churches within their bounds have also been greatly favored in respect of impostors and schismatics. *Two-seedism, Campbellism, anti-ism,* and other causes have distracted the churches in several of the neighboring Associations, while no serious divisions or distresses have been experienced in this. It has not been remarkable for prosperity, though it has not been altogether without enlargement. At the time of its constitution, in 1820, it contained 648 members, and by 1823, they had increased to 1181. More than three hundred of this increase was by baptism; the remainder chiefly by enlarging the bounds of this Association. Her members continued between 1000 and 1200 till 1828, when they were a very few over 1300, and no variation the ensuing year. In 1829, eleven churches were dismissed, which reduced this Association to less than 800. After this, there were many removals, new Associations forming, churches constituted, others dissolved, some blessed with revivals—so that the number of members was fluctuating till the year preceding their session, in 1838, when the Lord greatly favored some of the churches, and the Association received an accession of more than three hundred members by baptism, which yet did not increase the number to much over 1300. And this number, from various causes, which (in our country) may be called ordinary, was diminished nearly two hundred by the succeeding session. Very little variation appears in her numbers till last year, during which the Lord was pleased to add more than 400 to their former number by baptism. The present number is 1644."

The cause of missions, foreign and domestic, has met with favorable attention from this people, from the commencement of their operations; and the same may be said as to benevolent institutions in general.

PROVIDENCE CHURCH, *Alex. McKensie* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁴

MOUNT ZION, *F. Walker* pastor, was the next in size.

The churches of this fraternity, 26 in number, are spread into many counties, but most of them are in Lawrence, Pike, Marion, and Simpson, on both sides of the river whose name it bears.⁵

LEAF RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1829. We have seen, from Mr. Robertson's narratives, that in 1827, eleven churches were dismissed from the Pearl River Association, for the purpose of organizing a new interest, which assumed the name of the river on which it is situated. This community does not appear to have ever acquired much numerical strength; from the last accounts I have obtained of its standing, its membership amounted to about three hundred. It is situated in the part of the State which lies east and south-east of the Pearl River, adjoining Alabama. A few of its churches are in Mobile Co., in that State. Those in Mississippi are in the counties of Covington, Jones, Greene, Perry, Jackson, and Hancock, in the south-east corner of the State. For a small body, it is spread over a wide territory; the explanation of this fact is, that much of it is very thinly inhabited.⁶

⁴ At the date above named, it reported 115; Mount Zion, 104; Bethany, 93; all the others are under this size. No later Minutes have been received. The colored members are computed at about one-sixth of the whole number. They are much more numerous in some other parts of the State.

⁵ This river rises in the middle regions of the State, and runs a southern course into the Gulf of Mexico; for some distance, it is the dividing line between Mississippi and Louisiana.

⁶ N. Robertson, jun.'s communication. Mr. R. evidently meant to write me more respecting this community, of which he is, or was a member; if he did so, his letter must have miscarried. So small an institution, however, would not be likely to supply many facts for general history.

EBENEZER ASSOCIATION.

This is a new connection, which was organized in 1846.

I give this young fraternity the next place on account of its contiguity to the two last named.

No communication has been sent me relative to the history of the formation of this new institution; for the Minutes of the first anniversary, I am indebted probably to its clerk, which contain the doings of the convention which prepared the way for its constitution; from them I infer that its churches came from the Pearl and Leaf River communities, but mostly from the latter; it is near to the Alabama line, and two of the churches are in Mobile Co., in that State; those in Mississippi are in the counties of Covington, Perry, Jones, and Smith, in the northern bounds of the Leaf, and the eastern of the Pearl River Associations.

PROVIDENCE CHURCH, *A. McKensie* pastor, which stood at the head of the Pearl River fraternity, holds the same rank in this infant body; its number is a fraction under 100; the others are all much inferior in size, and the whole interest is but a little over three hundred strong.

Rev. John P. Martin was the moderator, and *Rev. Norvell Robertson, jun.*, clerk of the first meeting.

The reasons set forth in the doings of the convention, preparatory to the formation of the Ebenezer Association, are exhibited in the following manner:

Resolved, that in consideration of the detached and isolated condition of the churches in this section of the country, the extent of country not embraced within the limits of any Association, the advantage of associate connection among churches, the destitute condition, in a religious point of view, of this region, the necessity of a systematic, vigorous, and united effort in the cause of truth and righteousness, and for other reasons, *it is expedient* that the churches in these parts form an Association as soon as convenient.⁷

These four Associations, I believe, are all that are found in the southern boundary of the State.⁸

I am now prepared to go on through the breadth of the territory to its central region, and place the fraternities, whose history and localities I am in search of, in juxtaposition and geographical connection.

UNION ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1820; this was the second colony which went off from the old Mississippi, on its northern bounds. It has been an efficient and growing community, and stood the highest on the list of its sister institutions, until the one next to be described went off from it.⁹

This Association exhibits in its last Minutes the highest returns for missions and other objects of benevolence of any one in the State which as yet has come under review; the amount, as reported by the treasurer, was a fraction short of eight hundred dollars.

NATCHEZ. The church in this important location has the largest amount of members of any in this connection;¹⁰ it is a church of some years' standing; its history I am not able to give; I believe it was not very prosperous for some time from its commencement, and now its white membership is small.

⁷ Minutes Ebenezer Association, 1846.

⁸ The Mississippi River Association, the bulk of which is in Louisiana, will be described under that head.

⁹ Some accounts date this body at a later period, but according to Mr. Courtney's statement, a *Convention for missionary purposes* was formed in 1822, of the three Associations of Mississippi, Pearl River, and Union; he furthermore states that the churches which formed the Union, were dismissed from the mother body, at, or near the same time as those which organized the Pearl River community.—*Letter to the author.*

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 442; all but 62 were people of color; Fellowship, E. C. Eger, 193; Hepzibah, S. Thigpen, 189; Clear Creek, Z. Reeves, 154; 15 only whites; Grand Gulf, W. H. Whelden, 113; all but 8 are people of color; Bethlehem, 98.

The white members are but about one-fifth of the whole body.

The counties of Adams, Copiah, and Jefferson, embrace most of the churches in this fraternity; they are all at no great distance from the great river of the west.

CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a large colony from, or, perhaps, more properly speaking, division of the Union, in 1846.

The Minutes of the convention which projected its formation, and of the first annual session are before me. With but few exceptions, the churches of which it was composed stood on the former Minutes¹ of the mother institution.

This new interest commenced its operations with an unusual amount of numerical strength (upwards of 2000), and its primary doings indicate resolution and efficiency in the prosecution of evangelical enterprises and efforts.

Its treasurer reported upwards of four hundred dollars on hand for these purposes; they have one or more domestic missionaries within their bounds.

Most of this came from an equal division of the funds of the Union Association.

MOUND BLUFF CHURCH, *D. B. Crawford* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

PALESTINE CHURCH, *S. Thigpen* pastor, is the next in size.

This young fraternity is located in the counties of Warren, Hinds, Madison, Yazoo and Holmes, in (as its name imports) the central region of the State, as respects its southern and northern bounds.

In this region a few small communities have arisen, and perhaps some of them still exist, of what they call the *primitive* order of baptists, which my principles of contiguity make it proper I should notice in this place.

The *Yazoo and Primitive* communities occupied the same ground, as the latter came up after the other had gone down.

The *Yazoo Association* was formed in 1832, and after an existence of five or six years, was dissolved or was merged into its successor, called the

Primitive Baptist Association, which was organized with four small churches, viz., the *Yazoo*, *Hickory Spring*, *Rocky Spring* and *Lebanon*, in 1839; it is very small, if it still exists.

These two little companies are both on the *Yazoo river*, in the middle regions of the State. The ministers who were connected with them, were *Nathan Morris*, *Joseph Morris* and *Wm. L. Morris*.²

There is still another and older body which claims to be of the *primitive* order, whose locality I have not yet discovered.

MOUNT PISGAH ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1837; for the early history of this institution I am indebted to its clerk, whose name will be given at the close of my selections from his communication.

"The greater portion of the territory now occupied by this body, lies in what is commonly known as the *Choctaw Purchase*, made of that tribe in 1830.

"In or about the year 1830, elders *John P. Martin* and *Wm. Denson* commenced preaching in *Madison Co.*, and established the church now called *Sharon*; about the same time, or shortly after, elders *C. Price*, *Wm. Denson*, *S. Berry*, *W. H. Hollan*, *S. Jones*, *E. Wilbanks* and *H. Chambers* planted churches in different parts of the counties of *Rankin*, *Smith*, *Scott*, *Newton*, *Neshoba* and *Leake*. Most of our churches have enjoyed revivals of religion at different times. Among their ministerial sons are *James Marchant*, *W. H. Hollan*, *T. S. N. King*, *R. R. Wade*, *R. Hortson*, *R. S. Gatewood*, *J. Robinson* and *J. M. Chambers*. Some of the first churches within our bounds united with the *Pearl River Association*."³

¹ In 1845, it reported 237; all but 100 were people of color; Palestine, 286; the colored are a fraction more than 1 to 2; Flower Hill, *Wm. M. Furren*, 184; Union, *Holmes Co.*, 150; Beulah, *N. R. Granbury*, same; Antioch, *S. I. Caldwell*, 134; New Hope, *B. L. Barnes*, 133; Canton, 121; Ogden, *G. G. Baggary*, 108. The colored members are a fraction over half of the whole body.

² Letter of *Wm. L. Morris*, to the author, 1844.

³ Letter of *Rev. John M. Chambers*, of Hillsboro', to the author, 1843.

The location of this institution has been sufficiently indicated in the preceding sketches. Its churches are somewhat numerous, but none of them large.

NEW HOPE CHURCH, *B. L. Barns* pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.⁴

CHOCTAW ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1837; its territory at first was Sumpter Co., Alabama; and Kemper and Noxubee Cos., Mississippi. James Veasey, — Burnwell and Mitchell Ross were the first ministers on the ground where it arose.

Mr. Holcombe informs us that a body bearing this name was organized in 1834, with 16 churches; nine in Mississippi and seven in Alabama; that in a few years, disputes arose among the members, on the then vexed question about missions, and caused its dissolution; and that out of its ruins arose the one now under review, the Liberty, Louisville, and one or two more.⁵

Since the division of the Union, the Choctaw is the largest Association in this State; almost half its membership is in Alabama, but it is claimed by the Mississippians as one of their institutions.

The two counties of Kemper, Miss., and Sumpter, Ala., embrace most of the Choctaw community.⁶

The two churches of Jones Creek and Gainsville, both under the pastoral care of *Rev. James F. Brown*, are the largest in this body.⁷

PROVIDENCE CHURCH, *P. G. Edmonds* pastor, is the next in size.

CONCORD CHURCH, *John Micou*, the spiritual shepherd, holds the fourth rank.

The Minutes of this community exhibit active operations for benevolent objects, mostly for the home Mission cause. They employ a domestic missionary the whole time, on a liberal salary.

NOXUBEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1841; no items of its history have come to hand. I have a copy of its Minutes for 1842, which purport to be those of the first anniversary. It is a small community, which appends *Primitive* to its name; it is spread out into a number of counties, but the seat of it I should judge, is in that whose name it bears, which is opposite Pickens and Sumpter, in Alabama.

LOUISVILLE ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1838; as has already been stated, it arose out of the old Choctaw confederacy. It began with ten churches, and on the ground which, so far as our denomination was concerned, was cultivated by *Rev. Silas Dobbs*, *Joel Harvey*, *G. E. Nash*, *J. J. Morehead* and *J. Holman*.

This body came together on what was called a half-way ground, between mission and anti-mission principles, but it has not had much enlargement.⁸

⁴ In 1846, it reported 133; none of the others, except the Jerusalem, Wm. Denson pastor, came up to half a hundred.

⁵ History of the Alabama baptists, pp. 274, 275. Some accounts place the date of this body in 1833, but *Rev. J. S. Thomas*, who resides in Pickens Co., in Alabama, adjoining it, settles the time of its organization Sept., 1837; its Minutes for 1846, purport to be those of its 7th anniversary, which makes all straight if the first session was held the year after it was formed. I have some of the Minutes under the first organization, and was embarrassed with the discrepancy of dates, until I read *Holcombe's* exposition of the case.

⁶ The distinction of this institution probably has respect to the territory of the famous tribe of aborigines, whose name it bears, rather than the county of Choctaw, which is higher up the country.

⁷ In 1845, Jones Creek reported 249; Gainsville, 207; Providence, 201; Concord, 191; New Bethel, Wm. Manning, 151; Blackwater, M. Ross, 140; Ephesus, W. B. Lloyd, 122; Union, 108; Watalock, J. Barns, 106; Elim, 103; Sumpterville, 100; Fellowship, same. No distinction is made on the Minutes between the white and colored members.

⁸ Letter of the *Rev. Tristram S. Thomas*, to the author, 1843.

I have none of its Minutes later than 1843.

EPHESUS CHURCH, *W. B. Lloyd* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1845.⁹

I have now gone through the southern section of the State, and given historical sketches in my usual style of all the associational institutions whose localities I have been able to ascertain. I shall now take the northern portion of the State under review.

SECTION II.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

Columbus Association—Zion—Yallahusha—Chickasaw—New Hope—Lusascoona—Cold Water—Aberdeen—Panola—Liberty—Zion's Rest

COLUMBUS ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1838, at Zion Church, in Lownds Co., which joins Pickens and Fayette in Alabama. It arose out of a division of the Buttahatchee, now an Alabama institution, on the subject of missions, &c. The mother body extended into both the States of Mississippi and Alabama, and the Columbus has still a few churches in the latter. Under these circumstances, it would be natural to infer that this community came out decidedly on the side of evangelical efforts and moral reform; and this course they still pursue. As is common with most active bodies in this region, they have one or more domestic missionaries within their own bounds, and in destitute places around them; foreign missions, education, &c., meet a cordial support from this people.

I have not a list of all the ministers by whom this community was got up and directed in its early movements. The first on the ground are said to have been Samuel McGowen, E. Gore, Samuel McCollough, Jno. Armstrong, M. Bennett and G. W. Mallett. Cotemporary or successors to them as pastors or missionaries among the churches have been Geo. Tucker, B. H. Stribling, — Ware, — Parsley, W. H. Holcombe, H. Pettey, Wm. H. Cook, Wm. C. Crane and others.

COLUMBUS CHURCH, *Rev. W. C. Crane*, then pastor, was the largest in this connection.¹⁰

PRAIRIE GROVE, *Rev. S. McGowen*, the incumbent, was the next in size.

The counties of Lownds, Ocktibbeha and Monroe, in Mississippi, and Fayette in Alabama, embrace most of the Columbus churches.¹

ZION ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835. No items of historical information relative to this institution have been received, except that G. W. Hoffman, B. Carroll, G. Stoval, R. M. Cunny, M. White and J. Thomas were the first ministers on the ground where it arose.²

⁹ At the date above given, it reported 122; Hepzibah, John Micou, 102; all the others were under 100. Messrs. Lloyd and Micou are reported as pastors in the Choctaw Association.

This community adds *Friendship* to its name, the meaning of which, I suppose, is that they do not mean to fall out by the way. But all these needless appendages I dispense with, as far as possible.

¹⁰ At the date above given, it reported 399; about four-fifths were people of color; Mr. Crane afterwards was transferred from this station to Montgomery, Ala.; Prairie Grove, 156, 23 colored; Concord, 108; Starkeville, G. C. Keeney, 103; Salem, 104; Pilgrim's Rest, 100. The colored numbers are about one-third the whole body.

¹ Elders J. G. Keeney, G. W. Mallett, and T. S. Thomas, are my correspondents for this Association.

² *Rev. T. S. Thomas*' communication to the author. Some accounts date this institution two years later, but Mr. T. settles the time of its organization, Oct., 1835.

The missionary character of this fraternity is settled by their doings as reported at their last session.

"Resolved, that it is the duty of this Association to supply every destitute place within its bounds with a preached gospel.

"Resolved, therefore, that a Central Executive Committee be appointed to make inquiry in relation to the destitution within the bounds of the Association; to take charge of all its funds pledged for its supply, and to employ one or more missionaries whenever the funds in hand will justify it, which missionaries shall report to the next Association."³

The counties of Choctaw, Chickasaw, Carrol, and Holmes, with but few exceptions, contain the Zion churches.

MIDDLETON CHURCH, *J. R. Palmer* supposed to be the pastor,⁴ is the largest in this body.⁵

YALLABUSHA ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1836; its Minutes have been received, but no historical sketches of its rise and progress; it is located in the county whose name it bears, Carrol, and some adjoining ones.

REHOBOTH CHURCH, *D. D. Patterson* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

MOUNT PARAN CHURCH, *W. Minter* pastor, is the next in size.

CHICKASAW ASSOCIATION

"Was formed in the fall of 1838, on what is termed liberal principles; it has generally sustained the views of the State Convention, but of late its attention has been more immediately directed to home missions."⁷

The organization of the churches on the ground where this Association arose was commenced in 1836.⁸

CHENY CREEK CHURCH, *Rev. E. Smith* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

The counties of Tishamingo, Tippah, Pontotoc, and a few others embrace the Chickasaw churches; they are in the north-east corner of the State, which joins Alabama on the east and Tennessee on the north.

NEW HOPE ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1842; it is located on the line of this State and Mississippi, and extends into both; it is situated in the counties of Itawamba, Munroe, and Tishamingo. I have obtained very little information of this small interest, except its date and locality.

The Beulah Association, for what reason is not explained, withdrew its correspondence with this body, in 1845. As the Beulah is on the opposing side on the subject of missions, &c., this would seem to indicate that the New Hope was becoming anti-orthodox, in their opinion, in this business.

LUSASCOONA ASSOCIATION.

This is a small body, whose Minutes I have for 1844; it met in Pontotoc Co.—had ten churches, 213 members; the moderator and clerk for that year

³ Minutes for 1846, p. 2.

⁴ No distinction is made between the ministers and other delegates; this is the more to be wondered at, with a community whose business is generally done up in good style. It was probably a mistake, as I see this omission does not occur in the older Minutes.

⁵ In 1846, it reported 206, Union, 149; Bethany, 164; Hays Creek, 135; Ebenezer, 113; Carrolton, 103.

⁶ In 1843, it reported 162, 58 colored; Mount Paran, 144; Preston, 134; Pleasant Grove, 129; Spring Hill, 110; Fellowship, 103; Providence, 97. The ministers are not distinguished from the other delegates in this Association. The colored members are a little more than one-fifth of the whole body.

⁷ Letter of Rev. G. B. Waldrop to the author, 1843.

⁸ Mr. W. proposed to give me some historical details of these churches, which, however, I do not find among my papers.

⁹ In 1846, it reported 160, Cypress Creek, 95. This community abounds with churches, but none of the others come up to 100.

776 TALLAHATCHEE, COLD WATER, AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

were Elisha Moon and Isaac Barton; its age I have not learnt. It has probably existed but a few years. Pontotoc and Yallahusha counties embrace most of its churches.¹⁰

TALLAHATCHEE ASSOCIATION.

This is another small community, whose churches are fifteen; its membership about 400, according to the Minutes of 1844. Its date or origin I have not learnt.

COLD WATER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1841; it is in the northern part of the State, principally in the counties of De Soto and Marshall.

In the Minutes for 1836, very opportunely, I find the following account of the origin of this young and vigorous community:

"Delegates from six churches, viz., Sardis, Union, State Line, Hernando, Mount Prosperity, now called Cold Water, and Bethel, containing, in the aggregate, 268 members, met at the Sardis Church in convention, in May, 1841, and, in the usual form, organized the North Mississippi Baptist Association. At a subsequent meeting at Hernando, in the following year, they gave the body the name it now bears. Since that time, the number of churches has increased to fifteen, and the membership to 946."

The narrative goes on to state, that most of the churches which have arisen in this region of the State have been the result of missionary labors by men on the ground, or by those who have been sent here by domestic enterprise. Tucker, Buchannon, Halliburton, Renfree, Fant, Young, and Hudson, are the ordained ministers now in this connection.

SARDIS CHURCH, *Rev. George Tucker* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

STATE LINE CHURCH, *B. B. Buchanon* incumbent, is the next in size.

ABERDEEN ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1844; the Minutes of this young institution indicate activity, enterprise, and success; I regret that no historical sketches of its origin, in any form, have come to hand. The churches are located in a number of counties, but most of them are in Chickasaw, Itawamba, Pontotoc, and Munroe.

GROVE CHURCH, *Rev. G. Woodruff* pastor, is the largest in this connection.²

ABERDEEN CHURCH, *Rev. W. H. Holcombe* pastor, is the next in size.

This Association employs one or more domestic missionaries within their own bounds.

PANOLA ASSOCIATION

Is a young and small community, formed in 1843; but neither the Minutes or history have been received. It is in the northern parts of the State, principally in the county whose name it bears.³

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1837. Nothing of its history has come to hand; in the Minutes of the Mississippi B. S. Convention, it is said to be located in the counties of Paulding and Marion.

¹⁰ This is called a *Regular* Baptist community; the Tallahatchee is the only Association with which it then corresponded.

¹ In 1846, it reported 145; State Line, 120; Salem, S. Halliburton, 115; Mount Zion, 95; the others are all of less size.

² In 1845, it reported 142; Aberdeen, 120; Tockshish, A. Ware, 119; Salem, — Martin, 103.

³ Rev. H. W. Middleton, one of the ministers in this body, has written me relative to subscribers and other matters, before or near the time this institution was formed. A number of the northern communities in this State have within their bounds men of talents and enterprise, but for some cause they have failed to represent their bodies, or their communications have miscarried.

ZION'S REST ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838; it is located on the line of Alabama and Mississippi, and is of what they call the *primitive* order of baptists. I have none of its Minutes later than 1842, when it was about five hundred strong; its churches were fifteen, and about two-thirds of them were in Mississippi, yet a little more than half its numerical strength was in Alabama. Those in Alabama were in the counties of Sumpter and Marengo; Kemper and Lauderdale embraced those on the Mississippi side.

BETHANY CHURCH, pastor not named, was the only one that came up to a hundred.

BEAR CREEK ASSOCIATION.

Such an institution is named in a number of catalogues, but none of them contain any account of it, and no facts have appeared from which I can form any conjecture as to its locality, date, or size. In the Minutes of the State Convention for 1845-6, I see a delegation was appointed to correspond with it, which indicates that they supposed them friendly to evangelical efforts; it is probably in the northern part of the State.⁴

Remarks on Associations. I have ascertained the localities and dates of about 20 of these bodies in this government; the *Yazoo* Association, which was formerly named in the B. Almanac, has been merged in the *Younger Primitive*, so called, which, if it still exists, is but an apology for an institution of this kind. There is an older body by this *new* name, relative to which I have gained no information, except that it is probably located in or near the county of Yallabusha.⁵ The same may be said of a young community called *Bethany*, which bears date from 1844. The north Mississippi fraternity has changed its name to *Cold Water*.⁶ Some more of the border communities will be noticed in the State soon to come under review.

Closing Remarks. The three States of Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, very much resemble each other, so far as our people are concerned, in the management of their institutions, and in their general principles and pursuits: they all have had an inconvenient amount of opposing *efforts*, against what is called the effort system; but so far as I can judge, there has been much less of it in Mississippi than in the other two governments. The Mississippians, I am inclined to think, have taken more pains to conciliate and remain with their scrupulous and objecting brethren, and win them over to the evangelical efforts which all judicious observers could see were greatly needed in regions so full of destitution and of the means of grace, than their brethren farther west. The soundness of this policy may be questioned, but it appears to have worked well in most cases in this State.

Camp Grounds. These are very common in all the southern States: I have frequently referred to them in my narratives; but, at my instance, one of my Mississippi correspondents has given me a more particular description of these preparations for religious gatherings than I have had before. From his communication I will make the few following extracts:

"The next meeting of our Association (Columbus) will be held at the *Baptist Camp Ground*.—The Chickasaw Asso. will meet with ours at the same time and place. * *

⁴ The Union and Mount Pisgah Associations also have given lists of all the institutions of the kind in the State of which they had gained any information; they all put *Bear Creek* on their catalogues, but give no information respecting it.

⁵ In the *Signs of the Times*, published by Rev. Mr. Beebe, in New Vernon, N. Y., for January, 1847, mention is made of the death of Elder Francis Baker, of the above named Co. In the obituary notice of this aged minister (66), it is said that he was moderator of the *Primitive Baptist Association* of this State the two last sessions before his death. Elder Baker was one of my correspondents.

⁶ Although I should judge from the healthy appearance of this body that its members are really *cold-water* men, yet I believe it took its name from a river or water-course within its bounds.

We have a large *Camp Ground*—some twenty comfortable houses are put up in neat order around a square, with a large arbor to preach under in the centre: these houses will be occupied during the meeting by families who carry provisions and bedding sufficient to accommodate all the people attending the meeting. We have these meetings very common in this country; they are here called *Protracted Meetings*.⁷

Correspondents. Messrs. E. Courtney, T. S. Thomas, N. Robertson, jun., and Wm. J. Denson, have probably communicated more facts which have been available for my historical work, as to dates, &c., than any other correspondents, notwithstanding the two first named live out of the State; but they are near its borders, and have an intimate acquaintance with the rise and progress of our institutions around them. My other correspondents, whose names for the most part have already been referred to in the course of my narratives, I will mention in rather a desultory and disconnected manner.—John M. Chambers, T. S. N. King, Alonzo Kean, Wm. L. Morris, G. B. Waldrop, W. Minter, G. W. Mallett, Samuel McGowen, J. C. Keeney, Moses Crowson, Wm. Hill, N. R. Granbury, John Micou, Nelson Sansing, Benj. Whitfield, Benj. Collins, B. L. Barnes, Wm. H. Holcombe, J. G. Hall, H. H. Rockett, L. Cleaveland, W. W. Middleton, Francis Baker. Mr. B.'s letter is very long, and is mostly devoted to the defense of the *non-fellowshiping* resolutions of his party.

I have heard of a religious paper in this State by the name of the *Miss. Baptist*, but have not seen it.

After this portion of my work had gone to press, I found a copy of the *Minutes of the sixth session of the Primitive Association for 1843*. It is in the counties of Carroll, Choctaw, Attala, &c.; one church only is in Yallabusha. I am inclined to think, after all, that this is the one mentioned in connection with the Yazoo community. It is a little over 500 strong. They appointed a committee to forward me their history, which, however has not been received.

SECTION II.

LOUISIANA.

Early History—Louisiana Association—Concord—Ouachita—Shady Grove—Mississippi River—Eastern Louisiana—Closing Remarks—Correspondents.

THIS State is large in its dimensions, but as the original settlers under the Spanish government were Catholics, the Protestants, and especially the baptists, were late in their coming, in any considerable numbers, and somewhat slow in their progress. Within a few years past, however, they have occupied a number of new posts in different parts of the State, and now bid fair to go on with augmented energy and strength.

About the commencement of the present century, a few of our society were found on the eastern side of the great river, which for about half the length of this State divides it from that of Mississippi, who planted a few churches over the line, on the Spanish side, soon after the territory was acquired by our government; and incipient movements had been made for a new interest, near the south-west corner of the territory, by Mr. Willis and a few coadjutors; yet, as late as 1820, there were in the whole of Louisiana but six churches, four ministers, and a fraction over one hundred communicants.⁸

According to Allen's Register for 1833, the number of churches were sixteen, and the membership upwards of seven hundred. Since then the denomination has increased in something over a quadruple proportion.

LOUISIANA ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1821, when its organization was fully matured.

Although this body is not on the ground first occupied by our community in this State, yet, as it is the oldest associational fraternity which is wholly within its bounds, and bears the name of the State, I have thought proper to place it at the head of the list. As no older resident or minister has supplied me with the historical sketches needful for my purpose, I shall transcribe an account of it supplied by a member of another Association.

⁷ Letter of Mr. Hill to the author, 1844.

⁸ American Quarterly Register for Aug., 1841; the account was furnished by Rev. J. M. Peck

"The Louisiana Association is the oldest in the State; it is situated west of Red river, on the margin of the Gulf and Sabine river. It is quite a large institution for this State—is of a decidedly missionary character; its ministers are men of intelligence and efficiency, and one of them, *Joseph Willis*, a mulatto, has done much for the cause, and spent a large fortune while engaged in the ministry, often at the hazard of his life, while this State belonged to the Spanish government. *Joseph Willis*, *B. C. Roberts*, *A. J. Spencer*, *W. D. Wright*, *W. P. Ford* and *S. D. Sawyer* are some of the efficient ministers in this connection."⁹

The date of the churches, for a rare thing in this country, is placed on the Minutes; *Calvary*, 1812, *Beulah*, 1816, and *Aimswell*, 1817, are the oldest on the list; all the others have been formed since 1824; most of them are of recent origin.

BEULAH CHURCH, *B. C. Roberts* pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

CONCORD ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1832; it was organized with four churches; all but one were dismissed from the old Louisiana confederacy. Elders *John Samson* and *James Brison* were the ministers by whose instrumentality, chiefly, the churches were raised up which laid the foundation for this Association.¹

This small community gained but moderately for a number of years, and was obliged to hold on to its principles as to benevolent institutions against a strong opposing current.

Rev. Messrs. G. W. Baines, the clerk of this Association, *R. A. Hargis* and *A. McFarland* among its pastors, have all addressed me with historical communications relative to its rise and progress. It is situated principally in the parishes (another name for counties) of *Union* and *Clairborne*, in the upper region of the State, adjoining *Arkansas*.

REHOBOTH CHURCH, *Rev. G. W. Baines* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

CONCORD CHURCH, *Rev. S. J. Larkin* pastor, is the next in size.

OUACHITA ASSOCIATION.³

This is a young institution, having been organized in 1843 with nine churches which were dismissed from the one last named. This infant community, although it possesses but a small amount of numerical strength, yet it seems to be well regulated, and pursues its course with order and decision.⁴

History of the churches. In the Minutes for 1846, instead of a circular letter in the usual style, which for some cause was not presented, this people very properly supplied its place with brief historical sketches of their churches; the only one I shall be able to notice is called the

CATAHOULA. "It is situated about twelve miles north-west of *Harrisonburg*, and is the oldest in the Association. It was commenced in 1826—has ordained four of her ministerial sons, and has been a nursery to all the churches within the bounds of the Association;—she is well entitled to the term *mother church*."

Rev. N. M. Davis is its present pastor; this office he has sustained since 1841.

Rev. Henry Humble was its spiritual shepherd from its constitution till his death, in 1829; high commendations are given by a number of my correspondents of this aged pastor among the infant churches in this fraternity.⁵

⁹ Letter of *Rev. J. B. Smith*, of *Clinton*, 1845. *Dr. Maclay* and others who have traveled in this region, have given very favorable accounts of the ministerial labors and distinguished usefulness of the now aged colored minister mentioned above. He, I believe, was the first on the ground on which the Association now under consideration arose.

¹⁰ In 1845, it reported 364; *Bayou Rouge*, *John O'Quinn*, 101; the others are generally under 100. I did expect from *Rev. J. M. Peck* and others some fuller details of this community, but none have come to hand from which any narratives in my usual manner can be constructed.

¹ Letter of *Rev. A. McFarland* to the author, 1846.

² In 1845, it reported 177; *Concord*, 107; but one of the others came up to half a hundred.

³ *Wachata* was the former manner of spelling this word on the maps, and in the *Gazetteers*; it is the name of a large river which unites with the *Red River* before it enters into the *Mississippi*.

⁴ Its last Minutes were printed at the office of the *Picayune*, in *New Orleans*, and are brought out in the neatest manner of any I have seen in the State.

⁵ Some biographical sketches of him have been forwarded to me by *Mr. Davis*.

Catahoula Church united with the old Louisiana Association soon after it was formed; it afterwards united with the Concord, where it stood until this new body arose.

This body is situated in the parishes of Caldwell and Catahoula, in northern Louisiana.⁶ None of its churches come up to 100.

SHADY GROVE ASSOCIATION

Must be located somewhere in this region, and, from some suggestions of Mr. McFarland, I should infer that it is a small seceding party from the Concord; its character is thoroughly *non-effort*; it is probably a feeble body if still it lives.

My survey of the baptist interest in Louisiana has led me from the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Sabine River, which divides this State from Texas, quite through it in a northern direction to the southern borders of Arkansas. I shall now go down to the territory of the old Mississippi confederacy, and pursue my course eastward and southward, to gather up what few facts can be ascertained relative to the two associational communities which yet remain to be described in this wide-spread and barren field, so far as our society is concerned.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in Oct., 1843, of churches principally from the old community whose name it bears, with the addition, *river*, to its cognomen.

We have now gone back to the old baptist ground, where we commenced the survey of our institutions in the State of Mississippi. At this point it may be proper to relate some additional facts relative to the settlement of this then extremely remote region, and of some of the distinguished men who, with great labor and peril, became the baptist pioneers and pastors of this west and south-western location. Among them were David and William Cooper, the first a minister, the other a lay brother of great usefulness; Davis Collins, Thomas Mercer, David Snodgrass, John Atkins, H. Wall, Moses Hadley, E. Courtney; all but the last named have ceased from their labors. Cooper and Collins were from South Carolina, although Virginia was the native place of the Coopers, and they, as was often the case with the old Waldensian and Anabaptist ministers, added the medical profession to their other vocations, and, of course, were called Drs.⁷ Mercer was from Georgia, Courtney from Pennsylvania, the others were from the southern States.

These men all settled on or near the great river of the west, in the neighborhood of Natchez, or in more southern locations, before or soon after the commencement of the present century.

In process of time, other ministers were either raised up on the ground, or emigrated hither from different parts, and by them and their coadjutors and successors the first churches were planted, and from their early labors the baptist institutions in all this region have proceeded.

The old Mississippi Association, like the Georgia, became both the focus and radiating point of baptist influence and operations, and, notwithstanding the constant drafts which have been made upon it in favor of new organizations, it is a satisfaction to see it maintain its ground with maternal affection and kindness amidst a family of grateful and helpful daughters.

We are now prepared to give a short account of the institution whose name is at the head of this article, and of the one farther east. There is one year's difference in their ages, but for the sake of geographical connection, I shall follow the arrangement I have made, and shall give the account of its origin in the language of one of its members.

"The Mississippi River Association was constituted Oct., 1843; the churches composing it were mostly from the Mississippi Association. It consists at present of eleven churches and the same number of ministers. It is actively engaged in the benevolent efforts of the day. The duty of supporting their ministers and holding meetings every Sabbath is acknowledged by all, and acted out to a good degree. Its present membership is about nine hundred."⁸

From the Minutes, I learn that the ministers in this connection are J. B. Smith, W. B. Wall, I. T. Hinton, A. W. Poole, R. Holman, M. Barlow, N.

⁶ I conclude that it is named from the River on which it is situated, as none of its churches are in the county of that name. Columbia, Copenhagen, and Harrisonburg, are the principal P. O. towns within the bounds of this institution. Rev. N. M. Davis is my principal correspondent for this region. Rev. H. W. Hodges, one of my old correspondents in Alabama, I see among the pastors here; I have been apprised of that fact by Mr. Davis, and have tried to draw him out to my assistance in this undertaking, but never a line could I get from him since he moved out west.

⁷ "Dr. Collins followed three important professions, the clerical, the medical, and the education of youths, for which he was well qualified; he was assisted in his education by the Charleston Association in his native State."—*Rev. E. Courtney's* communication, to whom I am indebted for all my information of the band of baptist worthies named above.

⁸ Rev. J. B. Smith's letter to the author, dated Clinton, 1845.

P. Hotchkiss, D. Staley, L. Scofield, S. Jackson, W. Adams. I have followed the collocation presented in the Minutes.

Four of the churches in this young fraternity are in Mississippi, the others in the State now under consideration.

HEPZIBAH CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in this body in 1845.*

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, New Orleans, is in this connection.

In this famous emporium, where the Catholics bear sway in ecclesiastical affairs, our denomination have made a series of efforts to plant a baptist standard for more than thirty years past; a number of talented men, often under missionary appointments, have in succession occupied this station, but nothing of a very permanent character was effected until within a few years past.

The more modern movements of our fraternity in this city I will describe, in the language of one of my correspondents for this region.

"The First Baptist Church in New Orleans, got up under the labors of Rev. F. Clark, is a very interesting body; it is situated in the great emporium of the south-west, and has sent out several young ministers, as Howard, Smiley and Gray, who are preaching in different places.—A German preacher, by the name of *Fusk*, is preaching to his countrymen in the city in his own language.

"Mr. Clark is still the pastor of the church above named, and is laboring most indefatigably in favor of a good house of worship."⁹

Rev. Isaac T. Hinton, of English origin, who has occupied a number of important stations in this country, has within a year or two past been transferred from the pastorate of the church in St. Louis, Mo., to this important location, where he, with his church and his numerous friends, personal and denominational, are laboring with much assiduity and with a good degree of success, to realize the grand desideratum of erecting a house of worship of a capacity and finish which shall comport with the customs of the city, and the convenience of his congregation.

The following historical sketches relative to this undertaking I have selected from the religious paper of the denomination, for May, 1847. It is headed,

First Baptist Church, New Orleans.

"That the importance of the city of New Orleans as a moral position, is not only great, but, by the course of events, constantly increasing, is evident to every attentive observer. That it has been long neglected by our denomination, and by that alone, is lamentably true. How many members of our churches have made a shipwreck of their profession in this city—how many of the sons and daughters of the families of our denomination have perished without hope—how much has been lost in the cause of truth, by this long and culpable neglect, eternity alone can unfold.

"But, happily, this state of apathy has at length passed away. By the appended list of sums contributed, it will be seen that our denomination is arousing itself to appropriate action. As yet, indeed, no State has been fully visited by our agent, and most of the States but very partially; but upwards of seven thousand dollars have been collected. Much more is needed from abroad to enable us to carry forward the work to completion. Baptists of the south and west, shall this effort fail?"¹⁰

ISAAC T. HINTON, }
JOHN S. DAVIS, } Committee.

* In the Minutes of the above date, it reported 227; Clinton, J. B. Smith, 118; Jerusalem, W. B. Hall, 108; Fort Adams, 96. The ministers in this and the next Association to be named are not distinguished from the other delegates: a bad omission for historical inquirers.

⁹ Letter of Rev. Thomas M. Bond to the author, dated Washington Parish, May, 1846.

¹⁰ In addition to the sum of 7000 dollars collected abroad, nearly four thousand dollars have been paid by the congregation. A lot of ground, 130 by 80 feet, in the most eligible part of the city, has been purchased for the sum of \$11,000; and (as there will be no basement) a lecture room, 63 by 33 feet, has been erected on the rear of the lot, in which the church now assembles for worship. The main building will be 84 by 63 feet, capable of accommodating twelve hundred persons, and will cost sixteen thousand dollars.

A detailed list of the contributions above referred to are given in the *South-western Chronicle*, the organ of the denomination in this region, which in round numbers by States, were as follows: New York, 1,448; Rhode Island, 511; Connecticut, 200; Pennsylvania, 270; Maryland, 197; District of Columbia, 136; Virginia, 2,687; South Carolina, 251; Georgia, 726; Alabama, 372; Kentucky, 266; Missouri, 148; Louisiana, 3,840. Some smaller contributions from other States I have omitted. From this list of donations, it appears that our society regard the undertaking of their brother Hinton and his coadjutors as a denominational concern.

EASTERN LOUISIANA ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1842; the account of its origin I will select from the *Corresponding Letter* of its first session, which was held, as the document will show, in a shire adjoining the State of Mississippi on the north.

Dear Brethren :—The churches dismissed from the Mississippi Association, for the purpose of forming a new Association, together with one church dismissed from the Pearl River Association for the same purpose, and some newly constituted churches, met with the Beulah Church, in the parish of Washington, Louisiana, on Saturday, the 19th of Nov., 1842, agreeable to appointment; and after attending carefully to all the pre-requisites, formed ourselves into an Association on the articles of faith of the Union Mi. Association, to be known and called by the name of the *Eastern Louisiana Baptist Association*.

"Our meeting has been perfectly harmonious throughout. We have engaged in the Bible, Missionary, Sunday school and Baptist Publication Society cause; and we hope to engage in every good work."

The ministers engaged in this formation, were F. Clark, W. L. Sibley, T. M. Bond, W. B. Allen, L. E. Wall, D. M. Chaney, W. H. Varnido, *ord.*, and E. A. Campbell, W. P. Foil, J. Scarborough, J. H. Smiley, *lic*.

The churches were twenty-two in number, all of recent origin but two; the Mt. Nebo, 1813, and the Beulah, which was formed from it in 1833.

The churches in this body are mostly the result of missionary labors, performed under the patronage of the Louisiana and Mississippi society. All the ministers on the ground acted the part of missionaries, only a part of whom, however, were under appointment and pay: the others were self-appointed and self-supported. Sibley, Wall, jun., Varnido, Muse and others are mentioned as among the active and useful laborers in this field.

Wall, sen., Berry, Morris, Crawford, Felder and others, were some of the most successful planters and pastors of churches within the bounds of the East Louisiana Association.

Rev. T. M. Bond, pastor of the Bluff Creek Church (which is said to be a strong body), from the modest account he gives of his ministerial services, I should judge has had no small share in the gathering and regulating the churches in this connection.

Ministerial support is much neglected, and the old monthly system generally prevails in all the pastorships of this region.

Revivals of religion, to an encouraging extent, have been enjoyed in a number of the churches in this section of country.

This young institution is located in the parishes of East Baton Rouge, East Feliciana, Livingston, St. Helena, Washington and St. Tammany.

Closing Remarks. I have ascertained the origin and location of five associational communities in this State, and have given a hint of one small body whose locality I could not ascertain.

Although the baptist interest is comparatively small in this extensive State, yet its numbers have greatly increased within a few years past, and all things bid fair for them to go on with augmented energy and strength, under the free government which Louisiana now enjoys.

Correspondents. I must again place elder E. Courtney at the head of this list for this State; ² most of the others have been named in my narratives, but I will recapitulate them in my usual manner: A. McFarland, N. M. Davis, Geo. W. Baines, J. B. Smith, Thos. M. Bond, R. A. Hargis, A. W. Poole, R. W. Sawyer, Jonathan Newman.

² Mr. Courtney's communications pertain mostly to early times. Most of them are occupied in biographical notices of Cooper, Collins, and others, which, of course, must be laid by for future use. He has also given me an account of the settlement of the Natchez country in very early times, and of the few baptists who were among the first adventurers into this new and dangerous region. As he is now far advanced in years, at my instance, he has given me his own autobiography.

SECTION III.

A R K A N S A S .

Early History—Spring River Association dissolved—White River—Rocky Bayou—Saline—Washington—Salem—Liberty—St. Francis—Closing Remarks—Correspondents.

ALTHOUGH a number of Associations have been formed in this young State, yet our interest here is in a state of infancy, and our institutions are spread over an extensive territory. Our ministers here are few, compared with the greatness of the field and the pressing importunities of the people for ministerial aid.

At what point or by what men the sentiments of the baptists were first propagated in Arkansas, I have found it difficult to ascertain. Rev. David Orr appears to have been the instrument of planting a considerable number of the first churches of which I have gained any information: cotemporary with Mr. Orr, or perhaps a short time before him on this ground, were Benjamin Clark, Jesse James and J. P. Edwards. The first church of our order organized in this then territory of Arkansas, was at Fouché à Thomas, in Lawrence Co., towards the close of the last century.³

As but very few historical items have been ascertained, I shall confine my accounts of our society in this State to the few Associations it now contains, or which have been organized within its bounds.

SPRING RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1829; it continued in being eleven years, when it was dissolved, and two others arose out of its ruins. My accounts of this and all the institutions of the kind in this remote region, I shall, as far as possible, relate from the communications of my correspondents.

"The Spring River Association was the first combination of this character which was formed in the north part of Arkansas, and perhaps it was the first in the State.

"Elder David Orr, and one or two other ministers and brethren from a few newly organized churches, in the fall of the year above named, organized this body on the river from which it took its name. It continued in being until 1840, when, as a matter of expediency, as was then supposed, it was dissolved."⁴ * * * * *

WHITE RIVER ASSOCIATION.

"Soon after the painful event just referred to, five of the churches which had stood in connection with the Spring River community, viz., Rehoboth, Friendship, Union, Macedonia and Mt. Pleasant, met by their delegates at Izard C. H., and constituted this new interest. This was done Dec. 1840. Elders George Gill, Benj. Hawkins and John B. Graham were the only ministers in this new organization."⁵

BATESVILLE, a flourishing town on White river, in the county of Independence, towards the north-eastern part of the State, I should judge to be about the centre of this community.

Rev. George Gill, of that place, is named in the B. Almanac as its corresponding secretary; he informed me, about a year ago, that the Association contained 8 churches, 4 preachers, and 320 members: it has had one session since, but what changes were reported I am not informed.

³ American Quarterly Register for 1841. The article was prepared by Rev. J. M. Peck.

⁴ The causes which led to this measure have been differently explained, but as I am not fully satisfied in my own mind on the point, and as I do not, in any case, enter into local difficulties of an ordinary character, I shall not repeat any of the explanations which I have received.

⁵ Mr. Gill, in a letter of Aug., 1846, proposed to send me the Minutes of his own, and a number of other Associations in the State, which, however, I do not find among my papers.

ROCKY BAYOU ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1840, it being the other branch of the dilapidated Spring River fraternity. Relative to the character and standing of this institution, Mr. Orr, who is reported in the B. Almanac as its corresponding secretary, wrote me as follows about two years after its formation :

"The Rocky Bayou Association is purely missionary, and is gaining rapidly in numbers; their doctrine is that of general atonement, final perseverance, close communion," &c.

The names or number of the churches, or their location, I have not learned; it must of course be nearly on the same ground as its counterpart in North Arkansas.*

SALINE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836; this is probably the most important institution of the kind in the State as to numerical strength; its early history, however, I have not obtained. The Minutes for 1845 purport to be those of its ninth session; in them it is represented a little over a thousand strong. It abounds with churches, which are spread over a wide extent of country; but none of them come up to 100.

The most that I have learnt of the doings of this community is from a letter addressed to Rev. J. M. Peck, in 1843, by E. W. Russell, one of its members, from which I shall make a few selections :

"Our Association spreads into eleven counties, and extends about 200 miles in different directions. Our churches are 20—our ministers 12; but all of them are poor men, and compelled to labor for the support of their families. Our last session, the 7th, was one of unbounded peace and harmony, and broke up in a like manner; the number of converts was about 40, and when I left, 23 were prepared for baptism. The people *encamped* on the ground, and great numbers attended."

Mr. Russell has given an interesting account of the Macedonian cries which were presented to the ministers from all quarters, and also of the plan which had been laid to raise funds among themselves to enable them to leave their secular employments to engage more fully in the business of domestic missions.

This body is situated below *Little Rock*, the seat of government for this State, towards its south-western corner.

The *Saline River*, one of the head branches of the Wachita, gives name to a county, and probably to this community; many of its churches are in the neighborhood of both.

WASHINGTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1837; it took its name from a county in the north-west part of the State; it began with twelve small churches; *James Brewton* was moderator, and *J. E. Mayfield* clerk of the first meeting; the number of members is not stated in the Minutes of the Convention which sanctioned its formation. The year after, they were a fraction under two hundred. In 1842, after the next body to be named colonized from it, its membership was upwards of 500.

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1840, when its constitution took place. The origin of this body, and some items respecting both the fraternities, I will give in the language of a correspondent.

All the Regular baptist churches that were raised up north of the Arkansas River, and west of White River, united with the Washington Association, until the fall of 1840, when the Salem Association was constituted of churches situated in the Arkansas Valley. And as many of the churches of this new organization were dismissed from the Washington com-

* The history of nearly all the first churches in all this region, whether in the dissolved or standing communities, have been supplied me by Messrs. Gill and Orr, mostly by the latter. A few of them had not united with either Association when Mr. Orr wrote me.

munity, their doctrine and practice are essentially alike. The ministers of both are strongly opposed to missionary efforts, and indulge themselves in much keen and sarcastic abuse, which is common among men of their cast against all benevolent institutions. On account of this, their labors have not been crowned with signal success, as many of other denominations have been in the same regions. Some ministers, however, who have seemed to know nothing but Christ and him crucified, have been much blessed, and the churches under their care have enjoyed much ingathering under their ministry, while others have had but small additions during the six years that I have been in this country."⁷

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Is a small and young community, which was formed in 1845; it is located in the extreme south part of this State, and a part of its churches are in Louisiana.

Rev. S. D. Worthington was moderator of the first annual session, and *G. H. Cabb* clerk.

Rev. R. A. Hargis, of Holly Grove, La., whose name appears in the history of that State, is one of the ministers in this new interest.

I have no items of the history of this body, except what I gather from the Minutes.⁸

ST. FRANCIS ASSOCIATION

Is a new institution, formed probably in 1844 or 5; it is located in the county of the same name, Munroe, and some adjoining ones towards the eastern part of the State, about the upper end of Mississippi.⁹

These are all the Associations of which I have gained any distinct intelligence in the great State of Arkansas, and I am inclined to believe that I have ascertained the amount of the baptist population in this territory, so far as church members are concerned.

Closing Remarks. I have succeeded beyond my expectations in ascertaining the dates and localities of the few institutions of our denomination in this Anglo-Spanish territory. The historical facts respecting them are very few beyond the ordinary operations of a zealous people very sparingly settled in a new country, among whom no inconsiderable difference of opinion has existed, and especially on missions, &c.; but the opposing party, I should judge from the few statements which have been made to me from the other side, and from the slow progress of our society here, have, for the most part, had matters in their own way. But there is evidently a reaction in this business—a new impulse has been given to evangelical efforts in this great field of moral destitution by the A. B. Home Mission Society, and some local measures of their own, and the friends of the cause of benevolence, are going forward with more energy and decision.

Correspondents. This list is small; without their assistance, however, I could not have constructed the foregoing scanty narratives; but, by the aid of their communications, would my limits permit, I could give the early history of most of the first churches which were planted in the then territory of Arkansas. I will name them in the order in which their first communications were made: David Orr, Wm. B. Karr, G. W. Baines, Ep. W. Russell,¹⁰ Geo. Gill.

⁷ Letter of Rev. G. M. Baines to the author, 1844. Mr. B. was clerk of the W. Association in 1842. I have seen none of their Minutes for a number of years past. Mr. B. is now in Louisiana, where his name is reported as one of my correspondents. He appears to be a firm friend of missions, &c., but is patient and forbearing towards his opposing brethren.

⁸ As a general rule, I find that the term *Liberty*, when applied to an associational fraternity, implies that the communities which they have left, exercise in their judgment undue domination and control. Such, I presume, was the fact in this case. But what body they came from I have not learnt.

⁹ I am indebted to Rev. Geo. Gill, for a knowledge of the fact of the existence of this Association. He has promised to send me their Minutes, which, however, I have not received.

¹⁰ Although his letter was addressed to Mr. Peck, yet it was for my use; he is a lay brother in the Co. of Dallas; he has since sent me the Minutes of the Sabine Association, to which he belongs.

SECTION IV.

TEXAS.

Early history—M. Crowson's visit—Union Association—Sabine—Northern—Washington Co.—Closing remarks.

ALTHOUGH our denomination, as is too often the case, were late in their labors in this great and inviting field for missionary and evangelical efforts, yet, since their attention was directed to it, which was mostly by a few adventurers who went to it generally on their own account, their success in gaining proselytes and in getting up institutions has been attended with a good degree of success.

In the Minutes of the Union Association for 1845, which is the oldest institution of the kind in the State, I find the following historical item relative to the introduction of our principles and the gathering of our churches in this famous country.

"It is but a few years since our church commenced its operations in this beautiful country. Previous to the revolution of 1836, it was unlawful for any but Roman Catholics to minister in holy things! It is only since that period that we have been privileged to meet in legal assemblies to worship God and administer the sacraments! This body, the first Baptist Association ever organized in Texas, was constituted at the town of Travis, Austin county, October 8, 1840. At the time of its formation it embraced three churches: the church at Travis, the church at Independence, and the church at La Grange; connected with which were three ministers: T. W. Cox, R. E. B. Baylor, and I. L. Davis, and fifty-three communicants. Our Association now numbers 19 churches, 10 ministers, and 600 communicants. In addition, there are three other baptist Associations in this State: the Sabine Association, numbering 16 churches, 7 ministers, and 500 communicants; the Northern Association, numbering 5 churches, 3 ministers, and 125 communicants; and the —— Association, numbering 10 churches, 5 ministers, and 200 communicants.

Some of the churches connected with our Association have suffered much since their organization from the frequent incursions made into the country by the Mexicans. The sheep of those little folds have been frequently scattered, and they are at this time greatly suffering for the want of pastoral attention.

"In 1841, during the session of this Association at Clear Creek, in Fayette county, a Domestic Missionary Society was formed. Subsequently the brethren Z. N. Morrell and B. Buffington received commissions from the Society, and labored for some time under its patronage. In 1843 was organized the Texas Baptist Education Society, which in 1845 procured from the Congress of Texas the charter for a Literary Institution. This Institution, which has been called the Baylor University, has been located at Independence, Washington county. In May last, the preparatory department commenced operations, and it presents at present flattering prospects of ultimate success.

"We feel gratified to ascertain that many members of the Baptist ministry have their attention turned towards this new State; that some have already made preparations to enter this portion of the gospel field. We rejoice to perceive that the importance of this Western country is being realized by the baptists in the United States, and especially by our brethren in the South-western States. 'The field is indeed white to the harvest.'"

Rev. Moses Crowson, then of Mississippi, a few years since, traveled extensively in Texas as a missionary, and in his inquiries, had an especial reference to the interests of my publication; he reported many interesting facts as to baptist affairs, and gave me the general statistics of all the religious denominations in this republic.

The Methodists, it appears, were much the most distinguished in numerical strength; I should judge that at that time they were in advance of all the other societies put together.¹

¹ As Mr. Crowson's survey was not complete, it would not be suitable to report it for all the religious parties in the country, but one thing is certain, that there are more professors of religion and a greater number of religious institutions in this newly acquired territory to our Union, than most people have supposed. The old adage has generally been applied to this country, *terra incognita*.

My short account of our society in this State must be given under the heads of the Associations which it contains.

THE UNION ASSOCIATION,

Of the Regular Predestination Baptist Faith and Order,

Claims priority of origin among the baptist institutions in this remote region. It was organized in 1838; the Minutes of the annual session for 1843 are before me, and in them I find a long epistle directed to me personally in the place of a circular letter. It was written by elder Daniel Parker, since deceased, but at that time the moderator and principal minister of the body. It is headed as follows :

"For the 'Western Predestinarian Baptist,' and through that paper to DAVID BENEDICT, Pawtucket, Rhode Island.

MR. BENEDICT,

Dear Sir :—A few days past, the second number of the first volume of your 'Historical Correspondent' came into my hand, and I am gratified at your progress in bringing out a full history of the baptist denomination, particularly as an honest historian, you seem willing that each sect may have a fair showing for themselves; consequently, as an anti-mission baptist, I gladly embrace the opportunity you offer in that paper to occupy a short space in your extensive history; to let the world know some few of the particular reasons or causes why we in the far west, or rather south-west, stand unyieldingly opposed to the missionary or effort operations of the day, in all their various forms and ways. Perhaps by this time, from your agent in Texas (Mr. Crowson), you have received from my pen a short account of the anti-mission baptist in Texas, with a copy of our Minutes; but I wish to make a few further remarks, and shall be short, lest I intrude on my privilege. This is not from the pen of the learned, yet I claim the right of a showing among the baptists. I have been upwards of forty years engaged in the gospel field, and a laborious EFFORT MAN; laboring day and night in the gospel of Christ, without fee or reward from man, except persecution, and working with my own hands to support and raise a large family under straitened circumstances. Over twenty-five years of that time, my labors and efforts have been hard and severe, both from the pulpit and the press, against the missionary operations of the day, firmly believing that the spirit and principle of which is the abounding of iniquity to the distress of Zion; and perhaps I have done as much in establishing the baptists in the faith which was once delivered to the saints against the corruption of the mission errors, as any man west of the Blue Ridge; and am now glad of the opportunity of bearing witness for the truth in your history of the baptists, by showing some few of the reasons why I have stood against those anti-christian things, as I view them. To better prepare the reader to understand us on these particular points, as we must be short, I shall present something of our views of the true christian religion." * * *

This open and explicit avowal of out and out *anti-mission* principles is highly creditable to this distinguished leader of the party, so far as honesty and self consistency is concerned; and throughout the extensive document the same tone and temper prevail. He seeks no concealment of the real issue between him and his friends and coadjutors as to missionary pursuits; he resorts to no circumlocution or evasion under the terms *Primitive* and *Old School Baptists*, but comes at once to the point and denounces all conventions, societies, and institutions of all kinds, for missions, foreign and domestic, and contends that the ministers of the gospel should go forth without appointment from the organizations of men, and without any stipulated compensations for their services. He represents all the institutions of modern times as incompatible with the simplicity and spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ. He comments severely on the money qualifications for membership in the B. Triennial Convention as they then stood, and makes a vigorous resistance against some statements in the 5th No. of the *Latter-Day Luminary*.

One more extract must suffice for this singular production.

mala gens; a good land, but a bad people. This is no doubt true to some extent. But the bad part of it has probably been much over-rated.

In my Hist. Cor. and Inq. for April, 1844, I find the following notice. Mr. Crowson obtained more than 100 subscribers, making in all, more than 200 he has sent me, among whom was President Samuel Houston, and Anson Jones, Esq., Secretary of State, whose original signatures have been sent me, with all the details of his journey. Two good agents were appointed for each section of the country, for the distribution of the work, viz.: Messrs. Tryon and Taber, so that I have matters in a good train for this new and remote region.

"Some think the distress occasioned by us will soon be done away; this may be the fact for a short space of time, about the end of the forty and two months that the Holy City is trodden under foot; and the twelve hundred and sixty days that the two witnesses are prophesying, clothed in sackcloth (which I believe to be the spirit and word of truth, prophesying through the church and ministry); and the beast which rose out of the earth, or, earthly-mindedness (which I believe to be the present mission principle), gives life or law-power to the image it is making to the first beast, and it arises as out of the Bottomless Pit, makes war with, and kills the church, and her ministry, which will lay the spirit and word inactive and dormant. Then no doubt there will be great rejoicing with all the workers of iniquity; but in a short time, to their sad surprise and eternal confusion, the God of Zion will raise his two witnesses to more splendid light, power, and glory, to the final overthrow of all their enemies.

"Some think that the baptists were always a missionary people; that the command to 'go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature,' proves that fact. To this, in part, we agree; but let us understand things, and not be deceived. The devil is a scriptorian; he tempted Christ in that way, and no doubt tries to deceive the saints by scripture quotations. There is evidently two opposite contending religions in the world. The devil has his ministers appearing as the ministers of righteousness; and Christ has his faithful watchmen, or ministers; and of course there are two missionary spirits in the world, one of God, and the other of the devil, both claiming the bible on their side, and to be the worshipers of God, and to do good to be their object, with equal apparent zeal. Paul was as zealous when a persecuting Saul, as when a preaching Paul. Now which is of God? The present 'mission effort spirit,' reduced to a system unknown to the Bible, as pertaining to the gospel, without church authority, or us, anti to that course of things, who are contending for scriptural ground, church authority, and gospel order, in sending or spreading the gospel." * * *

This Association at the date above given contained 8 small churches, numbering in the aggregate, less than 200 communicants; it is located in the northern part of Texas, in the counties of Washington, Houston, Nacogdoches, &c.

UNION ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1840; the circumstances attending its formation, its ministers, and members, have already been related; its churches are all so young that it is not likely that their doings would supply facts for general history if I had them at command, which, however, is not the case.

Rev. Messrs. Huckins and Tryon, who are located, the one in Galveston, the other in Washington Co., belong to this community.

PROVIDENCE CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.²

The dates of the churches are not given on the Minutes; the names of the pastors were H. Garrett, Z. N. Morrell, R. Ellis, W. M. Tryon, B. Baxter, J. Huckins.

The churches in this Association are situated in the counties of Washington, Fayette, and a number of adjoining ones.

SABINE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in Oct., 1843, with six small churches, containing, in the aggregate, less than a hundred and a half of members. This fraternity is located in eastern Texas, and probably took its name from the famous river which was formerly the dividing line between the Spanish Province of Texas and Louisiana.

Rev. Mr. Tryon wrote me soon after attending its second session, which was held at Border Church, in Harrison Co., in 1844. The services continued six days, and from his account, the season assumed the form of a protracted meeting, during which a considerable number were baptized, as is often done at their annual gatherings at the south and west.

Mr. T. closes his narrative with the following account of baptist affairs in this country:

"I have recently traveled and preached extensively in different parts of the Republic; the people hear the word gladly, while the Macedonian cry is coming to me from different quarters, *Come over and help us.*

² In 1846, it reported 102: 63 were added by baptism in that year; none of the other churches came up to three-fourths of 100. This is not strange with such a new institution.

"The Methodists are doing nobly in Texas; in almost every county they have their preachers, and in many instances, *baptists* have united with *methodist societies*; the reason assigned for this course is, that they have no baptist preaching, and no churches of their order to unite with."³

NORTHERN ASSOCIATION

Must be of very recent origin, but its date or locality, any farther than its name imports, I have not learnt. I have gone of its Minutes, and no correspondent within its bounds: of course, no items of its history can be given.

Closing remarks. I see nothing very peculiar in the history of the baptists in Texas, except the fact which has already been stated of so many of the denomination uniting with the Methodists for the want of a religious home of their own. Candid men will not blame so much the conduct of these baptist professors as the apathy of our people at home, who have neglected to supply them with ministers of their own order. As the Southern B. Convention have taken this great field of destitution on their list, and as, furthermore, they can work there free from the embarrassments which have in a measure hindered the efficiency of northern agents, it is to be hoped that soon a suitable number of good missionaries will be sent to co-operate with the few laborious men who are now on the ground.

Correspondents. The list for Texas is very small. Rev. Mr. Tyson has communicated more facts of an available nature than all others for my historical purposes. Elder Moses Crowson, whose name and vocation have already been mentioned, has done me good service. Rev. J. W. D. Creath, the son of an old minister in Virginia, with whom I was well acquainted, has lately addressed me a few lines with kind offers of assistance. The communications of these men, together with elder D. Parker's *sui generis* epistle, constitute the whole amount of my Texas correspondence.

³ This state of things is often mentioned in Mr. Crowson's Journals in Texas, which have already been referred to. Whether the methodists admit the correctness of this statement, I am not informed; but it would be natural for them to claim them all on their side, and count these baptist members as proselytes to their order.

CHAPTER XXI.

TENNESSEE.

SECTION I.

Early history—First company—Second Do.—three Divisions: Eastern—Middle—Western—Holston Association—Tennessee—Do. No. 2.—Nolachucky—Do. No. 2—East Tennessee—Powell's Valley—Mulberry Gap—Northern—Highwassee—Do. No. 2—Sweetwater—Do. No. 2—Ocoee—Sequatchee Valley.

Comparative view of the baptist interest in Tennessee.—According to Asplund's Register for 1790, the statistics of our denomination in what he calls *The Deceded Territory of North Carolina*, was as follows: churches, 18; ministers, *ord.* and *lic.*, 21; communicants, a fraction under 900. The churches were all embraced in the counties of Greene, Hawkins, Sullivan, Tennessee, and Washington, in the eastern part of the territory, adjoining North Carolina on the east, and Virginia on the north.

In 1812, when my tables were made up, the churches were 150, ministers 117, and communicants a fraction over ten thousand.

Allen's Register for 1836 makes the baptist population of this State, so far as church members were concerned, a fraction over twenty-seven thousand. The present number will be given at the close of the volume.

This longitudinal State stretches from North Carolina on the east, to the Mississippi River on the west; it is 430 miles long, and about 100 broad; it is naturally divided into *Eastern, Middle, and Western Tennessee*. Under these heads, I shall group together the numerous associational communities which it contains; some of them, indeed, are very small, and are mere fragments, fractions, and apologies for institutions of this kind; they have come into being as the results of the painful divisions of the denomination on missions and some local matters, yet so strong are a few of the more prosperous bodies, that on the whole, they average a little over a thousand each. Knoxville and Nashville are central positions, the first in the *eastern*, the other in the *middle* division.

Two companies of baptists, whose settlements were commenced at the distance of about two hundred miles from each other, laid the foundation for all the earliest churches which were planted in Tennessee; one settled on the Holston river, the other on the Cumberland; their localities and early movements will be described in the history of the churches which arose in these places.

The baptists not the earliest settlers in Tennessee.

In my 2nd Vol. are the following comments on the relative strength of the different denominations in this State, as they stood upward of thirty years ago. What party is the most numerous now I am not informed. Our society abounds in numbers, but for many years past there has been a great deficiency in union and efficiency.

The baptists were not, as in Kentucky, the first settlers in this State, nor have they been, as they are there, the most numerous denomination of christians. The presbyterians took the lead as a religious denomination here, and, in 1788, according to Morse's Geography, when there were but ten baptist churches in the country, and most of these very small, they had twenty-three large congregations. The methodists also made an early beginning in this State, especially in its western part, where they had collected many societies, and they are probably now the most numerous of any one denomination in the State. The presbyterians, however, are considerably numerous: and the baptists have increased much within a few years, and are now increasing very fast, especially in West Tennessee. This statement was made in 1812.

HOLSTON ASSOCIATION—*Eastern Division.*

As this is the oldest associational community in the State, I shall, under this head, give a few items of the history of the early adventurers to this region, and of their evangelical efforts in the new and rugged field which they explored.

It is said there were two churches gathered in this part of Tennessee, which was then a dangerous wilderness, some time before any of those arose whose history we are now about to relate; but they were broken up and scattered, during the time of the Indian war. The circumstances under which they were gathered, I have not been able to learn. They were probably collected some time after the year 1765, and broken up in the Indian war, which happened in 1774. One of these churches was on Clinch river, a few of whose members returned after the war, and the church was re-constituted by the name of Glade Hollow.

But the beginning of the first churches, which have had a permanent standing, was in the following manner: about the year 1780, William Murphy, James Keel, Thomas Murrell, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, Mathew Talbot, Joshua Kelby, and John Chastain, moved into what was called the Holston country, when it was in a wilderness state, and much exposed to the ravages and depredations of the Indians. These ministers were all Virginians, except Mr. Lane, who was from North Carolina. They were accompanied by a considerable number of their brethren from the churches which they left, and were followed shortly after by Jonathan Mulky, William Reno, and some other ministers and brethren, and among the other emigrants there was a small body, which went out in something like a church capacity. They removed from the old church at Sandy creek in North Carolina, which was planted by Shubeal Stearns; and as a branch of the mother church, they emigrated to the wilderness and settled on Boon's creek. The church is now called Buffalo Ridge.

In 1781, one year after the settlement of most of the persons above mentioned, five or six churches having been established by the emigrants, they, for their mutual advantage and edification, concluded to meet together in conference twice a year; this Conference, in a short time, they organized into a temporary Association, which they chose to place under the patronage and direction of the Sandy Creek Association in North Carolina. To this body they made annual returns of their proceedings, which they submitted for their inspection and approbation. But the remoteness of their situation rendered this measure so inconvenient that by the approbation of their North Carolina brethren, they, in 1786,¹ erected their body into a distinct and independent Association, by the name of Holston. This Association, at this time, consisted of the seven following churches, viz.: Kendrick's Creek, Bent Creek, Beaver Creek, Greasy Cove, Cherokee, North Fork of Holston, and Lower French Broad. The ministers belonging to it at this time, were Jonathan Mulky, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, James Keel, William Murphy, John Frost, and Alexander Chambers. A few of these ministers in a short time removed to other parts, but most of them became permanently stationed in the country, and were diligent and useful laborers in this part of the vineyard. Most of the early baptists in this region were of the *Separate* order; some, however were *Regulars*; but the

¹ Mr. Asplund, in his Register, dates this Association in 1788; but the date which I have given must be correct, as I took it from the records of the Association in 1810.

leading sentiments of both were Calvinistic, and there was so little difference in their notions of doctrine and discipline, that these names were soon forgotten, and they went on together with great union and harmony. This Association adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith at the time of its constitution, and still adheres to the doctrinal sentiments contained in that instrument.

Some refreshing seasons were experienced at different times among the churches within the bounds of this Association, and it progressed with a good degree of prosperity until 1802, when by a mutual agreement, a division which had some time before been proposed, was effected. The Association at the time of this division contained thirty-six churches, and between two and three thousand members. The line of division was from Powell's River to the Flat Gap, on the Clinch mountain, and thence by a crooked route to English's mountain. All the churches to the north of this line remained with, and retained the name and constitution of the Holston Association; while those at the south were dismissed to form a new one, which they called Tennessee.²

The Associations which have originated, wholly or in part, from this ancient community, will be named as they naturally occur in the course of the narratives, except the Washington, Va., which has been described in the history of that State.

I should be glad to give a list of all the moderators and clerks of this old fraternity from the beginning, but have no means of doing it; those of the last session will, of course, be named in the statistical tables.

DOUBLE SPRING CHURCH, *J. Riggs* pastor, was the largest in this old body in 1845.³

BUFFALO RIDGE, 1787, *Rev. M. V. Kitzmiller* pastor, is the next in size.

CHEROKEE, 1783, *Rev. Rees Bayless* incumbent, holds the third rank as to numbers.

JONESBOROUGH, *Rev. Wm. Cate* do., stands the fourth on the list as to numerical strength.

HOLSTON, *Rev. J. Edwards* the spiritual guide, holds a rank among the large fraternities in this connection.

There may be churches of a much less amount of membership, which still have more efficiency; my limits permit me to notice but a few in any of our associational confederacies; the figures decide the size, and in the absence of other information, I know of no better way than to go on as I have done.

It is a satisfaction to see such old primary communities hold on to their original principles, and at the end of three-score years appear so healthy and vigorous.

After all the curtailments this Association has had by supplying materials for new organizations, it is now located in the counties of Sullivan, Johnson, and a few adjoining ones in the north-east corner of the State.

Rev. Joshua Edwards, who is my principal correspondent for this, and a number of other Associations in this section of the State, informs me that the old Holston community has enjoyed very extensive revivals of religion within a few years past, by which its numbers have been greatly augmented.

² This account is taken in substance from my 2nd Vol., and from the early history of the baptists in this State, which was furnished by *Rev. J. M. Peck*, for the American Quarterly Register. Mr. P.'s account I should judge is founded on my statements, which were made from personal surveys on the ground, in 1810. The more modern history of all this region has been supplied me by the correspondents who will be named as I proceed in my narratives. To *Rev. Joshua Edwards*, the clerk of the body, am I principally indebted for this Association.

³ At the date above given, it reported 223; Buffalo Ridge, 221; Cherokee, 175; Jonesborough, 152; Holston, 135; Cobb's Creek, 121; Muddy Creek, P. Kuhn, 114; Beach Creek, 108. The ministers are not distinguished from the other delegates on the Minutes, but, for a rare case, they give the dates of the churches.

TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION,

As has already been stated, was formed from the Holston, in 1803; these two bodies, at first, were spread over most of the then settled parts of East Tennessee, and the one now under consideration extended quite to the Cumberland mountains. This old community has also been the mother of a number of those which now surround her.

BEAVER RIDGE CHURCH, *Rev. Robert Kimbrough* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁴

This Association is located principally in the counties of Knox, Blount, Sevier, Grainger, and Jefferson.

KNOXVILLE CHURCH, *H. Sears* pastor, is a member of this community; it is a young institution, which, as I learn from the former Minutes of this body, some years since appealed to their brethren abroad for pecuniary aid in favor of a new and commodious house of worship which they had lately erected, but had not then finished.

TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION NO. 2

Was formed by a seceding party from the old fraternity, in consequence of disputes about benevolent institutions; I have none of its Minutes, and have learnt but little of its history; it is reported by Mr. Newell as in a feeble and languishing condition.

I have thus departed a little from the collocation of the East Tennessee Associations as arranged for me by Messrs. Newell and Edwards, for the sake of placing this second on the list, according to its pedigree. At the time it was formed it was in juxtaposition with the mother body, but in process of time, others have risen up between them. I shall now follow the course marked out by my correspondents and coadjutors.

NOLACHUCKY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1828, of fourteen churches; all but two were from the Holston Ass. One party, as we shall see, has gone out from it, not in the most agreeable manner. Its present boundaries as to counties, are Grainger, Hawkins, Jefferson, Green and Locke.⁵

BLACKWELL BRANCH CHURCH, *J. Lang* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

The Nalachucky Association takes its name from a river on which a portion of its churches are located.⁷

This community employed two domestic missionaries within their bounds a part of the time in 1845, and appointed two others for the next year.

NOLACHUCKY ASSOCIATION NO. 2

Was formed of a seceding party, in 1839; it is now counted on the opposing

⁴ In 1846, it reported 258; M. of Richland Creek, 230; Third Creek, 226; Cedar Grove, 192; Dumplin, 185; New Hopewell, 151; Rocky Valley, 148; Little Flat Creek, 137; Beaver Dam, 132; Stock Creek, 127; Ellijoy, do.; Indian Ridge, 109; Union, 101; none of the others come up to 100. In this Association also, the ministers are not distinguished from the other delegates.

⁵ Rev. Wm. C. Newell is my author for this and most of the Associations in E. Tennessee. He has gone much into details of their history from their origin to the present time; he spent much time in traveling, examining their records, and deciphering the causes of certain local difficulties which have existed among them; but upon the plan of my summary and general history, but few of them shall I be able to refer to. Mr. Newell has lately entered the ministry; he was a lay brother during most of his historical inquiries on account of my work. To use a term much employed in the south and west, in historical inquiries, he is an *effort man* in full measure.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 234; Buffalo Creek, E. Millikan, 230; Bethel South, H. W. Taylor, 214; Money Creek, —, 125; New Prospect, John Kidwell, 111; Friendship, Jere. Hale, 97; Mill Spring, L. Dyer, 94.

⁷ This whole region of country I explored in 1810; my home was at the hospitable mansion of Phillip Hale, Esq., in the fertile valley of this quiet stream; he is since deceased. Jere. Hale, whose name appears among the ministers of this body, I suppose is his son.

794 EAST TENNESSEE AND POWELL'S VALLEY ASSOCIATIONS.

side, as to missions, &c., although the disaffection which led to the separation was at first about some matters of church discipline.

Rev. Messrs. T. Hill, H. Randolph, P. A. Witt, and Wm. Anderson were the most active ministers in this community; their Minutes I have not seen, but am informed that their numerical strength is but a little upwards of three hundred.

Relative to the cause of the division of the old Nolachucky fraternity, Mr. Newell writes as follows:

"Elder P. A. Witt, the moderator of the seceding party, concurs with me in opinion that all the contention, distress and division which has taken place in this body, *professedly* about missionary operations, &c., have been prompted mainly by a difference of doctrinal sentiments."⁸

EAST TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1839 with the following churches, viz.: Pleasant Grove, Clay Creek, Big Creek, and Concord; the ministers were Ephm. Moore, Jos. Manning, C. M. Philips, and J. M. Bryan; only the two first named were ordained.

The formation of this small interest was the result of one of the many schisms and divisions which occurred in E. Tenn., formerly and latterly, on the subject of the atonement.⁹

PLEASANT GROVE CHURCH, *Rev. R. Coffee* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

CLAY CREEK, *Rev. E. More* pastor, is the next in size.

This community is located wholly in the county of Cocke, which adjoins North Carolina on the east.

In the northern part of East Tennessee are three associational communities, which, as to their genealogy and geographical connections, have an intimate relation to each other, although on the subject of benevolence they are widely apart.

Messrs. Edwards and Newell have both placed the Mulberry Gap community first; this is right, if strict regard is had to its position with reference to their respective locations; but because it is much the oldest, and from it have originated the other two, I shall begin with the

POWELL'S VALLEY ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1817, when it was constituted, with a colony from the old Tennessee fraternity of 12 churches.

Their names were Gap Creek, Cedar Fork, Glade Spring, Big Spring, Cool Creek, War Creek, Powell's River, Thompson's Settlement, Davis Creek, Hinds Creek, Buffalo Creek, and Big Barren.

The ministers were J. Hall, R. Newport, V. Moulder, Geo. Walter, Jas. Hickey, Wm. Jones, Thos. Massey, Wm. Williams, R. Southern, S. Pitman, S. McBee, and H. Applegate; all but the two last were ordained.

This body abounds with churches: but one of them, however, comes up to three-fourths of one hundred; they are located in the counties of Claiborne, Campbell, and Anderson, near the southern line of Virginia, and a few of them are in that State.

Wm. Jones, R. Boyd, James Kinney, and Jesse Dobson appear to have

⁸ It has long been my decided belief that this holds true in many other cases. Mr. Newell continues: "Elder Witt, however, blames the *free-will* doctrine, as he terms it, with the whole missionary party, as leading to the formation of *their societies*, and maintains that the whole system is the offspring of the *Arminian doctrine*."

⁹ Mr. Newell has given a long account of the difficulties above referred to, in which Elder F. Moore seemed especially involved. Similar agitations and altercations were experienced in all parts of the country when the orthodox portion of our denomination adopted Mr. Fuller's Exposition of the Atonement, in preference to the old *particular* and *limited* plan. This was not a solitary case, and as the affair has now generally died away, it would probably be best to pass it by, even if my limits would admit its details.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 172; Clay Creek, 103; Concord, do. Mr. Newell, my correspondent, is a member of the last named church. He is not yet ordained.

been the first ministers on this ground. Elder Dobson was alive three years since, then 90 years old.

"This Association, of late years," says Mr. Newell, "seems to be distinguished for nothing so much as her opposition to the benevolent efforts of the times."

MULBERRY GAP ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1835; it was organized with nine churches; all but two came from the community last named. It took its name from that of the church where its first meeting was held.

In the last Minutes of this community, I find the following very commendable suggestion to their churches.

"Resolved, That we advise the different churches composing this Association to liberate their ministers, by placing in their hands sufficient means to enable them to preach the gospel as much as possible in the destitute churches and neighborhoods within her bounds."

The church called THOMPSON SETTLEMENT, *Rev. Jos. Bishop* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹ This and a few others are in Lee Co., Virginia. Those in Tennessee are in the counties of Hawkins, Granger, and Claiborne.

NORTHERN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839; it came off from the Powell's Valley community, on account of its opposition to the cause of benevolence. This new and vigorous interest entered at once into the business of domestic missions, and employed Messrs. C. H. Bootright, J. Aldridge, and Wm. Hickle to travel and preach among their feeble churches, and in destitute regions around them. In 1842, their missionaries reported as follows: traveled upward of 3000 miles, and baptized 300 save one. This young and active fraternity, at this early period, took a stand among the second class of her sister institutions in East Tennessee.

CLEAR BRANCH CHURCH, *Rev. C. H. Bootright* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

CEDAR FORK, *Rev. W. Hickle* do., is the next in size.

The counties of Grainger, Anderson, and Campbell, embrace the churches composing this Northern institution.

I shall now turn to the southern and south-eastern portion of this extensive division of the State, in which are the following associational communities, which, by my rules of impartiality, are entitled to some brief attention, viz: two Highwasseees, two Sweetwaters, Ocoee, and Sequatchee Valley; a minor portion of the churches which compose them are located to the west of Tennessee river, but most of them are to the east of that noble stream, and are scattered over a great extent of territory from the midland regions of East Tennessee, quite to the northern bounds of Georgia and Alabama. In the tract of country now to be explored, are the counties of Roane, Blount, Rhea, Munroe, McMinn, Polk, Bradley, Meigs, Hamilton, &c. The original communities, called Highwassee and Sweetwater, with their duplicates, appear to have taken the lead in baptist affairs in this part of the State; their history develops some incidents of a very pleasing, and others of quite an opposite character. I shall pass over the whole region with as much brevity as possible, so as to give all the important facts which may serve as references to my successors in this department.

Having made these suggestions in the text, and those which may be seen in the note below, I shall proceed to exhibit without note or comment, except what may be needful to illustrate historical facts, the origin, locality, and present condition of the institutions now under consideration.³

¹ In 1846, it reported 109; Greasy Creek, Jos. Gilbert, 138; Richardson's Creek, J. Day, 112; Blackwater, 104; Rob Camp, 95.

Wm. McNeal, Esq., the clerk of this Association, has also supplied me with a few items of its early history, which agree with those communicated by Mr. Newell.

² In 1846, it reported 228; Cedar Fork, 140; Puncheon Camp, 114; Locust Grove, 111; Bethel, 109; Zion Hill, 102; Clinton, 102; Indian Creek, formerly Mt. Pleasant, 100; Zion, 102; P. S. Gap, 100. As the ministers are not distinguished on the Minutes, I may have omitted the names of some of the pastors.

Rev. Joel Aldridge, one of the *triumvirate* of missionaries employed in the early operations of this community, has made me communications for the whole of East Tennessee, and one but a short time before he removed to Arkansas.

³ Mr. Newell, my correspondent and coadjutor, has taken much pains to explore this field, and has supplied me with copious details of all the transactions which have occurred within it; his

HIGHWASSEE ASSOCIATION⁴

Was formed in 1823; it consisted at first of the ten following churches, viz.:

Sweetwater, Hopewell, Pisgah, Estenallee, Zion Hill, Big Spring, Little Emery, Bullock Pen, Seminary and Tennessee. The ministers were George Snyder, Jesse Dobson, J. Courtney, Wm. Mitchell, J. Farmer, B. Deatherage, Thos. Hall, M. Sellers, Chas. Galloway and J. Conley.

This body, in the course of seven years, had attained a sufficient amount of numerical strength to dismiss a colony for the purpose of setting up the Sweetwater establishment.

Soon after that event, new and pleasant scenes opened before them.

Protracted Meetings. Religious gatherings of this kind were commenced in this region within the bounds of this community by the two Taliaferros, Charles and Richard, who got the hint of their nature and good efforts from the Religious Herald, of Richmond, Va.; they were soon joined by J. Selvidge, D. Brukner and others, and in a short time the practice prevailed to an alarming extent to the hyper-Calvinists, who viewed them as the nurseries of *arminianism* and disorder. But the good work went on—large accessions were made to the churches, and matters in general were in a prosperous condition until the temperance question, ministerial education, the B. State Convention, &c. introduced embarrassment and derangement, which resulted in the formation of a duplicate institution, which I shall denominate

HIGHWASSEE ASSOCIATION NO. 2,

Which was organized in 1836; as it is on the same ground, and was composed for the most part of men who had belonged to the mother body, I shall not attempt to go into a history of its origin or affairs.⁵

I have not seen the Minutes of either Assoc. of a later date than 1843; at that time

The PROSPECT CHURCH, *Rev. C. Taliaferro* pastor, was the largest in the missionary party.⁶

SWEETWATER ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Highwassee, in 1830; it began with unusual strength for a new country, having 17 churches and about 1100 members. The names of the ministers concerned in its organization are not given by my correspondent. *Rev. George Snyder* was the moderator, and *M. M. Spadden* was clerk of the first meeting.

This community was moderately prosperous for a few years, but at length it was doomed to experience the blighting influence of certain restless spirits, which led to a separation and the formation of a second interest on the same ground, which I shall distinguish as the

documents, with all others of the kind, will be carefully preserved for future reference, but over some of the scenes he has described I think it better for the present to spread the mantle of charity, and pity for the errors and mistakes of frail humanity, than to present them to the public on my stereotyped pages. The principal bones of contention were nominally *temperance societies* and the *Baptist State Convention*; but it is plain enough to be seen that there was among some of the contending parties too much of that spirit which our Saviour reprov'd among his disciples, as recorded, Luke ix. 46.

⁴ This name was derived from a river in a tract of land called the *Highwassee Purchase*, which was owned and occupied by the Cherokee Indians until 1817; it lies between the Highwassee and Tennessee rivers, in the counties of McMinn, Monroe, and some others.

⁵ In this case the missionary party was in the minority, and left the old body on account of disaffection with the opposing stand they had taken relative to missions, &c. I am informed by Mr. Newell that both parties claim the original platform. This is a point I shall not attempt to settle. Some remarks of my correspondent on this and a number of other cases of the kind will be inserted in the close of the history of the baptists in East Tennessee.

⁶ In 1843, it reported 217; Sequatchee, 130; Philippi, 126. The Minutes of the other party I have not seen at all.

SWEETWATER ASSOCIATION NO. 2.

This body was organized in 1837, and is the one which appears in the Catalogue of the B. Almanac. I have not seen its Minutes of a later date than 1843; at that time the

HOPEWELL CHURCH, *Rev. George Snyder* pastor, was the largest in this body.⁷

These Associations extend quite to the Georgia line, and one church is in that State.

OCOEE ASSOCIATION.

Respecting this young and feeble interest, Mr. Newell writes as follows:

"The Ocoee Asso. was organized in 1841, and consisted at that time of eight churches, which had been stricken off the anti-division of the Highwassee community."

The churches were all small, and when last heard from its numerical strength was about three hundred. It is located mostly in the counties of Bradley, Meigs and Hamilton.

"All the ministers in this institution take the anti-mission side except *Joseph A. Matthews*, who holds to a general atonement, and is inclined to favor missionary efforts. This body took its name from what was called the *Ocoee Purchase*."

SEQUATCHEE VALLEY ASSOCIATION

Was organized of churches dismissed from the Mud Creek Asso., in Ala., in 1833; in this last named State a portion of them are situated. This body has decreased from its commencement, and now numbers but a little over three hundred.

In the midst of moral and religious destitution, it, with a number of the other feeble and famishing fraternities of this region, maintains its stand against all the doings of their effort brethren.

I have thus brought under review all the associational communities of the effort and anti-effort parties, which, according to my plan of proceeding, claim a place in my narratives.

Mr. Newell has supplied me some historical sketches of two small companies in the southern parts of E. Tenn.; one is called *Double Spring Asso. of Free-Will Baptists*, the other the *Christian Society*—each containing about two hundred members.⁸ They do not appear to be in correspondence with either the mission or anti parties; but from his accounts of their sentiments, I am inclined to think that they do not symbolize with the denominations properly so called.

Mr. Newell's Remarks on Baptist Affairs in East Tennessee.

"In cases where duplicates occur, i. e., where there are two Associations of the same name, with sometimes *primitive* attached, the two bodies occupy the same territory, and their churches are intermingled. Such is the case with the two Nolachuckys, Tennessees, Highwassees and Sweetwaters. Powell's Valley and Northern also occupy, to some extent, the same ground.

"Where divisions have occurred about the effort question, both bodies in some cases claim seniority, and date back to the original organization. This is true, I believe of the Nolachuckys, Highwassees, and Sweetwaters. I call your attention to this, more particularly, because I am aware there are brethren in these bodies who are considerably sticklish about just such 'small matters,' and I am doomed to feel the wrath of those whom I make the younger, unless the matter can be so arranged or explained as to make it satisfactory.

"I have given the preference to neither party in this matter. In the case of Highwassee and Sweetwater, I make the effort the younger body; in that of Nolachucky, I make the anti the younger. Tenn. Prim., dates 1839. Of course, you will date each as you think it should be.

⁷ In 1843, it reported 204; Sweetwater, 136; Estanalla, 135; Liberty, 119; Salem, 111.

⁸ The *Free Will Baptists* uniformly denominate their annual gatherings *Yearly meetings*, instead of *Associations*; this mistake is often made by our brethren at the south and west. This want of proper distinction has caused me much trouble to ascertain the relationship between the parties north and south. If they would call them *Arminian* baptists, and nothing more, I should know what is intended. This is all they mean, in most cases; in other words, they reject some of the strong positions of high Calvinists.

"Nolachucky, anti, assumes the '*Primitive*,' as does Tennessee *anti*; perhaps all others retain the 'united,' except Sequatchee, which has dropped it without assuming any substitute, and E. Tennessee, which has not yet been christened.

"On the subject of Sunday schools, I have so little that I shall omit particulars. Now and then such a thing may be found among us, such as it is when found. Other denominations take the lead in this matter, and in some places our people join with them.

"Very few of our churches have made any improvement on the old 'monthly system.' That at Knoxville (Tenn. Asso.) has preaching every Sabbath. I am told that at Jonesboro' (Holston Asso.) twice a month. I know of no others that meet oftener than monthly."

I have not entered at all into the disputes above referred to, as to priority of dates. The question is not worth debating in institutions which, from their very nature, must be organized *de novo* every year. The delegates are appointed only for one session, and are out of office the moment it closes. But I must fix on some time to date their beginning, and my rule is, to count the party which secedes and withdraws and forms anew, as the younger of two, whatever ground they may occupy as to matters of question or debate.

SECTION II.

MIDDLE DIVISION.

General Remarks—Second Company—Mero District Asso., extinct—Cumberland—Concord—Stone's River—Red River—Salem—Round Lick—Caney Fork—Elk River—Duck River—Highland Creek—Liberty—Three Fork—Buffalo—West Tennessee.

THIS division extends from the Cumberland mountains on the east, to the Tenn. river on the west; and from the south side of the State of Ky. on the north, to Alabama on the south. It is a very important portion of the State, and embraces most of its population and enterprise. The other ends of the State, however, are making rapid advances in all respects, and especially so far as our denomination is concerned.

The four following Associations, which are still alive, viz., Cumberland, Red River, Concord and Elk River, are briefly described in my second vol. The accounts were made from my own observations and inquiries on the ground, as they stood upwards of thirty years ago.

Rev. Jesse Cox, the moderator of the Cumberland Asso., makes the number of associational communities in Middle Tenn. but a few short of twenty; he has placed in the list, however, a few which I have put down to the account of E. Tenn. I shall trace them out as I find them, according to their pedigree, position and family alliances, beginning with the oldest first.

I do not expect in this and the next division to be as accurate as I have been in the one I have just passed through, as my instructions, although quite ample, have not been so specific as to localities and dates.⁹

Having made these prefatory remarks, I shall proceed to give a short account of the early settlers of this portion of the State, in which the *Second Company* of baptist adventurers was found.

The settlements in this part of the State were not commenced till a number of years after those in East Tennessee had become large and flourishing. In the year 1780, a party of about forty families, invited by the richness of the Cumberland country, under the guidance and direction of Gen. James Robertson, passed through a wilderness of at least 300 miles to the French

⁹ Mr. Cox, although professedly opposed to modern operations in missionary affairs, and honestly and openly informs me that he does not expect that my work will meet his views to matters of this kind, yet he has at an early period corresponded freely and has taken much pains to aid me as to the history, location, &c., of all the Associations of which he had sufficient knowledge, and also to send me a good amount of Minutes of bodies which the childish prejudices of others hindered them from doing.

Lick, and there founded the town of Nashville, on the Cumberland river, and commenced settlements on the luxuriant soil in its vicinity.¹⁰

Some few baptist members, it is said, were among this company of emigrants, but no historical facts respecting them have come to my knowledge. All that I can learn respecting them is, that a church of a temporary existence, was gathered on one of the branches of the Red River, called Sulphur Fork, some considerable distance from Nashville, in 1786, and that one John Grammer was for a short time its pastor. But he soon removed to other parts, and the church was dissolved before any of those were formed which afterwards became permanently established.

From about 1790, we may date the commencement of the operations of the baptists in this region in anything like a systematic and effective manner, although a considerable number of families of the order were settled in the Cumberland country a number of years before.

The oldest church in this part of the State which maintained its existence, was formed at the mouth of Sulphur Fork river, in 1791. It was constituted by the assistance of elders Ambrose Dudley and John Taylor, from the Elkhorn Association, in Kentucky. These ministers, by the request of the brethren in this place, traveled not far from two hundred miles, mostly through a wilderness where they were continually exposed to be destroyed by the Indians.

This church at first was called *Tennessee*; it united with the Elkhorn Association, where it continued until the Mero District Association was formed. This church remained alone in the wilderness, having no other within more than a hundred miles of it, until 1794, when that on White's creek, in Davidson county, about six miles to the north of Nashville, was gathered.

The church at the head of Sulphur Fork was constituted in North Carolina, in 1795, and immediately after emigrated to this country in a church capacity, having, before their removal, chosen Joseph Dorris for their pastor, who was the occasion of much trouble to these infant churches in their early operations, as will soon appear.

MERO DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1796; it was the oldest in this end of the State, and although it was long since dissolved, yet its priority of formation demands a passing notice. It consisted at first of the five following churches, viz.: Mouth of Sulphur Fork, Head of do., Middle do., White's creek and Station Camp.

The ministers who assisted in raising up these churches, were elders Daniel Brown, Joseph Dorris, Nathan Arnett, and Patrick Mooney.

One of the churches on the Sulphur river has been named before; that called the Middle arose out of the old extinct church, which was formed ten years before; that at the head of the same stream, emigrated from North Carolina in a church capacity, with Joseph Dorris for their minister.

In 1797, the churches on Mill creek, Richland creek, and head of Red river, were admitted as members of this infant establishment, and for a few years more they enjoyed peace and prosperity, so that in five years from their commencement they had increased to eighteen churches, nearly as many ministers, and about twelve hundred members. But now its harmony was interrupted, and the seeds of discord were sown which led to its dissolution; and all arose from an unwise attempt to make the Association something more than an *advisory* body, and to exercise ecclesiastical authority in the discipline of a church for holding in fellowship a minister of alleged unchristian conduct.

This occurrence happened about forty years ago, and as the parties have

¹⁰ At first, and, indeed, so late as 1812, when my first edition of the history of the baptists was published, all this end of the State went under the name of *West Tennessee*, and so continued until about 1820, when the country *west* of the Tennessee river, and between that and the Mississippi, began to be settled, and took this name, as will soon be more fully described.

probably all gone from the stage of action, the details will be omitted. It is sufficient to say, that Joseph Dorris, a native of North Carolina, was the minister in question. Trial after trial was had without bringing matters to any satisfactory conclusion; divisions, as generally happens, ensued; and at the end of three years the Association resorted to the singular expedient of dissolving their body and forming a new one, into which the minister and his adherents were not received.¹

CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION

Was the name of the community which came into being in this singular manner, in 1803. Soon after this event, it began to prosper again, so that three years after it had increased to thirty-nine churches, and about nineteen hundred members. The bounds had now become so extensive that a division was thought necessary, and the mountainous tract of land called the Red river Ridge, which lies between Red and Cumberland rivers, was agreed upon as the general line of division.

The names of the Associations which have been formed wholly or in part from this ancient community, will be mentioned in their history. Of but one of the churches of old Cumberland shall I be able to give an account.

The **BIG HARPETH CHURCH** was organized in 1800, with twenty members, but one of whom was alive in 1843. The seat of the body is in Davidson county, 18 miles south of Nashville.

Rev. Garner McConnico became its pastor soon after its organization; by his efforts principally, this infant establishment was gathered. He died in the pastorate in 1833, in the sixty-second year of his age.² Successor to him was

Rev. James King, who continued in office but one year.

Rev. Jesse Cox, the present incumbent, was settled in 1835.

This church has been the nursery of ministers and other churches; from it have been set off at different times the following communities, viz.: **Wilson's Creek**, **Big Flat Creek**, **West Harpeth**, **Leper's Fork**, **Cool Spring**, one in Franklin, and one more which has since been dissolved. It is now the largest in this Association,³ which is situated almost entirely in Williamson county, in a central part of the State.

Although it is not the next in age, yet on account of its location and of its position in baptist affairs in this region, I shall place on my list the

CONCORD ASSOCIATION,

Which was formed from the Cumberland, in 1810; its boundaries at first were very extensive on both sides of the Cumberland river, and its churches were scattered almost fifty miles to the eastward of Nashville; but by the usual process of colonizing, its geographical limits are much reduced, and the famous city just named is probably not far from its centre. Extensive revivals of religion were enjoyed within the bounds of this community soon after its commencement. Its additions in 1812 were between eight and nine hundred, but in process of time it was doomed to encounter difficulties and divisions which I shall describe in the language of one of its oldest ministers:

¹ This was rather a novel case at that time. A few of the kind have occurred since, with Associations and churches too. This may be called dodging the devil to avoid him. Well regulated bodies will never need such expedients, and none who duly consider their nature and tendency will resort to them.

² When I was in this country in 1810, this distinguished preacher was in the midst of his labors and usefulness; it so happened that I did not see him, but heard much of his fame and ministerial success. The following anecdote of him I find in my second Vol., p. 256. During the great revival in that region, and the unusual gesticulations which in some cases attended it, one of the *jerkers* began his motions at one of his meetings; the preacher suddenly made a pause, and with a loud and solemn tone, exclaimed, "*In the name of the Lord, I command all unclean spirits to leave this place.*" The jerker immediately became still, and the report was spread abroad that *McConnico cast out devils.*

A brief memoir of this eminent man is appended to the Minutes of this Association for 1845; it will be preserved for my biographical work.

³ In 1846, it reported 159; **Wilson's Creek**, — 121; **B. T. Creek**, **J. Stevens**, 113; **Franklin**, 93.

"The *Concord Association* split on doctrine about twenty years past; both bodies called themselves Concord; the *Calvinistic* party claimed to be *first*, and the *Arminian* division was accounted the *second*.

"About ten years since, the first Concord split again on the missionary question, and formed a new Association called Stone's River. Thus this once flourishing body of churches was severed into three parts. * * The two Concords, however, came together about four years past."⁴

This community, from the period of the re-union here referred to, appears to have been prosperous and increasing; of but a few of its churches can I give any historical items.

MILL CREEK CHURCH was gathered in 1797; the seat of this old fraternity is but a short distance from the city of Nashville. For a long time it was the centre of baptist operations in all the region of country around.

Elder James Whitsett became the pastor of this people from early times, and continued to sustain the office upwards of forty years.⁵

CITY OF NASHVILLE. Our denomination, *à la mode*, were late on the ground in this famous metropolis of this section of the State; the presbyterians were the predominant party from the settlement of the place, and probably remain so still.

FIRST B. CHURCH was organized in 1820, under the ministry of Rev. Mr. Dabbs; it increased to between three and four hundred members, when the *Campbellites* or *Reformers* succeeded in making proselytes to their views of nearly the whole of this great and growing interest. The pastor and people, with their chapel, of course, all were brought under the influence of the *Reformers*.⁶

Rev. Peter S. Gale, now at Memphis, undertook the resuscitation of this dilapidated community; under his occasional services, the business of re-edifying commenced, and went on with some good success until 1831,⁷ when

Rev. R. B. C. Howell, D.D., then late pastor of the church of Norfolk, Va., was inducted into office. Under his ministry, this has become a large and flourishing community, and is now the most populous save one in the old Concord connection.

The McCrory's CREEK CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.⁸

SECOND CHURCH, Nashville, is of recent origin. Rev. J. R. Graves is its pastor.

⁴ Letter of Elder James Whitsett to the author, 1846.

⁵ I am pleased to put *Elder* against such ancient names. The hospitable mansion of this old friend was my home while I was exploring this region in 1810. He resides on the same side of the Cumberland river that Nashville is situated, a few miles up that noble stream, and but a short distance from the seat of the late Gen. Jackson. Then there was no more appearance of a baptist church in Nashville, than as if the old English *Five Mile Act* had been in full force, which forbid all dissenters from settling within that distance of any city, town, borough, &c.

At my instance, this aged minister has given me a brief statement of his pastoral services and relations, which I will relate in his own language: "Since I saw you (1810), I have aided in building three brick meeting-houses for the three churches I attended last; they are all on Mill creek. The one nearest me, and where my membership is, is one of the best in the country; it is 60 feet by 40, with galleries on three sides, and is well finished. The other two are of the same dimensions, without galleries.

"The first one named is far the oldest church (Mill Creek) now standing on the south side of Cumberland river. This church has branched out into five respectable churches; for the main body, I officiated as pastor forty-eight years; but I have now resigned the pastorship of all the churches formerly under my care."

The three churches on Mill creek are at no great distance from each other. Mr. W. mentions a church called Providence, in Rutherford Co., which he visited monthly 25 years. This became a large and flourishing community under the ministry of this successful and laborious pastor. "But it split on the missionary question, and neither party has done much since."

Mr. Whitsett closes his items of autobiography by saying, "I am now (1846) in my 76th year, having been in the ministry more than 50 years."

⁶ This people have still a large and strong church in this city.

⁷ Dr. Howell's Historical Discourse, 1843.

⁸ In 1846, it reported 335; First Nashville, 329; Mill Creek, 255; Bradley's Creek, Wm. Grimmer, 231; Union, John Bond, 190; Fellowship, 145; Sanders Fork, S. C. Odom, 133; Pleasant Grove, R. R. Barton, 129; Rutland, 115; Concord, 106; Enon, R. W. January, 102.

802 STONE'S RIVER, RED RIVER, AND SALEM ASSOCIATIONS.

As the fraternity next to be named is an immediate offspring of the one just described, I shall place it next on the list.

STONE'S RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the Concord, in 1837, as related by Mr. Whittsett. It of course, is on the same ground occupied by the mother body before its division, in the counties of Wilson, Sumner, &c., on both sides of the Cumberland river, to the east of Nashville, and at no great distance from that city.

The PROVIDENCE CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.⁹

I will now go up to the northern part of this section of the State, and describe one of the oldest associational institutions in this region, together with some of more recent origin.

RED RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Cumberland, in 1806; it took its name from a river which rises in Kentucky, and empties into the Cumberland a little below Clarksville. The churches to the east and south-east of this river, and of the Dividing Ridge between it and the Cumberland, remained in the old body; those on the other side united in the new interest.

This community embraced some of the oldest churches in what was then called *West Tennessee*; and so great was its enlargement, that, when my tables were made up for 1812, it stood a fraction the highest on the list, as to numerical strength, of any Association in the whole State. But its boundaries and strength are so greatly reduced, that it now numbers but a fraction over three hundred. It is located in the county of Montgomery, and perhaps some others in this State. One or more of its churches are in Kentucky.

The Bethel Association, which stands at the head of the whole corps of the institutions of the kind in Kentucky save one, went out from the *Red River* some twenty years since; it will be noticed under the head of that State.

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Concord, in 1822; it began with 27 churches, and nine hundred members. It is now the largest in this State, except the Tennessee and Big Hatchee. The ministers at its formation were

J. Lester, M. West, J. Wiseman, E. Maddox, T. Dunham, W. Flowers, J. Jones, M. Smith, J. Bond, H. Carey, J. Brown, J. Ruck, P. Lester, J. Fite, Jas. Bond, C. Hulbird. Only five of them are still alive, viz.: Fite, the two Bonds, Wiseman, and Maddox.

The DIXON'S CREEK CHURCH is the only one in this extensive community of which I have had any historical information; it was planted in 1800; its pastors, from the beginning, have been D. Burford, M. West, J. Ruck, and

Rev. John Wiseman, now in office; he assumed the pastoral care of this people in 1809; of course his pastorship has been almost forty years.

The foundation of this old establishment was laid while as yet the red men of the forest had hardly left the ground. This church stood alone in the wilderness for many years; her progress, however, was onward, and from her have been formed, wholly or in part, most of the sister communities with which she is now surrounded.

Deacon William Martin and a sister of his are the only members now living who were in the original constitution.

SMITH'S FORK CHURCH, the pastor not named, is the largest in this body.¹⁰ Its churches are located principally in the counties of Wilson and Smith, at no great distance from Nashville.¹

⁹ In 1845, it reported 114; Overalls, —, 102.

¹⁰ In 1845, it reported 169; Peyton's Creek, E. B. Haney, 167; Salem, H. Fite, 166; E. F. Goose Creek, same; Bledsoe's Lick, 160; Cedar Creek, 156; Falling Creek, W. Williams, 124; Dixon's Creek, 120; Round Lick, 117; Mount Tabor, B. Smith, 112; Prosperity, 105; Hogan's Creek, 98.

¹ Letter of Wm. Martin, 1846.

ROUND LICK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1836; as it went off from disaffection as to missions, it of course is on the same ground, and intermixed with the mother body.

The SALT LICK CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this connection.²

CANEY FORK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—; the seat, I should judge, from its Minutes, is in Warren Co., but I have no account of its rise or progress. It has many churches, most of them, however, are small, and its ministers are also few in number.

I will now go down to the more southern parts of this section of the State, and exhibit what scanty information I have obtained of the associational communities which are spread over the extensive field which remains to be explored before we go westward over the Tennessee river.

ELK RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was organized 1806, and was the third institution of the kind which arose in this portion of the State. My account of this community in my second Vol. represents it as small in its beginning, but rapid in its growth, so that when my tables were made up in 1812, it had become a large and flourishing interest, and embraced all the churches of our order in what was then called the *Elk and Duck* river country. What changes this ancient body have experienced from the long interval since my old accounts of it were written, I am not informed. Its Minutes for 1845 show its numerical strength to be between nine and ten hundred. The presumption is, that from her have proceeded, wholly, or in part, a number of the surrounding fraternities; but few items of its history, however, have I received. Its churches are all under the size which I put in my statistical notes. It is located in the counties of Lincoln, Franklin, &c., and extends to near the southern boundary of the State.

DUCK RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1834; it originated mostly from the Elk and Concord Associations, and probably took its name from a stream of some importance, which rises in the Cumberland mountains, and empties into the Tennessee, upwards of fifty miles to the west of Nashville.

This community is put down in the B. Almanac as over two thousand strong, but neither its Minutes or history have I been able to obtain, except that a seceding party have gone out from it which claims the same name. It is located in the counties of Rutherford, Bedford, Coffee and Lincoln.³

RICHLAND CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—. This body is also south from Nashville, and includes all the churches south of Duck river, and between it and the State line south; it is bounded by Elk river Association on the east. I have none of its Minutes later than 1841. It is located principally in the counties of Giles and Lincoln, and extends quite to the Alabama line.⁴

² In 1845, it reported 141; Round Lick, S. Bass, 106.

³ The date of this body I have inferred from elder Jesse Cox's papers. He places its origin the year after elder G. McConnico's death, which happened in 1833. Its location I have ascertained from the Minutes of the B. S. Convention for 1840, in which is found a hasty and very imperfect catalogue of the Associations in this State.

⁴ The membership of this body in 1846, elder Cox informs me, was a fraction under 1200. To him I am indebted for most of my scanty information relative to the dates and localities of a number of the Associations in this region.

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1837; it is located near the line of Alabama, and a few of its churches are in that State.

This is one of the very few Associations which is represented in the B. General Convention for this State. The counties of Lincoln and Bedford in this State, Limestone and Madison in Alabama, and a few others, embrace the churches in this community.

The BLUFF CREEK CHURCH, A. B. Gilbert pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

THREE FORKS ASSOCIATION

Must be somewhere in this region, but no information of its origin or progress have I been able to obtain.

BUFFALO ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1828; this fact I learn from its Minutes, which, with great propriety, informs its readers how many sessions the body has held. I have no information relative to the origin or progress of this community of between four and five hundred strong. It is located in a south-westerly direction from Nashville, in the counties of Hickman, Perry, &c.

The CONCORD CHURCH, J. Lancaster pastor, is the only one that rises above half a hundred.

WEST TENNESSEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the Cumberland, in 1817; it lies to the west of Nashville, near to the Tennessee river, in the counties of Humphries, Dickson and Hickman. Its present amount of membership is about three hundred and a third. In former times, I should judge, it was much larger; at the time of its formation, the old Cumberland contained more than a thousand and a half of communicants.

The term *West* is a *misnomer* now, yet it was appropriate when this body was formed.

But *Western* Tennessee, which I shall soon attempt to explore, is quite another concern.

I have now gone through this great middle section of this extensive State, and have named all the associational communities in it whose names and localities I could ascertain, excepting a number of border institutions, which have been described under the heads of Georgia and Alabama, or will be when I come to Kentucky.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 167; Poplar Creek, 115; Athens, A. —, 94. This date of the Minutes I have taken for granted; they are of the eighth session, but the clerk forgot to put on the year. But brother J. J. Smith has given me some hints which has led me to date the Association as above.

⁶ The line of division was as follows: beginning at Weakley's Ferry, on Cumberland river, running south to Timberridge M. H., thence south to the mouth of Lick creek, on Duck river, and thence south to the Tennessee river.—*Car's papers*. All the great territory to the west of this line was the field occupied at first by this Association.

SECTION III.

WESTERN DIVISION.

Boundaries and History—Forked Deer Association—Big Hatchee—Central—Western District—Obion—Big Sandy—Shoal Creek—Mississippi River—Regular Baptist—Mount Moriah—Bush River, and others.

FORKED DEER ASSOCIATION.⁷

This old community bears date from 1825; it had an existence of nine years, when the original name was given up and a new one assumed, as will soon be more fully explained.

Although this defunct institution, whose course was short and peculiar, has been struck from the list of living bodies in this State, yet I find it proper to place it at the head of this section, on account of its maternal relation to a number of the most important fraternities in West Tennessee. It arose in a central position in this end of the State, and from it have descended, directly or indirectly, most of the Associations, whether *mission, o-mission* or *anti-mission*, in this occidental territory.

Notwithstanding the Association now under consideration has gone to the shades, yet a book has been written respecting it, a thing which I have not before found in all Tennessee, oriental, occidental or central, from which the few following items I have gleaned:⁸ it was organized in Oct. 1825, with fifteen churches and between four and five hundred members. S. Dupuy was moderator, and J. W. Fort clerk of the first meeting. The annual doings of the body are very minutely detailed, and its circular letters are published; one of them, in defense of the peculiar sentiments of the baptists, is of unusual length and talent for such publications.

This body went on as usual, increasing in numbers, until 1834, when it underwent a change in name, and a reduction of about three-fourths of its numbers, and came out with the title of the

FORKED DEER ASSOCIATION, *revived.*

The Minutes for 1844 exhibit a few small churches, whose numbers, in the aggregate, did not amount to two hundred. It is located in the counties of Gibson and Henderson.⁹

BIG HATCHEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1828; it began with fifteen churches, most of which were dismissed from the *Forked Deer* fraternity.

Rev. P. S. Gale is my principal correspondent for this institution, which is now the largest in the whole State. The boundaries of this great and growing interest are as follows:

"Beginning at the mouth of *Forked Deer* river, the line runs south-west to Jackson, Madison county, thence east to Tennessee river. All West Tennessee south of this line is occupied by this Association. It has the two great rivers Mississippi and Tennessee on the west and east, and the State of Mississippi on the south."¹⁰

⁷ This is the name of a river of some importance, which empties into the Mississippi, about midway from Memphis to the northern bounds of the State.

⁸ This is a 12mo. Vol., of 130 pages, compiled by elder Smith Hanesbrough, and addressed, "To all the *old school baptists* in the Western district, and to all who wish well to Zion," &c.

⁹ There is a singular silence in elder Hanesbrough's History, as to the causes which led to the sudden suspension in the operations of this growing community, and the almost annihilation of its being. But as I would not be wise above what is written, I must leave the story as I find it.

After writing thus far, in looking over the communications of *Rev. J. J. Smith*, who sent me the book, my attention has been directed to the *erratum*, p. 130, which reads as follows:

"Between the Minutes of 1833 and 1834, on p. 87, the following clause was omitted: 'the Association met according to appointment, and organized on Saturday as usual, and on Monday agreed to dissolve, and did so.'"

¹⁰ Mr. Gale's MS. History of the Big Hatchee Association.

This is the amount of territory over which this body is spread: other and smaller institutions are located wholly or in part in the same region.¹

My correspondent has given accounts of the prosperous and adverse scenes through which this Association has passed; its troubles on the subjects of masonry, missions, &c., the constant augmentation of its numbers by means of evangelical efforts and religious revivals, and its diminutions by colonies going out from it by mutual agreement or otherwise, much more in detail than my limits will permit me to insert. Although this community has not existed quite a score of years, yet he makes three epochs in its history, which, in his estimation, are marked with some peculiarities. It is but a short time since they surmounted the difficulties in which they were often involved, in consequence of making the body a *Court* of appeal instead of a *Council of Advice*. After this point was settled, and its powers were well defined and understood, they went on with harmony and strength. Instead of the continuous history of this vigorous fraternity which my kind coadjutor has supplied me, my limits will admit of only a few select passages from his extended narratives:

"In ten years from 1835, there were added by baptism to this body upwards of twenty-four hundred members.

"Since 1838, the churches of Bolivar, Sommerville and Jackson have each erected a good brick house of worship; sixteen other churches have erected good frame buildings of different dimensions. During this period of eight years, about six thousand dollars have been contributed for benevolent purposes."

The following transaction, on account of the worthy stand which these western brethren seemed disposed to take in some important matters, I will relate entire:

"In 1844, at an extra meeting of delegates from the churches of this and some of the neighboring Associations, the following questions were proposed for discussion, viz:

"1. To act in accordance with the scripture instruction on the subject, ought each church to have her own bishop and deacons?

"2. Ought the bishop to devote himself wholly to the duties of his office, and should the church sustain him in so doing?

"3. Ought each church to assemble every Lord's day for public worship?"

Questions 4 and 5 have respect to the obligations on church members in temporal affairs.

"These questions were all freely and fully discussed, and unanimously answered in the affirmative; and by most of the churches measures are being taken for the purpose of carrying into practice the principles involved in them."²

The RUSSELL SPRING CHURCH, *Rev. Thomas Owen* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1845."³

Rev. P. S. Gale, the late pastor of this people, was then a resident member. He has since removed to Memphis.

CENTRAL ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836, with five churches, three ministers, and less than two hundred members. It originated from the *Forked Deer* community, after it had passed through the process of re-vivification. Its name indicates its locality

¹ The reader will perceive that much use is made of this river as a line of division for baptist institutions in both ends of the State. To those who are not familiar with the geography of the country, it may be proper to state, that this noble stream has its origin from different branches, which rise in the western parts of Virginia and the Carolinas, which unite a little west of Knoxville. It runs south-west, through the State of Tennessee into Alabama; it then turns and runs north-west, through Tennessee into Kentucky, and empties itself into the Ohio, near its mouth.—*Morse's Gazetteer*. Thus it becomes a convenient line of division, in both *East and West Tennessee*.

² *Rev. Mr. Gale's* communication, 1845.

³ At the date above named, it reported 243; Zion, 212; Big Black, 153; Mount Olive, G. W. Day, 138; Germantown, L. H. Bethel, 132; Brown's Creek, 123; Elm, 124; Philadelphia, 110; Cane Creek, 102; Bethany, 99; Lagrange, the same; Beaver Creek, 96. The Minutes are so deficient in arrangement and distinction, that it is highly probable some pastors are omitted and others improperly placed.

with respect to West Tennessee, which is principally in the counties of Gibson, Carroll and Haywood. This is among the vigorous and growing fraternities in this western region.

The **SPRING HILL CHURCH**, *Rev. J. W. H. Mays* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁴

ELDAD CHURCH, *Rev. S. P. Clarke* pastor, is the next in size.

WESTERN DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1822; its date I learn from its Minutes, but no historical sketches of it have been received.

This and the West Tennessee community are two distinct institutions; this is later in its origin by five years; it is beyond the great river which gives name to the State, and near the northern parts of this western division, in the counties of Weakley and Henry.

As this community arose soon after this end of the State began to be settled to any considerable extent, it is probable that it then embraced the whole baptist interest in this *Western District*, as it was then denominated.

The **HOPEWELL CHURCH**, pastor not named, is the largest in this connection.⁵

These three Associations, about two years since, embraced the greater part of the population in West Tennessee, which took a decided stand in favor of the cause of benevolence; since then a new institution has come up, which is probably on the *effort* side, by the name of the

SOUTH-WESTERN DISTRICT ASSOCIATION.

It was formed by a division of the one last named, in 1846. *Rev. Elijah Autry* was the moderator, and *Rev. Josiah P. Arnold* clerk of the first meeting. Among the first doings of this infant community, they

"Resolved to earnestly recommend to the pastors a sufficient remuneration, that they might be enabled to spend a part of their time in destitute places within their own bounds."

The **MOUNT COMFORT CHURCH**, *E. Autry* pastor, is the largest in this body,⁶ which is located in the counties of Carroll and Henderson.

OBION ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1827; I have none of its Minutes later than 1841, then it had a little upwards of 20 churches, 12 ministers, and about 800 members. There is a river and county of this name in the north-west part of this State, from one of which this institution probably took its name.

The church called the **W. F. OF OBION**, *T. Daniel* pastor, was the largest in this body at the date above given.⁷

⁴ In 1845, it reported 164; Eldad, 123; McLemonesville, J. M. Hunt, 115; New Hope, S. P. Clarke, 104. *Rev. J. W. H. Mays* is my correspondent for this Association. He has supplied me with the history of most of the churches.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 120; Mount Comfort, E. Autry, 113; Rushing Creek, 101; Birds Creek, 100; New Prospect, 94.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 100; Hopewell, 96; New Prospect, P. W. Stark, 94. The fact of this body coming from the W. District, is not named in the Minutes of the Convention which sanctioned its formation, but I infer it from what is said about dividing the old Western community, in the Minutes of 1845.

⁷ It then reported 103; none of the others come up to 100. The B. Almanac, in former years, had *Obion* No. 2 on its list of Associations, but Mr. Cox informs me that no such institution now exists. In the history of the *Forked Deer* Association, I find it opened a correspondence with the *Obion*. A few years after, this intercourse was suspended for a short time, on account of the difficulties of her sister community at home, which, from a number of statements, I infer was with the *Clark's River* Association, which is now counted in the Kentucky list, it being partly in that State. The same may be said of the one under review, but statistical writers in both States place it under the head of Tennessee.

THE BIG SANDY AND SHOAL CREEK ASSOCIATIONS

Are in this same region of country, as I infer from the fact that they are often named as being in correspondence with other institutions here located; but I have not sufficient information respecting them for the construction of separate heads. They are probably small communities of what they call the *Old School Baptists*, of not many years' standing.

I shall now give some account of the Associations which have gone out by mutual agreement, or otherwise, from the Big Hatchee. The first on the list is the

MISSISSIPPI RIVER ASSOCIATION,

Which was formed in 1833, by the consent of the mother body; it is located immediately on the great river whose name it bears, in the south-west corner of the State. It has never been very prosperous, and at present it is said to be in a divided condition. The session for 1846 was held in Shelby county, which is probably a central position for this feeble interest.⁹

REGULAR BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a seceding party from the Big Hatchee, in 1835. Mr. Gale's account of the formation of this so-called *Regular* community, which in the outset was named *Little Hatchee*, is as follows:

"This second division of our fraternity occurred not as before, merely for convenience, but on account of disaffection in the business of missions," &c.

I have the Minutes of this body for its first session, but none of a later date. The *credenda* of this people is very fully set forth in their *Abstract of Principles*:

"Article 12th. We believe, from experience, the Missionary, Bible, Temperance, Tract, and Masonic Societies, S. S. Unions and Theological Seminaries to make preachers for the Lord, are destructive to the peace and fellowship of the baptist churches; therefore, we will not tolerate any member of our churches in any of the above named societies. But all aims-deeds any member is at liberty to perform; *Provided* he does not let his *left hand* know what his *right* doeth."

This community, at first, was located principally in the counties of Harde-
man and McNairy.

MOUNT MORIAH ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838; it began with a few churches, all of which were dismissed from the prolific mother, whose affectionate or disaffected daughters are now under consideration. This community is on the borders of Mississippi, and one or more of its churches are in that State. As a whole, this fraternity sympathizes with the opponents of benevolent institutions, but they are not all agreed on this question.⁹

This institution exhibits more vigor and success than generally appears among those which are counted of the *anti* or *non-effort* class.

BUSH RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—; my impression is, that it is in Middle Tennessee.

I have often met with the name of this body, which is said to be about 400 strong; but as yet I have not ascertained its date or locality.

Summary Account of other Associations.

From the communications of my various correspondents, of different views as to matters of dispute among the baptists in this State, and from what I have

⁹ This is an entirely different body from the one which I have placed under the head of Louisiana. They are both on the same river, but a long distance apart. As to evangelical efforts, they are on opposite sides.

⁹ Mr. Gale has furnished me the date of this Association. I also find it on the Minutes which show the number of its annual sessions. *Rev. J. J. Smith* has supplied me the following item as to its position in missionary affairs: "Mount Moriah has a large majority of the *anti* class, though a goodly number of her members are dissatisfied with her *anti* principles, and will probably leave soon, and join a missionary body."—*Letter of 1845.*

read in the Minutes of various Associations of the bodies with which they correspond by letters and messengers, I have ascertained that, in addition to the two score already named, there are yet in this State, and in the Middle and Western Districts, the following additional communities, viz.: Indian Creek, Laurel River, Muddy River, Mount Zion, and Predestinarian.¹⁰ There are also duplicates of the *Cumberland* and *Duck River* Associations, which have not yet been counted.¹

Border Associations. I have met with a number at different points; as the Washington, in Virginia, Big Ivy in North Carolina, Flint River, Mud Creek, and Shoal Creek in Alabama, and some of the Mississippi institutions. On the line of Kentucky, we find the Bethel, Little River, 1 and 2, Clark's River, Drake's Creek, Gasper River, &c., which are partly in this State. The Tennesseans put some of these bodies on their lists; but, as I have described those on the lines of the States I have gone over, under their respective heads, and as I shall place those in Kentucky in the catalogue for that State, I shall omit them here. In no case do I split an Association in two, for the sake of giving each State its due, but count them all where their greatest amount of membership and influence lies.

Colored Members. In but a few cases is there any information as to the proportion of this class of baptist communicants in any of the Tennessee Minutes.

Rev. Matthew Hillsman, of Chattanooga, East Tennessee, is the only man who has given me any information on this subject; his general conclusion is as follows: "One-fourth would be a sufficiently high estimation for the whole State; many churches have large numbers of colored members, while in many others there is not one to fifty."

Closing Remarks. Although our denomination has existed in this State for more than half a century, and of late years has rapidly increased, yet very few efforts have been made to elicit and combine its strength, or to ascertain with much certainty the number, names and localities of the Associations which have risen up within its bounds. No local historian or statistical compiler has supplied me with those facilities which I have found in most of the other States. A good Providence, however, has so disposed the hearts of men, who differ widely from each other in some matters of faith and practice, that probably without any knowledge of each other's movements, they have rendered me very timely and essential aid.

In the proceedings of the seventh annual session of the *B. S. Convention*, which was held in 1840, I find the list of Associations more full than in any printed document I have seen; but the dates are not given at all, and the localities are very imperfectly defined.²

By putting together all the facts which have been communicated, I have brought out my brief narratives in a better shape than I expected to do. I was conscious of being very well prepared at the two ends of this long territory, but I was most concerned about the *Middle*, where the greatest baptist strength is found, but where there is a want of freedom of intercourse and co-operation between the two great parties which have split on missions and other matters. In this section, notwithstanding my fears, I have ferreted out the dates and localities much beyond my expectations.

The want of experience and skill on the part of clerks and printers in making up and bringing out the Minutes and proceedings of their public bodies, is common to most of the States south and west, but this State stands as high as *par* as to this sort of thing. My com-

¹⁰ In the Minutes of the Liberty Association. I find Big Bear Creek as one of its correspondent communities. Elder Wm. Matthews was the messenger from it. I have seen no mention made of this institution in any other document, written or printed. It may be the Mississippi community whose locality I could not find.

¹ Dr. Howell supposes the baptist Associations in the whole of Tennessee, of all sorts and sizes, amount to 45; elder Cox has made me a list of 51; in it, however, he has a few which I place under the head of other States. Historically speaking, it is no part of my present business to settle the question whether there are too many or too few—completeness of enumeration is my aim.

Among the *disjecta membra*, the fragments of communities which the unhappy divisions of the denomination have thrown out of their former connections, there may be some associational interests not yet named. The country is so full of baptists, that it is no hard matter to get up new confederacies at a short notice, such as they are.

² Elder Jesse Cox, whose name is often referred to in my narratives, has supplied me in MS. with the most complete list I have had for the whole of Tennessee.

ments, however, on this whole business, will be reserved till I have gone through all the States which are now before me.³

On the whole, I should judge the baptists in Tennessee are pretty *full of efforts* after all, of some kind or other, and that most of them are directed to the promotion of the cause of evangelical religion, and the propagation of our peculiar sentiments.

B. S. Convention. This is a central institution, and receives the co-operation of the local bodies, which are *General* for those who join them at each end of the State. The history of this *triumvirate* of *General Associations*, and all that pertains to their doings, severally or conjointly, must be a subject of future description. For some cause, an unusual degree of hostility has been shown towards the *General Convention*, properly so called, by the opponents of missionary operations. This spirit has appeared more acrimonious and severe than I have seen in any other State as yet.⁴

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

Hitherto our people have had nothing of the kind which they could call their own, of much permanency or efficiency. Late reports exhibit a commendable degree of zeal and liberality in favor of a projected seminary of the liberal class, to be called

The UNION UNIVERSITY, to be located at Murfreesborough.

Correspondents. A very considerable number of those who have addressed me from this State have had special reference to the sale of my work; the names of such as have made extra efforts to supply me with materials for its construction, have already been mentioned in the course of my narratives. I will now recapitulate the whole list, and include all who have made any additions to my stock of historical knowledge, as to all classes of Tennessee baptists, with the omission of titles and localities. My general course will be from east to west:

Wm. S. Newell, Joshua Edwards, Joel Aldridge, Wm. McNeil, Matt. Hillsman, J. A. Bullard, R. H. Taliaferro, Reese Bayley, M. Burkhalter, R. B. C. Howell, Jos. Whitsett, Jesse Cox, John Bond, John Wiseman, Wm. Martin, J. M. Watson, M. Hodges, T. Vaughn, O. J. Fisk, J. C. Holt, P. S. Gale, J. J. Smith, J. W. H. Mays, A. Kean.

The Tennessee Baptist, the organ of the denomination in this State, has been very attentive to my wants, to notice my Circulars, &c.

³ For the readers of the chapter on Tennessee, who have anything to do with the documents in question, I would here say, that among the greatest evils I find in them, is the want of any distinction between the ministers and lay delegates—having a list of counties—of giving the dates of the churches and Associations. If they would say fifth, tenth, or twentieth annual session, and not forget to name the present year, all can easily tell the age of the body.

⁴ We must bear in mind that the baptists in some of the States south and west are admitted to be far behind the older States. As to organizations, they are encountering what has long since been got over in other regions. Both in England and America, the *old baptists* were as much afraid of Associations as those who call themselves of the *old order* are of Conventions. This accounts for the fact of so many unassociated churches half a century ago. But they came in by degrees, and such will be the process in this case. The opponents are not Methuselahs, and the next generation will not follow all their *new* steps.

CHAPTER XXII.

KENTUCKY.

SECTION I.

Comparative views—Early history—Associations—Elkhorn—Licking—Long Run—Middle District—Franklin—Sulphur Fork—Mount Pleasant—Boone's Creek—Baptist—Concord—Ten Mile—Northbend—Campbell Co.—No Union—Bracken—Greenup—Burning Spring—North District.

IN 1790, according to Asplund's Register, there were in this State three Associations, viz.: Elkhorn, South Kentucky, and Salem, all which were formed in 1785; forty-two churches, and a little over three thousand communicants.

When my tables were made up in 1812, the statistical account of Kentucky stood as follows: Associations, 13; churches, 263; ministers, *ord.*, 148; members, a fraction over 17,000.

Allen's Register for 1836 makes the baptist population in this State, so far as communicants were concerned, a fraction over thirty-five thousand. The increase for the last ten years has been very great, as will be seen in the tables at the close of the volume.

For the early history of the denomination in this State, I shall insert an article which was prepared a few years since by an able hand in all that pertains to baptist history in the *Western Valley*.

"Many of the early settlers of this State were baptists. Some came as early as 1775, and several baptist ministers, among whom were the late John Taylor, and Lewis Lunsford, (known in Virginia as *The Wonderful Boy*,) made a visit to this land of promise. They returned to Virginia for a period, without constituting any churches. The few brethren they found in the country were in an unpleasant state, cold and neglectful in religion, constantly exposed to Indian depredations, and destitute of provisions in a great measure, except what the wild game furnished. The soil was luxuriant, and the country enriched with all the beauties of uncultivated nature. The people lived in 'stations,' or forts. These ministers preached a few times, and gave the people such advice as suited their circumstances.

"About 1781, several baptist preachers and many brethren migrated to this new country. At that period, removal from Virginia to Kentucky was a slow and hazardous business. Two modes were adopted, one by land, the other by water. The first was performed on horseback, with a few bare necessaries of life on pack horses, over a vast tract of mountainous wilderness. Exposure to attacks from the Indians compelled them to perform their journeyings in caravans, with sentries stationed round their camps at night. The other mode was to embark on the Ohio river in a flat boat, and float down with the current to Limestone, or to Bear-grass Creek, (now Maysville and Louisville,) the two principal landings.

The church called Nolinn is supposed to have been the first Protestant religious society organized in the great West. The church at Gilbert's Creek was organized in Spotsylvania county, Virginia, under the pastoral charge of Lewis Craig, and removed in a colony to Gilbert's Creek, south of Kentucky river, according to Asplund, in 1783. Cedar Fork Church is also dated 1782. At the close of 1785, there were three Associations, twelve churches, and thirteen ministers in Kentucky, and perhaps more. The ministers' names, as recorded by Asplund, were Lewis Craig, Joseph Bledsoe, George S. Smith, Richard Cave, James Smith, James Rucker, Robert Elkin, John Taylor, William Taylor, James Tanner, John Bailey, Joseph Craig, and Ambrose Dudley.

"The baptist emigration into this State was, in a great degree, from Virginia. A few families came from the Red Stone country in Western Pennsylvania, and a few more from

New Jersey. This denomination was not only the earliest in preaching the gospel and forming churches, but for numbers and influence held the ascendancy for many years. It is still the most numerous, influential and wealthy denomination in the State.

"In 1785, the baptists had become sufficiently numerous in Kentucky to form three Associations,—the *Elkhorn*, in the region north of the Kentucky river, composed of three churches, Tate's Creek, Clear Creek, and South Elkhorn; the *South Kentucky*, of Separate baptists, in the country south of the Kentucky river, consisting of four churches, Rush Branch, Head of Boon's Creek, Gilbert's Creek, and Pottinger's Creek; and the *Salem*, in what is now Nelson county, of four churches, as Cox's Creek, Severn Valley, Cedar Creek, and Bear-grass churches."—*American Quarterly Register* for 1841. The article was prepared by Rev. J. M. Peck.

The Regulars and Separates in Kentucky. These distinctions, which we have described under the head of Virginia, the Carolinas, &c., began early to appear in this western region; the parties which maintained them, were the lineal descendants of the same people in the east, and here again we find the successors of *Stearns*, *Marshall*, and other *New England New Lights*.

The Elkhorn and South Kentucky Associations embraced the substance of the two parties in the early movements of the baptists in this new region, and by these bodies a reconciliation and *union* was effected similar to those which have been described in Virginia and North Carolina.

The meeting for this purpose was held at Howard's Creek M. H., in Clark county, in 1801. A. Dudley, J. Price, J. Redding, D. Barrow, and R. Elkin represented the *Regulars*; D. Ramey, Thomas J. Chilton, M. Bledsoe, S. Johnson the *Separates*.

The negotiations, the terms of union, and the whole process of adjustment, by which the term *United Baptists* was agreed upon as a substitute for the old names which these people had brought with them over the mountains, are described in the article from which the foregoing extracts are made; they are taken from my second Volume, pp. 236—240.

Mr. Malcom's Tables. The statistical account of the baptists in this State was made up with great labor and care, for 1843, by Rev. Thos. S. Malcom, then pastor of the Second Church of Louisville, now Cor. Sec. of the B. P. Society, Philadelphia. This document must be my guide where Minutes are wanting, which I am sorry to find is the fact to a greater extent than in any other State which I have yet passed through: and in historical sketches I am more deficient still; but such as I have, I shall present to the public.¹

Having, by the aid of my correspondent and coadjutor for the *great West*, presented the account of the early movements of our society in this State, I shall, as usual, give its continued history under the head of *Associations*.

Geographical Divisions of the State.

For my convenience, I shall group the long catalogue of fraternities now to be brought under review under three heads, viz.: *Northern*, *Southern*, and *Western*; my lines of demarcation will be rather loosely drawn, but my laws of genealogy, juxtaposition, and geographical connection, will be as closely adhered to as circumstances will permit.²

ELKHORN ASSOCIATION—NORTHERN DIVISION.

This old confederacy, as has already been stated, was organized with three churches, in 1785. The churches of which it was at first composed, viz.: Tate's Creek, Clear Creek, and South Elkhorn, were all constituted the same year in which they associated.

¹ I have found a great degree of inertness in this State; a portion of the brethren have responded to my calls in a very prompt and satisfactory manner, but in too many cases it has been far other wise, and I have found it very difficult to obtain even the Minutes of Associations; and without Mr. Malcom's list, I should be in what they call a *bad fix any how*, as to many of the semi-hundred associational communities in old Kentucky.

² I have applied to the two Malcoms, father and son, and also my friend Mr. Buck, of the *Banner* and *Pioneer*, and others, for some suggestions as to the sectional divisions of this State, which should accord with the local views of the citizens; but as none of them have marked out any plan, I have ventured to adopt the one above proposed.

To attempt to describe such a mass of institutions in an alphabetical or chronological order, which would lead me from one extreme of the State to the other in quick succession, presents a task which I am not willing to encounter.

I want to see the end from the beginning, and know what general course I am to pursue.

In my second Vol., I find the following brief historical sketches of the early movements of this Association, which I made from personal inquiries on the spot, in 1810.

In seven years from its commencement, this growing interest had increased to upwards of twenty churches, which averaged nearly a hundred members each.

In 1801, the returns of members added by baptism amounted to three thousand. The next year, twelve more churches were added, which augmented its total of communicants to about five thousand and a third. Such unusual accessions to its numerical strength was in consequence of the extensive and long-continued revivals of religion which were experienced within its bounds.

At the date last given, this body had probably attained the acme of its prosperity under its first dynasty; a series of difficulties occurred soon after the prosperous scenes just described, which materially affected its harmony and hindered its advancement. But she has since come back, and, indeed, gone beyond her former numerical strength, and now, as to the amount of its membership, stands at the head of the list of Associations in this State.

Strong baptist interests are found in Lexington, Georgetown (the seat of the Baptist College), Great Crossings, Stamping Ground, David's Fork, Big Spring, and other important locations within the bounds of this old establishment, but no materials for the construction of their history in the briefest manner have come to hand.

CITY OF LEXINGTON. Near to this place, *Rev. John Gano* settled when he first removed to Kentucky. It has since become distinguished for baptist members, especially of the colored race.

The AFRICAN CHURCH in this city, *Rev. L. Ferrell* pastor, is the largest in this body.³ This church is said on the Minutes to be "auxiliary to the First Church;" as I understand the matter, it is an *imperium in imperio*, with respect to the church of whites. It is reported to be "orderly and flourishing, and has preaching every Lord's day."⁴

This old body is located principally in the counties of Woodford, Fayette, and Scott, in a central position with respect to the oldest settlements of the State.

John Taylor, A. Dudley, L. Craig, Jos. Redding, John Gano, John Sutton, Wm. Hickman, A. Easton, J. Gerard, W. Waller, J. Price, Wm. Marshall, D. Thompson, J. Wood, the two Dupuys, John and James, Joseph Rucker, Elijah Craig, and John Tanner were all the ordained ministers in the Elkhorn Association in 1790.⁵

These were the men by whom the first churches of our order were planted and nourished in this then central part of the State.

LICKING ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Elkhorn, in 1809; as its formation occurred in consequence of some disputes about matters of church discipline, it arose on the same ground of the parent institution, and three of the prominent ministers of the *old*, became leading men in the *new* connection, viz.: Dudley, Price, and Redding.

³ In 1846, it reported 1143, First Church, W. M. Pratt, 264; David's Fork, 615; Stamping Ground, J. D. Black, 612; Great Crossings, Y. R. Pitts, 392; Hillsborough, 274; E. Hickman, R. T. Dillard, 250; Mount Pleasant, —, 235; Glen's Creek, J. L. Walker, 221; Georgetown, D. R. Campbell, 209; Paris, G. G. Goss, 198; Bryant's, E. Darneby, 186; Mount Vernon, L. W. Seeley, 174; Clear Creek, —, 125; Dry Run, 122; Big Spring, —, 115.

⁴ This is not the case generally in this State, even in the most populous places; they are gaining slowly on the old monthly system, but when I was in this State in 1829, I could not hear of a single church in any location which had a *stated pastor*, in the proper sense of the term. The late Dr. Noel came the nearest to a regular pastorship of any minister in the whole State of which I could gain any information: He was the pastor of two churches, viz.: Frankfort and Great Crossings, and from both received a moderate support; this was then a new thing in this region.

⁵ Asplund's Register for 1790.

This Association, at present, is spread into many counties; most of them appear to be located in those of Fayette, Bourbon, Scott, Anderson, Clarke, and Owen.

The church called BRIAN'S, formerly BRIAN'S STATION, *Rev. T. P. Dudley* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

LONG RUN ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Salem, in 1803;⁷ the Salt river was the dividing line between this and the mother body; it embraced all the churches to the north of that river, and received its name from a small stream near to which its first session was held. Its location, at first, was between the Salt and Kentucky rivers; it extended westward to the Ohio river, and a few of its churches were in what was then called *Indiana Territory*.

This community holds the third place as to numerical strength among the kindred institutions in this State; only the Elkhorn and Bethel are before it.

CITY OF LOUISVILLE. This famous emporium is within the bounds of this important fraternity. I have been enabled, by the aid of Mr. Malcom's Tables and the later Minutes of the Association, to exhibit the baptist interest in this city.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Church, - - -	1815	A. D. Sears, - - -	410
Second Church, - - -	1838	T. S. Malcom, - - -	171
East Church, - - -	1842	Wm. C. Buck, - - -	44
First Colored, - - -	1842	Henry Adams, - - -	644

The Second Church, then under the pastoral care of Mr. Malcom, published a Church Manual soon after it was formed, and it is the only thing of the kind I have as yet found at the west.

Historical Sketches of the Long Run Association. I find a number of valuable articles pertaining to the early and also the more modern history of this old community, in its Minutes for a few years past. In those for 1842, is a complete list of the moderators, clerks, preachers of first sermons, places of meeting, &c., &c.

James Dupuy was moderator, and *Wm. Ford* clerk of the first meeting.

The moderators since, have been John Penny, John Taylor, Wm. Kellar, George Waller, Wm. C. Buck. Taylor served one year, Kellar three, Penny ten, and Waller just a quarter of a century without intermission. Buck has presided since 1843.

The clerks have been Wm. Ford, Wm. McCoy, John Scott, Z. Carpenter, S. T. Toneray, P. S. Fall, R. Gailbreath, Samuel Dupuy, J. L. Waller, James Wilson, Jacob Elliot, T. S. Malcom, Isaac McCoy.⁷ I have no Minutes later than 1845.

Some items of the doings of this ancient fraternity for forty years are mentioned in Mr. Malcom's extracts from its records, all of which indicate vigilance, caution and success.

In 1811, when I was preparing my tables, to which I have so often referred, I addressed a circular to this, and all other Associations, the purport of which may be inferred from the entry made on the records of this body; it may be seen in the note below.⁸

⁶ In 1845, it reported 111; Elizabeth, 103; Mount Carmel, 100. Mr. Dudley's church, in Mr. Malcom's list, is reported 145, but the Minutes for 1845 state "that this and some other churches had dropped from their lists a number of names for whom they cannot account." A commendable course.

⁷ This table, and indeed all the historical documents relative to this institution, were prepared by Rev. Thomas S. Malcom. The preachers of the Association sermon were more numerous than the clerical or presiding functionaries. The dates of the churches are also inserted in the Minutes; this I suppose was the work of the industrious young minister to whose historical labors I have often referred.

⁸ "The request of brother *David Benedict* considered, and the churches advised to insert the names of ordained preachers in capitals, and licensed preachers in italics. The Association requests brother John Taylor to give brother *Benedict* all the information in his power in regard to the churches."—*Minutes of the Long Run Association for 1811.* Brother Taylor was true to his appointment, and made me valuable communications in good time.

In 1815, the FIRST CHURCH IN LOUISVILLE, then newly formed, joined this body.

Early Missionary Operations. At the session just named, the subjects of both *Foreign* and *Domestic* or *Indian Missions* were introduced, and measures were adopted to promote them. The first was brought in by a letter from *Rev. L. Rice*, the other was taken up at the instance of *Rev. Isaac McCoy*, who was present.

Although this community has contributed to augment the number of some of the kindred institutions around it, yet I do not find that any one has been formed wholly from it but the *Sulphur Fork*: the *Middle District* was in part. Their histories will soon be given.

The FIRST COLORED CHURCH, LOUISVILLE, is the largest in this body.⁹

MIDDLE DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836; the number of churches of which it was at first composed I have not learnt; four of them, viz., Fox Run, Salem, Bethel, and Mt. Moriah were from the one last named.¹⁰ Three of them are yet in this fraternity, and constitute more than half its numerical strength.

The SALEM CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in this body, in 1843.¹

The counties of Shelby, Anderson and Spencer embrace the churches of this Association; most of them are in the first one named.

FRANKLIN ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1814; this community occupies an important field, and has existed a third of a century, but no historical items relative to its rise and progress have I been able to obtain, except that four churches were dismissed from the Long Run to join it in 1817;² only two of which, viz., Indian Fork and Buffalo Lick, appear now on its Minutes.

The FRANKFORD CHURCH, *A. Goodell* pastor, is the largest in this connection.³

This church is at the seat of government for this State.

Rev. Silas M. Noel, D. D., was the pastor of this people for a number of years.

Rev. J. M. Frost occupied this pastoral station until a short time past. The whole list of pastors I am not able to give.

This community took its name from the county in which most of the churches are located. Some of them are in Shelby and a few other counties.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 644; this was more than 100 less than the returns the year before; probably some new interest had been constituted from it. First Church, do.; White's, 400; Shelbyville, W. W. Gardner, 375; New Castle, 323; Buck Creek, F. Davis, 259; Simpsonville, S. Thomas, 282; Long Run, —, 223; Taylorsville, Wm. Stout, 200; Second Louisville, T. S. Malcom, 171; Plumb Creek, —, 165; Burk's Branch, —, 150; King's, —, 140; Little Mount, N. C. Beckham, 124; Little Flock, —, 110; Clear Creek, G. B. Peck, 105; Floyd's Fork, W. B. Barnett, 100.

¹⁰ Most of the early planters of churches and Associations in this region were Virginians, who had been accustomed to the term *District* as applied to their associational institutions, without respect to civil or geographical divisions. In this case, probably they applied *Middle* to this new interest, because it was located between Salem, Long Run and Franklin.

¹ At the date above named, it reported 305; Bethel, 301; Beach Creek, 176; Pigeon Fork, do.; Mount Moriah, 170; Bethlehem, 117. Mr. Malcom's Tables must be my guide in all cases where I have not Minutes or reports of a later date.

² Minutes of the Long Run Association.

³ In 1846, it reported 380; South Benson, J. S. Major, 256; Christianburg, —, 254; North Benson, —, 197; Buck Run, B. F. Kennv, 182; Mouth of Cedar, —, 172; Mount Pleasant, 159; Fork of Elkhorn, —, 132; Buffalo Lick, —, 131; Indian Fork, A. Cook, 133; Bethel, J. E. Duval, 123; Mt. Carmel —, 103.

SULPHUR FORK ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1826, when it was organized with the ten following churches, viz.: Sulphur Fork, Patton's Creek, North Six Mile Creek, Union Spring, Pigeon Fork, Lick Branch (now called Lagrange), Rock Lick, East Fork, and Friendship, all of which came from the old Long Run fraternity except the last, which was newly constituted.

The ministers concerned in its organization as members of the churches, were J. W. Thomas, J. A. McGuire, J. Foster, W. Dawkins, D. Harris, J. Metcalf, and Allen McGuire.

This community is on old baptist ground; some of its churches have existed almost half a century; of only one of them, however, shall I be able to give a few historical sketches.

The SULPHUR FORK CHURCH was gathered in 1801; it began with only eight members, and gained but slowly for many years, but at length, by means of religious revivals and evangelical efforts, it made rapid advances in numerical strength, so that it soon arose to upwards of three hundred; but in consequence of dismissions and removals, its membership has been much reduced.

This old establishment has been a nursery of ministers and other churches; its pastors from the beginning have been Allen McGuire, J. A. Thomas and J. A. McGuire, the present incumbent, who has been in office here since 1831. The first pastor was his father.⁴

The CORN CREEK CHURCH was the largest in this body in 1845.⁵

The counties of Oldham and Henry embrace most of the churches in this connection; there is one in each of those of Shelby, Trimble and Henry.

MOUNT PLEASANT ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1840, by a split in the one last named, on the missionary question.

In 1843, its membership amounted to between three and four hundred; it is located mostly in the county of Henry.

The MOUNT PLEASANT CHURCH, *R. W. Rickets*, pastor at the date last named, was the largest in this new confederacy, and the only one whose number amounted to one hundred.

BOONE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1823; the reasons for getting up this institution are thus set forth by a correspondent:

"The Elkhorn, North District, and Tate's Creek Associations having become large and unwieldy, it was thought prudent to form a new one of such churches on their borders as might think proper to unite in the measure."

My correspondent for this fraternity gives a detailed account of some disaffections and troubles which occurred among them about 1830; but, as neither

⁴ *Sulphur Fork* is indeed an odd name to give to a religious body; the meaning is, that it is located on a branch of a stream called *Sulphur* creek or river; as a *Fork* in this country is but another name for a branch of a stream or one of its head waters. And here I will give a definition of another term of very frequent occurrence at the west. It is the word *Lick*, which means a place where *salt* or *brackish* water oozes to the surface of the earth in marshy places, which cattle *lick*, as deer and other wild animals did in the uncultivated state of the country. These *Licks* abound in the western country; they are considered as an indication that *salt springs* are near, and have often led to their discovery. Settlements are made around them, which of course take the name of the *Lick* which attracts the settlers to the spot.

⁵ At the date above named, it reported 215; 18 Mile, B. Coons, 206; E. Fork, E. G. Berry, 171; Hillsborough, —, 157; Sulphur Fork, 160; Pleasant Ridge, 131; Lagrange, J. W. Edmiston, 115; Fox Run, D. N. Porter, 110.

Rev. J. A. McGuire is my correspondent for this Association; he has given me details of the churches much more ample than I have been able to insert.

my limits nor my plan admit of descriptions of ordinary difficulties of a local nature, and as the malcontents were distanced from the connection without forming a new interest, I shall omit the narration altogether.

The PROVIDENCE CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁶

BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

This community was organized in 1826; I have the Minutes of the last session, but no account of its origin or progress. It is in the midst of a dense population of our order, but does not appear to have acquired that numerical strength which our institutions generally do which have existed a score of years in such favorable locations.

The UNITY CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.⁷

This *baptist* institution is located on both sides of the Kentucky river, in the counties of Woodford, Mercer, and Anderson.

I will now go up (down I believe they call it) towards the Ohio river, and describe the line of associational communities which are located on, or in the vicinity of that noble stream, the Licking river, and the smaller water-courses on the way to the north-east corner of the State, and then come down on the side adjoining Virginia, as far as I have set off for the *northern* division.

CONCORD ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1820; this large community is contiguous to the older ones of Long Run and Franklin, and its genealogy probably could disclose a near relation to those institutions; but I have gained no information as to its commencement or progress.⁸

The NEW LIBERTY CHURCH, *L. Alexander* pastor, is the largest in this body;⁹ its churches are located principally in the counties of Owen, Carrol, and Henry.

TEN MILE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1830; relative to its history, I am in the same situation as in that of the one last named, except that its constituent churches came from the Concord, North Bend, and N. Union Associations; it is located in the counties of Owen, Gallatin, Grant, Pendleton, and Boone.

The TEN MILE CHURCH, *D. Lillard* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

NORTH BEND ASSOCIATION.

This old community was formed in 1802, and was the seventh institution of the kind which arose in this State.

The following item of its early history is found in my second Vol., p. 236.

⁶ At the date above named, it reported 257; Mt. Freedom, 137; Indian Creek, 107; Boone's Creek, 105. This statistical account is taken from Malcom's tables.

James K. Kemper, Esq. is my correspondent for this and some other Associations.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 130; *Salvisa, J. Leak*, 96. This community, I presume, have no idea of the monopoly which their cognomen would seem to imply, as they do not appear to be a radical set of men.

⁸ The counties of Fayette, Shelby, Henry, Franklin, Owen, &c., some of which are very populous, are all located around the State Capitol. Most of the large Associations thus far described, have churches in one or more of these shires.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 387; Muscle Shoals, *E. Cobb*, 291; Cane Run, *E. B. Stratton*, 226; Pleasant View, —, 193; Ghent, —, 158; Mt. Pleasant, —, 131; Sharon, *J. Scott*, 128; Drenon's Ridge, —, 115; Salem, —, 108.

¹⁰ In 1845, it reported 303; Poplar Grove, *Joseph Crouch*, 192; Providence, —, 132; New Bethel, —, 111; Mt. Zion, —, 109.

Politicians often reckon their men and meetings by miles and acres, but not so with religious societies; the meaning is that they are located on some river or creek of *five, ten,* or more or less miles in length. Settlements and villages, I believe, are sometimes designated in this way. In the Minutes of this body for 1845, I find the following item: "Our next Association is appointed to be held with the church at *Ten Mile*, Gallatin county," &c.

This explanation may serve for all cases where this term occurs in this way. It is not the length of the community, but its locality, that is intended.

"This body was formed of churches which were mostly dismissed for the purpose from the Elkhorn Association; and it received its name from that of a distinguished place in the Ohio river, about twenty miles below the town of Cincinnati. It is a small establishment, which has traveled from its beginning in harmony and love. The churches are in the counties of Campbell, Pendleton, and Boone, along the Licking and Ohio rivers. The first beginning of that powerful and extensive work, which has been generally denominated the great revival, began in 1799, in what are now the bounds of this Association, and in 1810 and 1811, a refreshing season was again granted to some of the churches in this connection; and to the one at Bulletsburg, 130 were added in the course of a few months. This church is the largest and most distinguished in this Association. It now (1812) contains 270 members, and is under the care of Absalom Graves. The late William Cave, who was a very distinguished character, was a member of this body. Mr. John Taylor, who preached to this church a number of years, gives it a very pleasing character for skilful discipline, and also for harmony and brotherly love. From it have proceeded a number of other churches, the names of which I am not able to give."

This old fraternity, for a long time, occupied a large territory in the northern part of this State; what other institutions have arisen from it, or what has been its history for upward of thirty years, I am not informed. It is located wholly in the counties of Boone and Kenton, and is opposite Cincinnati, in Ohio, and Lawrenceburg, in Indiana.

The OLD BULLETSBURG CHURCH, which is named in the preceding extract, is still a large and flourishing community.

Rev. Robert Kirtley, its present pastor, has sustained this office many years, as he was reported as occupying the pastorate in Allen's Register for 1833.

The COVINGTON CHURCH is the largest in this body.¹

Rev. J. M. Frost, late of Frankfort, the Capitol of the State, is its present pastor.

This town is directly opposite Cincinnati, and is the seat of one of our flourishing theological institutions, at the head of which, is

Rev. R. E. Pattison, D. D., late pastor of the First Church, Rhode Island. The corps of professors in this seminary, I should judge from the list of clerical members, generally belong to this church.

CAMPBELL COUNTY ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1826; it is located between the one last named and its old sister, the Bracken; one or both of which probably contributed materials for its organization, but no items of its history have I received or been able to obtain.

The BANK LICK CHURCH, E. Grizzle pastor or supply, is the largest in this connection.²

UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed in Sept., 1812. *Northern*, or *Upper Union*, is the manner in which this member of the family of *Unions* in this State is sometimes distinguished, as my correspondent informs me.

This fraternity commenced with six churches which were dismissed from the Elkhorn; their names were Indian Creek, North Fork, Union, Beaver Creek, Mouth of Raven Creek, and New Providence. The ministers in the constitution, were G. Ripley, R. King, and C. Webb. Ripley was the moderator for seven years. A. A. Vanhook was clerk as many years save one.

Some of the troubles and impediments which befel this community, and retarded its progress, will be referred to in the close of the account of the next institution to be named.

The FALMOUTH CHURCH, 1792, Thos. Waggoner pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.³ The body is located in the counties of Harrison, Pendleton, and Bracken.⁴

¹ In 1846, it reported 231; Bulletsburg, —, 217; Middle Creek, —, 154.

² In 1843, it reported 156; Flag Spring, Wm. J. Morin, 137.

³ At the date above named, it reported 105; Willow Creek, 98.

⁴ Rev. P. S. G. Watson is my correspondent for this small interest; he has given me some account of the churches and the deceased ministers who labored within its bounds in early times as

BRACKEN ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized with eight churches, which were dismissed for the purpose from that fruitful mother of baptist institutions, the old Elkhorn fraternity.

The WASHINGTON CHURCH, near *Maysville*, constituted in 1785, is one of the oldest, not only in this region, but also in this State.

Rev. John Gano made his first stand in Kentucky, in 1787, with this old community, where he remained about two years before he removed to the place of his settlement near Lexington.

Rev. Gilbert Mason is the present pastor of this people, but when he was settled, or the list of pastors before him, I have not learnt.

John L. Kirk, Esq., of *Maysville*, the clerk of this Association, has supplied me with its more modern history, more in detail than my limits will permit me to insert; some of the items of his communication are as follows:

In about twenty years from its commencement, its membership amounted to upwards of fifteen hundred; its pastors, however, were barely enough to supply the churches on the old monthly system. Soon after that period, a sad declension prevailed among the churches; some adopted the plan of *open or mixed communion*, and in seven years its numerical strength was reduced about one-fourth.

The next account presents scenes of great prosperity and enlargement, by means of extensive revivals of religion, which prevailed not only in this region, but in many other parts of the State, so that this body, in 1829, contained twenty-two hundred members. But scarcely had this season of refreshing and ingathering attained its height, when a new *reformation* was introduced under the ministry of *Rev. A. Campbell* and his coadjutors, which in a short time brought their numbers down to about nine hundred. After this sweeping inroad of the *Reformers* had so greatly diminished their ranks, and the lines of demarcation were drawn between the two parties, they set about the labor of repairing the losses they had suffered, and now they appear to be going forward with stability and success.

The Campbell County Association experienced a similar reduction of their strength about the same time with the Bracken, and many of their members became proselytes to the creed, and fell into the ranks of *Mr. Campbell's* adherents.

Thus far I have quoted the ideas rather than the phraseology of my correspondent, for the sake of abridgment; I will now transcribe some passages in his own language:

"During the storm, a few went over to the Licking Association—others stood aloof for years and then returned; yet it is evident that a large majority embraced the Reformation. This should not have so been: neither would it ever occurred (in my opinion) had we not in all our movements acted very impolitic. Many of the churches, instead of remaining firm on the Bible, and the Bible alone, the great platform on which we have ever stood, and ever been secure when having that alone for our basis, became frightened, and brought forth from secrecy and silence, *old musty creeds, confessions of faith, &c., &c.*, which really drove many from our ranks," &c.

The MAYS LICK CHURCH, *S. L. Helm* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

This Association is located in the counties of Mason, Bracken, Fleming, Lewis, &c.

GREENUP ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1841; I have its Minutes for 1845, but no account of its origin or progress. This young interest takes its name from the county in which its churches, mostly, if not wholly, are situated. It is in the north-east part of the State; the *Taye's Valley Association*, in Virginia, the Ohio in that State, and the *Paint Union*, in Kentucky, are communities with which they correspond.

pastors and evangelists; and among others, at my instance, the autobiography of *Elder J. W. Monson*, now far advanced in years. He also sent me some biographical sketches of *Elder Ripley*, their first moderator. These items will of course be reserved for future use.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 438; *Washington*, 210; *Maysville*, *T. G. Kean*, 200; *Bracken*, *A. W. Larue*, 147; *Two Lick*, 117.

The EAST FORK CHURCH, *Thos. Reynolds* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

We have thus gone over the old settlements of this State, in what is now the northern section, and followed up the Ohio river from the neighborhood of Louisville, branching out in different directions into the interior, till we have come in contact with Western Virginia. We will now go down on the eastern side and in more central regions, and notice what few institutions are yet to be found in what I have marked out as the *northern division*.

BURNING SPRING ASSOCIATION.

This is a small body, located in Morgan, and perhaps some neighboring counties, but nothing pertaining to its history have I been able to obtain.⁷

NORTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1802; it is a descendant of the old *Separate Baptist* institution, whose history will be related in the next section. Its name and location entitle it to a place in the *northern* division; its origin will be given more fully soon. It is located in the counties of Clarke and Montgomery.

The LULBERGRUD CHURCH was the only one of more than 100 members in 1843.

If there are any other Associations near to and north of Kentucky river, *westward*, *northward*, or *central*, which I have not enumerated in this section, and I can get any account of them in season, I will notice them at the close of this chapter. There seems to be a territory in the eastern part of this northern division bordering on the Big Sandy river, in the counties of Carter, Lawrence, Morgan, &c., which, from anything I can learn, is very destitute of baptist institutions. No one has explained to me the cause of it; I suppose, however, that it is a sparsely populated region of the State.

SECTION II.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

South Kentucky Association—South District—Tate's Creek—Do., No. 2—Nolynn—Green River—Russell's Creek—Stockton's Valley—Cumberland River—South Cumberland—Freedom—South Concord—South Union—New Salem—Laurel River.

In this division I shall include all the southern and south-eastern part of the State, down to the Tennessee line, and as far west as the eastern borders of the old Salem community; on the north, through the Green river country, by a rather loosely drawn line of demarcation, to a point nearly opposite Nashville, in Tennessee.

SOUTH KENTUCKY ASSOCIATION.

This ancient fraternity was among the primary baptist institutions in this State; it was organized in 1785, the same year as the Elkhorn and Salem; its location, at first, was on the south side of Kentucky river, but soon it extended its boundaries to the north of that noble stream, and in all directions around.

On account of the maternal relation which this old body sustains to a large family of kindred institutions in this region, I shall give its history, together with the important transactions in which it bore a conspicuous part, somewhat *in extenso*. I shall select the account from my second Vol.,⁸ so far as its early history is concerned, and make some additions which have been supplied me by an attentive correspondent.

⁶ In 1845, it reported 153; but one of the others came up to half a hundred. This appears to be a vigorous community for its age and size, and has set agoing a domestic mission within its own bounds.

⁷ This Association is among the few whose dates are not reported in Mr. Malcom's tables.

⁸ History of the Baptists, Vol. II., pp. 236—240.

Rev. Robert Elkin, James Bledsoe, and James Smith, were among the principal instruments of gathering the churches of which this old south confederacy was at first composed.

The preachers, as well as the first members of these churches, emigrated principally from Virginia, and transplanted to the fertile fields of the then far west, the peculiarities to which they had been accustomed at home.

"The baptists in Virginia, at the time they began to send forth such populous colonies of their brethren to the western country, were divided into *Regulars* and *Separates*, although the *Separates* were much the most numerous. The *Regulars* were professedly, and some of them very highly Calvinistic; but the *Separates* were far from being unanimous in their doctrinal sentiments. A majority of them, however, were Calvinists, and of the rest, a part were much inclined to the Arminian side of the controversy; and some of the most distinguished among them, in opposing the high strains of Calvinism, which were incessantly, and in many instances dogmatically sounded by their orthodox brethren, had gone nearly the full length of the doctrine of Arminius. Others, with different modifications of the objectionable articles of both systems, were endeavoring to pursue a middle course. Such was the state of the Virginia baptists, with regard to doctrine, at the period under consideration, and some of all these different classes were among the early emigrants to the fertile regions of the west; but a majority of them were *Separates* in their native State. But the same people who had traveled together before their removal, so far at least as it respected their associational connection, pursued a different course when settled in Kentucky. The *Calvinistic Separates* united with the few *Regular baptists* among them, and established the Elkhorn Association, which, at its commencement, adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith; while those who inclined to the Arminian system, as well as those who adopted some of the Calvinistic creed in a qualified sense, united with the Association whose history we now have under consideration.

"Thus the names of *Regular* and *Separate* were transported beyond the mountains, and two separate interests were established in the neighborhood of each other.

"This Association, like the rest in the country, was small in its beginning; but its course was generally prosperous, and no special event occurred until 1789, four years from its commencement, when there was an unsuccessful attempt to abolish the names of *Regular* and *Separate*, and effect a union and correspondence between this and the Elkhorn Association. This measure was attempted in consequence of recommendations of the *United baptists* in Virginia, whose advice the Kentucky brethren were generally inclined to receive, and whose examples they generally imitated. The *Regulars* and *Separates* in North and South Carolina had united before, and in 1787, a happy reconciliation was effected between these two parties in Virginia, both of which had at that time become very numerous. And having found that a reconciliation was practicable and pleasant, the *United baptists* in Virginia sent letters to the Elkhorn and Separate Associations, informing them of the successful steps they had taken, and recommending the same to them, with earnest desires that their endeavors might prove successful. But the set time for this desirable event was not yet come. The union was ardently desired by many individuals of both parties, and the bodies at large appeared favorably disposed towards the attempt; but they knew not by what means to accomplish it, nor could they agree on the terms on which they should unite. The *Separates* were afraid of being bound and hampered by Articles and Confessions, and the *Regulars* were unwilling to unite with them, without something of the kind. A general convention of delegates met on the business, and overtures were made on both sides; but both parties being too tenacious of their favorite maxims to make sufficient abatements, their endeavors at that time proved unsuccessful.

"A similar attempt was made in 1793, which, like the other, terminated without accomplishing the desirable object. In this year, five churches being dissatisfied with the *Separate Association*, respecting their proceedings in this affair, and also in some other matters, withdrew, and formed the Tate's Creek Association.

"But in the time of the great revival, the outpourings of the Divine Spirit, and its softening influence on the minds of the saints, prepared the way for that reconciliation and union, which all their weighty arguments and assiduous endeavors had not been able to accomplish. This astonishing work, in the year 1800 and following, prevailed most powerfully among the *Separates* as well as the *Regulars*. The churches and members were now much intermixed. All were visited and refreshed by the copious and abundant rain of righteousness which was poured upon the land; and, regardless of names, they unitedly engaged in enjoying and forwarding the precious and powerful work. By this means, those little party asperities, which had unhappily prevailed, were much mollified and diminished; their cold and indifferent charity for each other was inflamed; and with most of them, their notions of doctrine were found to be not so different as they had supposed. A union was now proposed in earnest, and soon effected with ease. Both Associations had become large, containing together between seven and eight thousand members. Committees were appointed by both bodies to confer on the subject of a union, who, after mature deliberation, agreed to the following terms:

"Terms of Union between the Elkhorn and South Kentucky or Separate Associations.

"We, the committees of the Elkhorn and South Kentucky Associations, do agree to unite on the following plan:

"1st. That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the infallible word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice.

"2d. That there is one only true God, and in the Godhead or divine essence, there are Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

"3d. That by nature we are fallen and depraved creatures.

"4th. That salvation, regeneration, sanctification, and justification, are by the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ.

"5th. That the saints will finally persevere through grace to glory.

"6th. That believers' baptism, by immersion, is necessary to receiving the Lord's supper.

"7th. That the salvation of the righteous and punishment of the wicked will be eternal.

"8th. That it is our duty to be tender and affectionate to each other, and study the happiness of the children of God in general; to be engaged singly to promote the honor of God.

"9th. And that the preaching *Christ tasted death for every man*, shall be no bar to communion.

"10th. And that each may keep up their associational and church government as to them may seem best.

"11th. That a free correspondence and communion be kept up between the churches thus united.

"Unanimously agreed to by the joint committee.

AMBROSE DUDLEY, JOSEPH REDDING, ROBERT ELKIN, THOS. J. CHILTON, SAMUEL JOHNSON.
JOHN PRICE, DAVID BARROW, DANIEL RAMSEY, MOSES BLEDSOR,

"In 1802, the year after this union took place, the Association having become very extensive in its boundaries, found it convenient to make a division; and as nearly an equal number of the churches were situated on both sides of the Kentucky river, this river was fixed upon as the dividing line, and the two divisions were called the North and South District Associations. These names were assumed merely for the purpose of distinction, as there were no geographical or civil departments of the country to which they referred."

The meeting at Howard's Creek M. H., in 1801, and its successful issue, have already been related in Mr. Peck's introduction to the history of the Kentucky baptists and my accompanying remarks.

This was the last body of the *Separate* baptists, the lineal descendants of the *New England New-Lights*, which relinquished the appellation by which they had been distinguished about fifty years.⁹

The GREEN RIVER CHURCH, *Jesse C. Portman* pastor, is the largest in this body,¹⁰ which extends from the county of Garrard, on the south side of Kentucky river, to that of Wayne, on the Tennessee line.

SOUTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION.

The circumstances under which this and the North District fraternity arose, have already been related.

While the *Northern* institution, its counterpart, is small, this holds a rank among the second class of Associations in this State, but about half a dozen are before it in point of numbers. Its churches are located in the counties of Garrard, Boyle, Mercer, Washington, and Marion.

The church called FORK OF DICK'S RIVER, 1782, *B. Kemper* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

NEW PROVIDENCE, 1787, *J. S. Higgins* pastor, is the next in size.

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1793; it was formed with five churches, which withdrew from the *Separate* party and embodied by themselves; they had become tired

⁹ As the above is an article of much importance in the view of a large portion of our society in Kentucky, who, by their present or ancestral relations are closely allied to this *old south* interest in its primary movements and succeeding ramifications, I have judged it proper to copy my original narrative nearly verbatim and entire. It was constructed from personal surveys on the ground in the winter of 1809-10, from documents supplied, or verbal rehearsals of men who were either actors in the measure, or else were thoroughly versed in all their peculiarities. The foregoing details furnish in substance the history of a large family of associational communities which will next come under review.

¹⁰ In 1845, it reported 143; Drake's Creek, 130; Concord, 105; Rock Ford, 98.

In Mr. Malcom's tables for 1843, this old body exhibited seventeen churches, and upwards of thirteen hundred members; the Minutes of the above date show a reduction of nearly half its churches and membership; the largest churches are also much reduced from their former size. The cause of this diminution I have not learnt; it would be natural to infer that some new institution has been set off, or gone off from it. The communications I have received from this quarter are of dates anterior to this change or revolution, whatever it may have been.

¹ In 1846, it reported 413; New Providence, 249; Shawnee Run, —, 205; Danville, G. W. Allen, 196; Bethlehem, D. Hardesty, 165; Beech Fork, —, 148; Deep Creek, —, 140; Harrodsburg, —, 130; Doctor's Fork, —, 110.

of waiting for the slow movements of the mother institution in coming into the *Union* with the *Regular* order. This community received its name from a small water-course which empties into the Kentucky river from the south.

The most remarkable item in the early history of this old confederacy is, that in the great revival in the commencement of the present century its additions by baptism in one year were eleven hundred and a half.

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION, NO. 2.

This community arose out of a division of the one last named, on the missionary question, some twenty or more years since. It is located in the counties of Madison, Garrard, and Lincoln.

The Church called CRAB ORCHARD, *M. Foley* pastor, was the largest in this connection in 1843.²

The old TATE'S CREEK CHURCH, 1786, was the next in size. *Elder Andrew Tribble*, a man of much distinction in his day among the Kentucky baptists, was the pastor of this people when my former accounts were prepared.

NOLYNN ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the South District, in 1819; this body arose on the ground where, according to Mr. Peck's account, p. 811, the first baptist church and protestant society was organized west of the Alleghany mountains; it is in a central part of South Kentucky, in the counties of Harden, Hart, Green, Barren, &c.

The MOUNT ZION CHURCH, *Jos. Pepper* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.³

This is the substance of my information relative to the branches of the old South Kentucky Association of *Separate baptists*; many other associational institutions have no doubt originated from it among the great number of small fraternities which have been formed of late years in this part of the State.⁴

GREEN RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1799; this institution was a central point of baptist operations in this region of Kentucky for many years, and from it went out the two fraternities next to be named. It soon became large and influential, and embodied much of the talent and enterprise of the denomination throughout the settlements on the important river from which it took its name;⁵ but since it has

² At the date above named, it reported 135; Liberty, M. Hoover, 131; Republican, A. Gupton, 120; Bethel, 99; Trammel's Creek, 96.

³ The date of this community is stated by a correspondent on the ground to be 1818 or 19; I have taken the last year named.

⁴ James H. Kemper, Esq., clerk of the South District Association, is my principal correspondent for the more modern history of all that pertains to the *Old South Kentucky* interest in its various ramifications; he has helped me to a number of dates and facts which I could not find elsewhere. I have also derived some aid from a small work on *Baptist History*, by *Elder Thomas J. Chilton*, who I believe was one of the committee on the part of the *Separates* for effecting the union already described. If he is still alive, he must be near 80, as he was 66 when he wrote his book.

Although this compact and agreement was generally lived up to by the covenanting parties, yet it seems there were some who still tenaciously held on to the old and endeared cognomen of *Separates*, which *Stearns, Marshall* and others carried with them from N. England to the south, and which the Virginians transported with them over the mountains. And but a short time since there was a second, and it is to be hoped, a final adjustment of the difference between the *Separates* and *Regulars*, upon a much smaller scale than the first.

These people make a very considerable of a difference where I can see none worthy of being named. They all seemed to be identified with evangelical efforts, and the high Calvinists regarded them all as altogether too lax on the doctrine of predestination and Divine sovereignty.

⁵ Relative to the *Green river county* and settlements, I find the following remarks in my second Vol. p. 244: "These terms are applied by the people of Kentucky to all that part of the State which lies south of the Green river." This statement was made when I was in the territory in 1810. Since then, extensive settlements have been made in a *western* and *south-western* direction; and the *Western District* has been formed between the Tennessee and Ohio rivers. An account of this region will be given in the next section.

taken an opposing stand on the missionary question, its number has become comparatively small. Its churches are located principally in the counties of Edmonson, Barren, and Warren.

RUSSELL'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1804; the mother body had become so extensive in its boundaries that instead of a division, as was at first proposed, the plan was adopted of making three bands of this community, and the next one to be named was set off at the same time. It began with eleven churches and four hundred and a half of members.

The ministers who were concerned in this organization, or who were early laborers in this then new interest, were Wm. Matthews, Elijah Summers, Thos. Skaggs, J. Paddock, B. Clifton, Thos. Whitman, John C. Chandler, and Isaac Hodgson were very much distinguished in their day as pastors and evangelists in this part of Kentucky.

This is one of the large and efficient institutions in this part of the State. I have none of its Minutes later than 1843; then

The BACON CREEK CHURCH, *Wm. M. Brown* pastor, was the largest in this body,⁶ which is located in the counties of Green, Adair, and a number of others; some of the churches are near to, if not quite, on the Tennessee line.

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1839; this young and vigorous community occupies an important location in South Kentucky; no less than five county towns, viz., those of Barren, Warren, Hart, Edmonson, and Allen, which embrace most of the churches of this new interest, are within its bounds.

The BOWLING GREEN CHURCH, *J. M. Pendleton* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

STOCKTON'S VALLEY ASSOCIATION

Was also formed in 1804, by a three-fold division of the old Green River confederacy. No items of its history have I received since I was on the spot in 1810.

Rev. Robert Stockton, a native of Virginia, was a father among the churches of this body, and was its moderator from the beginning for many years.⁸

None of the churches in this body came up to 100 in 1843.

I have thus briefly described a number of associational fraternities of no small importance in South Kentucky, and have gone down to the neighborhood of the Cumberland river, where it enters Tennessee in its downward course through this State. There are one old, and a few younger institutions in my southern division which I shall notice without a very strict regard to their age or contiguity. My correspondents for this south region have been "few and far between," and of course I know but little more of the origin or progress of the communities in question than what I find in our statistical tables.

⁶ At the above date, it reported 239; Brush Creek, 197; Friendship, 151; Campbellville, J. Harding, 148; Greensburg, Wm. H. Thomas, 117; Mt. Gilead, 115; Rolling Fork, J. Miller, 114; Pleasant Hill, 102; Albany, 95. Rev. Z. Worley is my correspondent for this Association; he was its clerk in 1843.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 196; Mt. Tabor, James Lock, 173; Glasgow, Moses Aikin, 154; Green River, J. W. Brooks, 102. These churches, with a number of others, formerly belonged to the old Green River fraternity, from which I infer that it came out from that body. No one, however, has given me any information on the subject. Some one sends me the Minutes, which I am glad to receive.

⁸ In my old work, I have placed the origin of this and the Russell's Creek Association in 1803; they were twin sisters, and were dismissed most cordially from the prolific mother of churches, the old Green River community, at the time I have named. I took my account from Hon. Michel Hall, whose house was my home in the Green river county. He was then clerk of the body under consideration.

But as Mr. Worley is so particular as to name September 8, 1804, as the date of Russell's Creek's, I suppose I must have taken the time of dismission rather than organization. I now make my dates agree with those of my careful coadjutor.

CUMBERLAND RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This old community was organized in 1799; it is located almost entirely in the county of Pulaski, on the north side of the river whose name it bears. It appears for a long time to have been a small and feeble institution, but of late years it has come up to a good degree of strength; its additions by baptism have, in a few cases, amounted to over two hundred a year.

The LICKING CREEK CHURCH, *D. Buckner* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁹ Mr. B. assumed the pastorship of this people in 1839; *Rev. H. F. Buckner*, whose present locality I have not learnt, is his son. He removed from E. Tennessee to his present location. Somerset, the shire town for Pulaski Co., is the place of his residence, where this people have a brick house of worship, of good dimensions and finish.

This church was organized in 1799, by Elder Thos. Hansford and Jesse Fero; from it have been constituted the forks of Cumberland, Fishing Creek, Rock Lick, and White Oak Churches.

FLAT LICK, 1798, *Stephen Colyer* pastor, is the next in size.

The MOUNT SALEM and DOUBLE SPRING are flourishing institutions. These churches, by my correspondent, are reported as among the principal fraternities in this old connection.

SOUTH CUMBERLAND

Was formed 1842; this young community was located on the other side of the river whose name it bears, in the counties of Adair, Russell, Pulaski, and Wayne. I have its Minutes for the last two years, but no items of its history. From the details of its doings, it appears to sympathize and co-operate with evangelical efforts.

The PLEASANT GROVE CHURCH, 1824, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1842; it is near to the one last named, in Munroe Co., in this State, Jackson in Tennessee, and probably some others in both States; it appears to be a vigorous and growing young interest: some good friend has sent me their last Minutes, but its history, as is too common, they have neglected to supply.

The ALBANY CHURCH is the largest in this body.¹

BARREN RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1830; but little more respecting it than its age and locality am I able to state; it is situated mostly in the county from which it takes its name; one church is in Monroe, which borders on Tennessee.

The BETHLEHEM CHURCH, *T. Emmerson* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.²

⁹ In 1843, it reported 261; Flat Lick, 173; Mt. Salem, 136; Double Spring, 123; Liberty, James Blankenship, 105; New Hope, 96.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 105; White Oak, M. Floyd, 96.

¹ In 1846, it reported 100; all the others were under that size. Albany, I should judge, is the chief town for Clinton county, which is on the Tennessee line. Mr. Malcom has dated this body 1843, but the Minutes for 1846 purport to be those of its fourth session; so I have put its age accordingly. There is or was a Fredonia Association in this region, but I suspect this is the same body with its name a little altered.

² At the date above named, it reported 180; Dover, 161; Fountain Run, K. D. Dossey, 156; Indian Creek, 99.

Mr. Malcom names two other communities by the name of Barren; they were on the same ground. The one above described is reputed on the friendly side as to missions, &c.; the other in the adverse ranks. The two smaller bodies together had about a dozen churches and five hundred members. I shall refer to one of them in the summary statement soon to be made.

SOUTH CONCORD ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1824; it is located mostly in the county of Wayne, near to the Tennessee line. But few of its churches came up to half a hundred in 1843.

SOUTH UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—; it is located in the counties of Whitley and Knox; it is near the line of Tennessee and the south-west corner of Virginia.

The CONCORD CHURCH was the largest in this body in 1843.³

LAUREL RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—; it is located on the river and in the county of the same name; a few of its churches are in Whitley, Knox, and Clay, in Kentucky; it is near the Tennessee line, and a portion of the body is claimed by some of my correspondents as in that State, as an institution of their government. My information respecting it is limited to these few facts. In Malcom's Tables, none of the churches come up to 100.⁴

NEW SALEM ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—; it is located mostly in the county of Floyd, near the Virginia line.

The UNION CHURCH, *Wm. Tacket* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁵

SECTION III.

WESTERN DIVISION.

Salem Association—Goshen—Davies Co.—Otter Creek—Highland—Little Bethel—Little River—Gasper River—Drake's Creek—Drake's Creek, No. 2—Bethel—West Union.

THAT portion of this State which I shall include in this section, embraces some of the oldest baptist ground in this government, and at present a number of the largest and most efficient institutions of the order, as will appear from the brief surveys of them now to be made.

SALEM ASSOCIATION.

This is one of the triple alliance of associational confederacies which was organized in this then newly settled region in 1785; it was formed at first with four churches, which had been gathered principally by emigrants from Virginia. These settlers from the *Old Dominion* were soon joined by a considerable company from the *Red Stone* county, in Western Pennsylvania, among whom was elder *Wm. Taylor*, of whom it may truly be said, his praise was, and is still, in all the churches in this part of Kentucky.

For a number of years this part of the State made but slow advances in settlement and civilization. The original proprietors of the soil were still on the ground, or near enough to frequently make their savage inroads on the infant colony; and Elder *John Garrard*, and a number of his companions, became the early victims of their direful onsets.

³ At that time, it reported 110; 60 were added by baptism that year. Poplar Creek, 100. This small community had an addition by baptism of 231 in the year above named.

⁴ Mr. Malcom wrote me in 1843, while he was preparing his tables, that all the churches of this Association were in Kentucky, and so he has placed it. As I have none of its Minutes, I cannot settle the question as to its locality; most of it is clearly in this State. Its churches are generally small.

⁵ At the date above named, it reported 181; all the others. This eastern and south-eastern section of Kentucky, adjoining Virginia, seems to be a barren field for baptist institutions.

The Salem Association was formed at Cox's creek, a small distance below Salt river, about fifty miles south of Frankfort, not far from the place where Bairdstown now stands.

Its first ministers were Wm. Taylor, Jos. Barnet, and John Whitaker.

The four churches were named Severn Valley, Cedar Creek, Cox's Creek, and Bear Grass, which, in the aggregate, did not contain but about 130 members.

And so slow was its progress, that at the end of fourteen years from its commencement, its membership was little less than five hundred. But the great revival of religion so often referred to in the beginning of the present century, in the course of three years, caused an addition of upward of two thousand communicants to this hitherto feeble interest, and soon colonies began to go out from this enlarged and growing community.

I should be glad to specify the kindred institutions which have been formed wholly or in part from the old Salem fraternity—the moderators and clerks for the three score and two years of its existence—and what peculiar scenes of prosperity or trial it has passed through; but I do not find among my papers any communications relative to its history.

I conclude it has, for most of its existence, been a large and efficient institution, compared with the kindred fraternities in this region; according to Allen's first Register, some fifteen years ago, its numerical strength was a little under two thousand and a half; it has since been very considerably augmented.

COX CREEK CHURCH, *Smith Thomas* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁶

BLOOMFIELD, *Wm. Vaughn* pastor, was the next in size.

ELIZABETHTOWN, *Robert L. Thuman* the under shepherd, held the third rank as to numbers. This is the chief town of Hardin Co.

As to the locality of *old Salem*, the following was my account upward of thirty years ago:

Its churches at first and for a number of years were principally in the county of Nelson, but by the subdivisions of that county and the enlargement of the body, the churches were found in Hardin, Breckenridge, Washington, Bullet and Ohio. Meade and Spencer may now be added to the number of shires to which this ancient interest extends.

GOSHEN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1816; from its proximity to the community last named, it would be natural to infer that it originated from it, wholly or in part, but on this subject I have no information. It began with nine churches and about two hundred and a half of communicants.

From a very industrious correspondent I have received statistical and historical accounts of this institution in unusually minute details for each year, for a quarter of a century; the account begins with 1817, and ends with 1842, from which it appears that after some contributions toward the formation of one or more kindred communities, it had gained upward of two thousand members from its commencement.⁷

The MOUNT ZION and BLACKFORD CHURCHES are two of the oldest in this connection.

⁶ At the date above named, it reported 362; Bloomfield, 339; Elizabethtown, 205; Mt. Moriah, 181; Nolynn, —, 165; Rude's Creek, —, 129; Chaplin's Fork, —, 128; Little Union, —, 122; New Salem, —, 120; West Point, —, 119; Rolling Fork, —, 115; Brandenburg, —, 113; Otter Creek, —, 111; Mill Creek, Nelson county, —, 110; Mill Creek, Harding county, —, do.; Harding's Creek, H. Thomas, 99; Mt. Zion, C. Lovelace, 98.

⁷ Rev. James E. Stone is my correspondent for this Association; his tables exhibit the additions, dismissals, totals, &c., from year to year, with remarks and explanations. From his account, it appears that the number of baptisms in twenty-five years was thirty-three hundred; exclusions, about seven hundred; and deaths, about four hundred. The history, dates and localities of all the churches are given—the names of all the ministers who have labored within their bounds—their residences—who are still actively engaged in the field—also those who have died or become superannuated.

The name of Rev. J. L. Burrows, now of Philadelphia, appears among the transient preachers in this region.

The **HAWESVILLE CHURCH** is of a later date, but its location is favorable for its increase and stability.

These churches are all in the county of Hancock, and the last one is located at its county seat, a thing of not so frequent occurrence in this State as some others. This county lies on the Ohio river.

The **MOUNT PLEASANT CHURCH**, *C. J. Kelly* pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.⁸

The counties of Grayson and Breckenridge, at present, embrace most of the churches of this Association.

DAVIESS COUNTY ASSOCIATION.

This is a young institution formed in 1844, in part, at least, from the one last named.⁹ The churches, in part, of which it was composed, were Rock Spring, Rush Creek, Greenbrier, Bethabara, Owensburg, Pleasant Grove, Mount Liberty, Panther Creek, and Friendly Grove.

I have none of its Minutes, and of course cannot give my usual account of its statistics; as reported in the *B. Almanac*, it began with unusual strength for a young institution. Its name sufficiently indicates its locality, which is a large county on the Ohio, between Hancock and Henderson; Owensburg is the chief town.

OTTER CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838; but I have no account whatever of its origin or progress; it is located in the counties of Spencer, Nelson, Meade, Breckenridge, Hardin, and some others; for so small an interest, it is widely spread abroad, and is intermixed with a number of the communities already named, a thing not uncommon with feeble interests which have resolved to have no part or lot with missionary operations.

The **ELK CREEK CHURCH**, pastor not named, was the largest in this body in 1843.¹⁰

HIGHLAND ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1819; this is a body of some age, but in a very feeble condition; relative to its history, I have no information except that it came out of the *old Little River* community. This is one of the seceding parties on the missionary question, which are somewhat common in this region. It is very small, and in a declining State; the counties of Henderson, Union, and Hopkins embrace most of its churches.

LITTLE BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1835; it was formed by a seceding party from the one last named, in consequence of the intolerant measures of the mother body against all benevolent efforts. A correspondent for all this region of country gives the following account of this transaction:

They split on account of missionary efforts; the opposing party in the *Highland Association* at that time having the majority, would not suffer the friends of missions to contribute their own funds for missionary purposes without subjecting them to church discipline!—A part of four churches came out first and formed the *Little Bethel Association*. The most ac-

⁸ In 1845, it reported 201; Cloveport, J. H. Brown, 152; Panther Creek, C. T. Noel, 129; Hawesville, J. E. Stone, 97; Goshen, S. Buchanan, 93.

⁹ The date of this body is inferred, rather than officially ascertained; nothing was said about it by my correspondent for the Goshen in 1843. In 1845, "her messengers, Elders Thomas Downs and G. W. Triplett presented her letter and articles of faith, and knocked for correspondence." So I infer that it was formed the year before; it might possibly have been the same year.

The churches I have named as members of the *Daviess Co. Association*, formerly belonged to Goshen; all but one are in the county from which the body was named; they are missing from the statistical table at the date above named. As Goshen is much diminished in size, I conclude this new institution came mostly from it.

¹⁰ At the date above named, it reported 106; Concord, —, 94.

tive ministers, if not the only ones in this movement were, Garrett, Morison, Jones, and Hackett."¹

The HENDERSON CHURCH, *S. Dyer* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

The counties of Henderson, Union, Hopkins, and Muhlenburg embrace the whole of this fraternity. The two first are on the Ohio river.

LITTLE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1813; it was taken from the old *Red River* community, which is partly in Tennessee, under the head of which State I have placed it.

"Elders Dudley Williams, D. Brown, J. F. Woods, and Nathan Ross were the principal preachers in the formation of this then new interest. It comprised 27 churches, 12 ordained preachers, and 1809 members. It was located in the west of Kentucky and Tennessee, and in the southern parts of the territories of Illinois and Missouri. The Highland, Kentucky, and Muddy River Associations in Illinois, and some others, have been constituted from it.

"This Association split in 1833, on the missionary question, and a new and small interest, claiming the name and constitution of the *original* body, was formed from it."³

This old community, after all its curtailments, by mutual agreement or otherwise, is now located in the counties of Livingston, Crittenden, Caldwell, Trigg, Christian, Calloway, and Marshall, in Kentucky, and Stewart in Tennessee. The first named shire is on the Ohio river.

The WEST UNION CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.⁴

For the sake of following down the Ohio river, and taking the Associations as they stand contiguous to each other, I have omitted one which is in a somewhat interior position.

GASPER RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1811. Relative to this old community, I have learnt but little more than its locality and age; no items of its history have been communicated by any of my correspondents for this region; its churches are situated in the counties of Ohio, Muhlenburg, Butler, Warren, Logan, and Todd.

The PROVIDENCE CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.⁵

DRAKE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1820; it is located on the borders of Tennessee, in the counties of Warren, Allen, and Simpson.

This is one of the Kentucky institutions which was split on the missionary question some years since; Mr. Malcom gives both bodies the same date. The missionary party was evidently in the minority at the time of the division. With the circumstances of the case I am wholly ignorant, and shall give the statistical notes as if this were No. 1.

The BETHEL CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁶

¹ Communication of Rev. Joel E. Grace, 1846.

Mr. Garret wrote me two years before, when he remarked: "I had intended to write the history of the Little Bethel Association, as I suppose no man understands it as well as I do."—What an abundance of such good intentions have I been supplied with! but brother Grace, at a late period, supplied the deficiency, and has said more of his brethren, Garret and others, than they would have said of themselves.

² In 1846, it reported 244; Sharon, G. Siak, 178; Bethel, Muhlenburg Co., 134; Bethel, Henderson Co., Wm. Wayne, 109.

³ Communication of Rev. Joel E. Grace, 1846. This industrious correspondent has sent me the Minutes of this body for a number of years past, and has given me the details of the troubles which *Little River* No. 2 has caused it, more fully than my limits will permit me to insert. It appears to be a strong and vigorous community, which has stood its ground amidst severe opposition from the anti party.

⁴ In 1845, it reported 189; New Bethel, —, 187; Harmony, W. C. P. Caldwell, 175; Donaldson, James. W. Mansfield, 166; Blood River, A. P. Hodges, 145; Little River, —, 127; Crooked Creek, C. Wilson, 113; Union, J. E. Grace, 107; Crockett's Creek, —, 93.

⁵ At the date above named, it reported 247; Walton's Creek, 163; Hazel Creek, —, 136; Beaver Dam, 130; Mount Pleasant, J. B. Dunn, the same; Green River, A. Taylor, 127; Sandy Creek, 118; Pond Run, 105.

⁶ At the date above named, it reported 174; Rocky Spring, 100.

DRAKE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION, NO. 2,

Is on the same ground. Of the date of the division, or any circumstances attending it, I am not informed; it is reported in the B. Almanac, as being upward of five hundred strong in 1846.

MT. PLEASANT CHURCH, *G. O. Harris* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1824. This is the largest body of the kind in the State, except the Elkhorn. This is a strong branch of the Red River fraternity; it was formed by a division of it at the time above named. This fact I learn from Allen's Register for 1833, and besides this, I have obtained no historical accounts of the origin or progress of this large baptist interest. Its doings, as reported in the Minutes, indicate much more activity and enterprise in evangelical and benevolent operations than is generally found in our Kentucky institutions, especially in this end of the State.

This wide-spread community contains 42 churches; 9 of them are in Montgomery and Robertson counties, in Tennessee; those in Kentucky are mostly in the counties of Christian, Todd, Logan, and Simpson.

The BETHEL CHURCH, the pastor not named, is the largest in this connection.⁸

WEST UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1832, of churches which were mostly dismissed from the Obion, whose seat is in Tennessee. Some historical sketches of the rise of this body and the causes which led to its formation have been supplied me by a correspondent who participated in the measures:

"In Dec., 1832, ten small churches, mostly members of the Obion Association, met through their delegates in convention, at Wadesborough, the chief town of Calloway Co., for the purpose of forming a new Association. A number of brethren, lay members, as well as preachers, who had for several years groaned under the yoke of *high-toned Calvinism*, or rather *too seed anti-nomianism*, imposed and vehemently urged by the principal preachers of the mother body, sought and obtained leave to hold the aforesaid convention. At the time of this convention, I think the aggregate number of members in the ten churches did not quite reach 300; at our 10th annual session, our number was but a little short of 1300.

"Ever since the formation of this Association, we have had sore trials and difficulties to encounter, on account of *anti-mission* or *o-mission* churches, which were courted and lugged along with us by our good leaders, who fondly hoped they might be brought to imbibe the spirit of Christ, and lay aside their silly opposition to missions and other kindred objects! But, alas, the policy was a short-sighted one!! for they have only been a clog and dead weight to the wheels of our beloved Zion.

"Let this become a beacon of warning to those who shall come after us!!!"

Some remarks of my correspondent on the overbearing spirit of the opposers of evangelical efforts may be seen in the note below.⁹

⁷ In 1846, it reported 105; Sulphur Spring, 96.

⁸ In 1846, it reported 261; Oikadelphia, —, 244; Pleasant Grove, —, 241; Lebanon, F. P. Jones, 225; L. W. Fork, R. Ross, 213; Russelville, S. Baker, 199; Union, I. Lamb, 190; Salem, 189; Olivet, R. T. Anderson, 174; Hopkinsville, 171; Sulphur Spring, O. H. Morris, 170; Kevvburgh, 148; Harmony, R. Williams, 147; Pleasant Hill, C. Mitcham, 134; Blooming Grove, 123; Clarksville, 121; Mount Zion, 118; Whippoorwill, J. W. Nimms, 113.

⁹ "The Union Association was formed by the missionary portions of the Obion Association, a body as dogmatical, dictatorial, and as intolerant as the church of Rome itself! * * *

"That this body (the Union) was pressed into existence by anti-missionary oppression and domination, will impart some more than ordinary interest to the facts which stand in connection with its history!!

"It had become no uncommon thing to hear preachers of the old Association declare from the pulpit, that Bible, Missionary, Tract, Sunday School, and Temperance Societies were engendered in the bottomless pit, and would infallibly lead their votaries to those dolorous regions!!!"

I am not only pained, but mortified, to stereotype such statements as coming from men who profess to be ministers of the gospel of the *Regular Baptist* order.

I at first concluded to suppress the paragraph for honor of the baptist name, but as it was communicated by a man of candor and intelligence, I finally thought it best to insert it, as a specimen of the rash and rabid manner in which some of the opponents of missions portray to their leaders the imaginary evils of the system. It is hoped there are but few such preachers who bear the baptist name.

LITTLE OBIION CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

This community is located in the south-west corner of the State, in the counties of McCracken, Hickman, Graves, and Calloway. It has one church in Illinois and one or two in Tennessee.

Thus far, forty-five associational communities in this State have been brought under review; many of them are indeed very small; but on my plan of completeness of enumeration, of all institutions which claim an associational character and operate in the usual manner of such bodies, I have felt compelled to give them a separate head. There are yet the following feeble fraternities, whose affairs, under *sub-heads*, I shall briefly describe:

CLARK'S RIVER ASSOCIATION, 1830, is within the bounds of the West Union, in the two States of Kentucky and Tennessee.¹

SOLDIER'S CREEK, 1842, is nearly on the same ground, mostly in the county of Graves.

LITTLE RIVER, 1833, is the duplicate of the one which has been described; it is of course on the same ground, in the counties of Caldwell, Trigg, &c.

BETHLEHEM, 18—, when last heard from, was a small concern in Clinton and Adair counties, Kentucky, and Jackson, Tennessee.

BARREN RIVER, No. 2, 1830, is in the county of the same name.

PANTHER CREEK, 1843, is a very small body, if still alive, in the county of Hancock.

RED BIRD, 18—, is a young and small community in Clay and some other adjoining counties.

PAINT UNION, 18—, is in the north-east corner of the State, and corresponds with the Greenup.

Closing remarks. The following brief narratives exhibit great activity and success on the part of our denomination in this State. Some splits and divisions they have encountered at different times, but at present the great mass of the associated baptists are on the friendly side as to evangelical efforts, and are evidently advancing in zeal and activity.

Religious revivals. Many of these interesting scenes have been referred to in the preceding narratives, and I did intend to enter somewhat fully into a description of what has been denominated the *Great Kentucky Revival*, in the commencement of the present century, but find my limits will not permit it.²

The Campbellites or Reformers have numerous *disciples* and a very strong interest in Kentucky, which has been built up, in part, at the expense of the baptists. I have met with many complaints of their inroads upon Associations and churches in many parts of the State, to which I have made no allusion. These proselytes were good baptists before they fell in with the *new reformation*, and as to their *dipping* propensities, and their *anti-pedobaptist* principles, they have suffered no abatement by their change of name.

Westward Ho! has been the motto of the citizens of old Kentucky, from soon after it began to be settled, but notwithstanding the heavy drafts which have been made upon the baptist population in this prolific region, by emigration and other means, our society has made steady, and in some cases rapid advances in numerical strength; they are also making progressive improvements in their internal affairs, as to their ministers, their support, &c.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 107; Emmaus, M. T. Wiseman, 96. Rev. Stephen Ray is my correspondent for this Association.

¹ This is a small, declining body, doing nothing, and glorying in it.—*Letter of Rev. Joel E. Grace*, 1846.

² My account of this remarkable excitement, which spread into the denominations generally, in this and some of the adjoining States, as given in my second Vol., was published *in extenso* in London, in Dr. Evans' *All Religions*, in 1821, under the head of *Jerkers and Barkers*, with comments in his own peculiar style. Had not my article on this State far exceeded my expectations as to the amount of matter, it was my design to copy the article entire, with some additional items I have since received; but all remarks must be deferred to my next volume.

GENERAL ASSOCIATION. This body was got up under the name of a *Convention*, some fifteen years ago; but the history of this institution, which has become an important auxiliary to the denomination in the State, as I say in all other cases, must be deferred to my next volume.³

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS. The HARRODSBURG INSTITUTION, which was projected by the baptists, and the foundation for which was laid by a liberal layman of the order, has passed into the hands of the *Reformers*. With the process of the transformation I am not acquainted, nor would my limits or plan admit of the details, if I were.

The GEORGETOWN COLLEGE is decidedly a baptist institution; it is doing a good service to the denomination and the public, and the same may be said of the

COVINGTON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, which is *de facto* a Kentucky institution, although on the borders of Ohio, and in part under the auspices of the baptists of that State.

Colored members. From but few persons of whom I have sought information on this subject have I had statements sufficiently definite for my use.

Rev. Dr. Malcom estimates the colored population in the baptist churches in the whole of Kentucky at one fourth.

Rev. Thomas S. Malcom wrote me as follows, in 1843, "in regard to the *colored churches*:" "Although there are but few churches independent of the whites, yet there are many so to all intents and purposes. For example, the colored church in this city (Louisville) was constituted only last year, but for ten years it has had its own meeting-house, its own pastor, and baptized its own members. The connection was merely nominal." The same state of things, he says, exists in Georgetown, Lexington, Frankfort, Shelleyville, &c.

Correspondence. Considering the magnitude of the baptist interest in this State, this list is comparatively small; the fact is, it was generally understood that young brother Malcom was preparing statistical tables with much labor and great care, with a view to my benefit, in addition to the calls for it at home and many supposed these would contain all the historical information I should need.

The names of those who have afforded me essential aid have been mentioned in the course of my narratives, but I will recapitulate the whole list, as usual, with the omission of titles and localities.

Northern Section.—H. Malcom, T. S. Malcom, J. A. McGuire, Wm. C. Buck, I. McCoy, P. L. G. Watson, J. L. Kirk, J. M. Frost, A. Drury, H. K. N. Benedict, Wm. C. Morris.

Southern Section.—J. H. Kemper, Z. Worley, D. Buckner, S. Burch.

Western Section.—S. Ray, J. E. Grace, T. L. Garrett, Samuel McKay, R. W. Nixon, E. A. Daniels.

A number of these brethren have taken so much pains to supply me with documents, written and printed, that I do not feel willing to make any distinction among them. The labors of young brother Malcom have of course been the most available for me, on account of his statistical tables.

The *Banner* and *Pioneer*, the organ of the denomination in this State, has been very attentive in reiterating my circulars and historical notices.

³ So cautious were the Kentucky brethren, and so much afraid of a consolidation of power, that they were slow at first to come into the measure. The late Dr. Noel, the moderator of the first meeting, was one of the principal movers in this undertaking; when I was in the State, in 1829, he informed me that his brethren stood off—were afraid, &c. I encouraged him to make a beginning, if they got no more together than the English baptists did in their first missionary meeting in Kettering. I saw some places were surcharged with preachers, while others were famishing for the bread of life. The attempt was made, and a good degree of success has attended the effort.

CHAPTER XXIII.

MISSOURI, IOWA, WISCONSIN.

SECTION I.

MISSOURI.

Early history—Comparative views—Missouri Association—Franklin—Union—Bethel—Cape Girardeau—Black River—New Cape Girardeau—South Liberty—Blue River—Concord—Saline—Osage.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN MISSOURI.

Description of the First Company, by Rev. J. M. Peck.

"As early as 1796-7, a number of baptist families emigrated from North and South Carolina and Kentucky to upper Louisiana, now Missouri, and lived for several years under the Spanish Government. Among these were several of the children and family connections of the pioneer of Kentucky, Col. Daniel Boon. Though Boon himself never united with any church, yet he was religiously disposed, sustained an amiable and moral character, and was a baptist in sentiment. We speak advisedly, for we have preached repeatedly in his presence, and conversed freely with the venerable old gentleman, with his silvered locks and smiling, benevolent countenance, at the age of more than four score. At the period of the arrival of these emigrants, the Romish religion only was tolerated by law; but the commandants, disposed to encourage emigrants from the United States, did not molest them. Among these pioneers across the Mississippi, were Abraham and Sarah Musick, Abraham Musick, Jr., and Terrel Musick, Jane Sullens, Sarah Williams, Mrs. Whitley, R. Richardson and wife, all of whom settled within the present boundaries of St. Louis county. The Boon family, David Darst, Wm. Hancock, Flanders Calloway, and others, settled on the north side of the Missouri river, from twenty to forty miles above St. Charles. These families lived without church privileges for several years. The late pious John Clark was the first preacher to penetrate these remote frontiers, and seek out and feed these scattered sheep in the wilderness. John Clark was from England, where he received a respectable education. He came into South Carolina, where he taught school for a period, and where he was converted and entered the ministry in the methodist connection, and for a period officiated as a circuit preacher. He soon found his way to Illinois, from whence he made repeated excursions to carry the gospel into the settlements of Upper Louisiana. Clark soon became a baptist, attached himself to the class denominated Friends to Humanity, lived a most exemplary and pious life, and died in 1833. He was a man of ardent piety, uncommon in faith and prayer, peculiarly benevolent, and employed his time wholly in doing good to others. He traveled on foot on his circuits, and preached the gospel with much success from the extreme frontiers of Missouri to Florida.

"Thomas R. Musick, now living in Missouri, and a man by the name of Brown, and perhaps other ministers, visited and preached in Missouri, in early times. They were frequently threatened with the *Calabozo* (the Spanish prison), but through the lenity of the commandants were permitted to escape. Their little meetings were quite refreshing to the pilgrim settlers, surrounded as they were by the rites and laws of Romanism. In these times of restriction, Abraham Musick applied to Zeno Trudeau, the commandant at St. Louis, an officer quite friendly to the protestant emigrants, for leave to have preaching at his house. The commandant was inclined to favor the Americans secretly, but compelled to reject all such petitions openly, replied promptly that such a petition could not be granted. 'I mean,' said he, 'that you must not put a bell on your house, and call it a church, nor suffer any person to christen your children but the parish priest. But if any of your friends choose to meet at your house, sing, pray, and talk about religion, you will not be molested, provided you continue, as I believe you are, good christians.' He knew that as baptists, they would dispense with the rite of infant baptism, and that plain 'backwoods' people, as they were, could find

their way to their meetings without the sound of the 'church-going bell.' Thomas E. Musick removed his family and settled in St. Louis county, in 1803, immediately after the news had arrived that the country was ceded to the United States. Various circumstances retarded the regular organization of a church in this part of the territory until 1807. This church, known by the name of Feeffe's Creek, still exists, and has a commodious brick meeting-house, sixteen miles north-west from St. Louis. A number of baptists emigrated from Kentucky to Cape Girardeau county, soon after the treaty of cession to the United States. A small church, called Tywappity, was organized at the head of a tract of alluvion, or bottom land of that name, in 1804. This was the first organized church of any protestant denomination in the territory. In 1805, another church, called Bethel, was formed in a settlement a few miles west of Cape Girardeau, and near where the town of Jackson now is. This church, in 1812, had two ministers, and eighty members. A baptist minister by the name of Green, preached for a period in these early churches in Missouri. In 1816, the Bethel Baptist Association was formed at a meeting held with the Bethel Church, Cape Girardeau county."

Mr. Peck continues his narrative by detailing facts relative to churches and Associations, which will be noticed in the accounts which I shall give of these institutions.

Description of the Second Company, by Rev. E. Rogers.

"A few baptists had emigrated from Kentucky to the upper part of Missouri, as early as 1812, but they were greatly molested by the Indians, particularly during the war between Great Britain and this country. Shortly after their settlement, they formed one or two churches, but the times were so perilous, and having to live in forts, they could seldom meet in a church capacity.

"In 1818, five small churches met together in conference at the Mount Pleasant M. H. in Howard county, and laid the foundation for the first Association in that region. * * *

"The *Upper Missouri*, for the same extent of territory, contains more baptists than any other spot west of the Ohio; but they are somewhat divided in opinion as to the benevolent operations of the day. The glorious cause of missions, however, is gaining ground very fast, and active ministers of the gospel are greatly needed.

"That country was the field of my labors for fifteen years. I was ordained at Chariton, 1820, and enjoyed many happy days in endeavoring to preach in the cabins and under the trees of the forest, and in baptizing converts in the great Missouri, and in almost every creek on both sides of it, to the western boundary of the State. I had the pleasure of burying with Christ in baptism, in that interesting country, about 500 persons, and the blessed seasons we enjoyed on the banks of the rivers and creeks will never be erased from my mind."

The foregoing accounts are much extended in the documents from which they are taken. The other portions of their narratives will be incorporated in the histories of the Associations, as I progress in my history of the State.

Comparative views. From these statements, we see that foundations began to be laid for baptist institutions in this then territorial government, early in the present century; but few Associations, however, were formed until a number of years after the denomination had planted churches at different locations in this wide-spread region.

In Allen's Register for 1833, the baptist population of Missouri, so far as communicants were concerned, was about five thousand. They were embodied in about a dozen associational confederacies, in some cases at great distances from each other. The Mount Pleasant was much the largest of the whole, and Salem and Fishing River were the next in size; all the others appeared to be in their infancy as to numerical strength. From that period to the present time, according to the last B. Almanac, at least 400 per cent. has been added to the denomination in this State.

From this general and brief survey of the affairs of our denomination in this new and extensive field of their operations, I shall proceed to give my usual accounts of the associational interests which it contains, under two heads, *Southern* and *Northern*; *Western* might be added, as the territory is sufficiently ample, but the institutions are, for the most part, so young and small, and supplied so few materials for general history, that it would make the divisions all too small for ordinary arrangements. I intend to have but two sections for the State; the great Missouri river will be my general line of demarcation, but where communities run over it, I shall follow them, so far as primary bodies are concerned. In each division I shall begin where our people first planted their standard.

¹ These statements of Messrs. Peck and Rogers are taken from the *B. Memorial and Allen's Register*, for 1836.

MISSOURI ASSOCIATION—*Southern Division.*

This community was organized, as we have seen in Mr. Peck's introductory remarks, in 1817; it originated from the Illinois Association, some of whose churches extended over the great river of the west. "The constituent churches were Feeffe's Creek, Boeuif, Negro Fork, Coldwater, Upper Cuivre, and Femme Osage; for several years there were only two preachers resident within its bounds, and a third residing in an adjacent State, but affording pastoral labors as a traveling missionary."²

This Association, so small and feeble in its commencement, has been the mother of a number of the surrounding institutions of the kind, as the succeeding narratives will show.

CITY OF ST. LOUIS. This famous emporium of this region is within the bounds of this body, and contains, I should judge, most of its strength, moral and numerical.

FIRST CHURCH was gathered in 1818, under the ministry of Rev. Messrs. James E. Welch and J. M. Peck, who were then acting as missionaries under the B. G. Convention. It prospered well for a few years at first, when its course became stationary or retrograde; but for a few years past, under the ministry of stated and efficient pastors, it is becoming a central point of operations for the denomination in the State. It was reorganized in 1833.

I cannot give a list of the pastors of this people for upward of twenty years from their organization. Their services, I believe, were mostly monthly, and generally of short duration.

Rev. R. E. Pattison, D.D., now at the head of Covington Institution, Kentucky, was settled here in 1840; successor to him, was

Rev. I. T. Hinton, now pastor of the church at New Orleans.

Rev. S. W. Lynd, D.D., late of Cincinnati, was transferred to this pastorship in 1845.

AFRICAN CHURCH. This large community was constituted in 1827; it had existed for a few years before, a branch of the church last named.³

Of the two other churches in this city, I have not gained sufficient information for the construction of my usual narratives. The best account I can give I shall exhibit in the following

Recapitulation of the baptist interest in St. Louis.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Church, - -	1818	S. W. Lynd, - -	170
African Church, - -	1827	J. B. Mecham, - -	400
Third Church, - -	1829	-----, - extinct	000
North Church, - -	1843	W. F. Nelson, - -	60
		Total,	630

The FEEFFE'S CREEK CHURCH, 1807, now just forty years of age, has been somewhat distinguished among the baptists in Missouri; it seems to have been a sort of rendezvous for our order, long before it was known in the great city which has grown up in its vicinity.

The AFRICAN CHURCH, *St. Louis*, is the largest in this body.⁴

This old community is located wholly in the county of St. Louis, and at no great distance from this metropolis of the State.

FRANKLIN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1832, by a colony from the Missouri, from which, it is not far distant, in the counties of Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, and a few others. It began with about one hundred and seventy-five communicants; in seven

² Allen's Register for 1836, p. 231.

³ An interesting account of this flourishing body under the ministry of Mr. Mecham, a man of color, and also of his extraordinary enterprises in benevolent efforts toward his own race, may be found in Allen's Register for 1836, p. 231.

⁴ In 184 , it reported 400; Second Church, estimate 200; Third Church, —; North Church, —.

years, its membership amounted to upward of twelve hundred; its bounds became extensive, and by mutual agreement, the new interest next to be named went out from it.

I have no Minutes of this body later than 1841, at which time none of its churches came up to 100.

UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1839; it began with the churches of the mother body, which were situated to the north of the Merrimac river; it now extends into Jefferson, Washington, St. Francis, Ripley, and Crawford. For the want of its Minutes, I am unable to state the number or size of its churches.⁵

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1816, and is the oldest institution of the kind in the State, being one year in advance of the Missouri; it is on the borders of the Mississippi river, in a southern direction from St. Louis, adjoining Illinois; a part of its churches were at first in the last named State, but it is now wholly in Missouri, in the counties of St. Genevieve, St. Francois, and Washington. Its Minutes for 1845 represent its numerical strength between three and four hundred.

CAPE GIRARDEAU ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1824; it was organized with ten churches; all but one came from the Bethel. Allen, in his Register for 1836, represents it as an active body in benevolent operations, which, I believe, is not the case at present. It is located principally in the county from which it took its name; its number is reported to be very small.

BLACK RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835; this community was organized with a colony from the one last named; it is located in the county of Wayne, and some adjoining ones on a river from which it took its name, in the lower part of the State, near to the line of Arkansas.

The Minutes of this body for 1845 represent it in a prosperous condition.

NEW CAPE GIRARDEAU ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1840; the churches of this new institution were mostly from the mother body, on the same ground. My correspondent for this young fraternity illustrates the causes which led to its formation as follows:

"The friends of missions while in this former connection, seeing the destitution of the feeble churches and settlements in the counties of Perry, Cape Girardeau, Scott, and New Madrid, which were within their bounds, felt it their duty to adopt some plan by which these regions might be supplied with gospel means; and knowing that efforts of this kind would be opposed by our anti-effort brethren, as had before been done, * * * thought proper to withdraw and form a new interest."

The counties already named indicate the locality of this body; its churches are all small, but I should think, on the whole, the body is gaining in numbers and strength.⁶

I have now gone down the shores of the great Mississippi river from the neighborhood of St. Louis to the northern bounds of Arkansas, and at some points have branched out at some considerable distance into the adjacent regions.

⁵ Rev. J. M. Peck and J. C. Brickey, of Potosi, who, I believe, is a lay brother, have supplied me with the few historical items mentioned above.

⁶ My accounts of the Associations generally, thus far, are made out from what is found in Allen's Register, and the communications of elders J. M. Peck and A. Hogard. Mr. H. has supplied me with intelligence relative to the churches and ministers in the two Girardeau communities, much more in detail than my limits will permit me to insert.

A very great range of country yet remains to be explored, bounded by the Missouri river on the north, Arkansas on the south, and the Indian territory on the west. Interspersed in this extensive field are a number of associated confederacies; of but few, however, have I gained sufficient information for the construction of my accounts: a portion of them must be disposed of in my *summary statement*.

I do not expect my collocation of them will be very accurately made, as I have no guide in this part of my arrangements but the map of the State.

Although it is far to the west, yet, as it is the first institution in that direction of which I have gained any definite account, I shall next take the

SOUTH LIBERTY ASSOCIATION.

This community was formed in the spring of 1840; the names of the constituent churches were Mt. Pleasant, Cedar Creek, Providence, Enon and Turkey Creek; all then were of recent formation, and, I believe, were generally the fruits of missionary labors of zealous and self-sacrificing evangelists and pioneers on the ground, or who were sent here from abroad.

This people would be ungrateful to take a stand against the missionary enterprise, which has been the principal means of gathering a flourishing community in a wide-spread field of moral destitution.

The MOUNT PLEASANT CHURCH, *Wm. Tatem* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

MOUNT ZION CHURCH, *H. Akard* pastor, is the next in size.

This young and vigorous fraternity is widely spread abroad. I see it has churches in the counties of Polk, Dallas, Dade, St. Clair, Cedar, Green, and Pulaski. It stretches far towards the Indian Territory on the west, and Arkansas on the south.⁸

BLUE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed, in part, from the Fishing River, in 1834; it began with about eight churches, a less number of ministers, and its membership at its commencement is supposed to have been quite small.

Rev. John Warder was the first moderator of this community, which office he sustained about seven years, when he went out of it in the division soon to be named.

Rev. John Farmer was his successor in this office until his death in 1845. My correspondent for this now large interest (for this region of country) observes:

I became acquainted with the Association in 1840; at that time there were sixteen churches and one less number of ministers, including two licentiates. Their names were Warder, Fisher, Bowers, Staton, Ousley, Savage, Richerson, Rickets, Jackson, Powel, two Whites, and three Farmers.

In consequence of a resolution of the body in 1841, that the subject of missions should not be a test question, six of the ministers withdrew, and a large portion of the members, and formed a new interest, by the name of *Mount Zion*, which I shall place among the small fraternities, of which I have not gained sufficient information for my usual heads.

The extensive boundaries of the Blue River Association my correspondent describes as follows:

"It is spread over all the upper part of the State, on the south side of the Missouri river, in the counties of Jackson, Fayette, Johnson, Van Buren, Henry, and a part of Benton."

Some of these counties are new and very large; two of them, viz., Van Buren and Jackson, adjoin the Indian Territory on the west.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 101; the churches are 26 in all, but none of the others come up to 100. *Rev. D. R. Murphy* is my correspondent for this Association and region of country. *Elder Buckner*, he informs me, prepared historical documents for my use, which I do not find among my papers. *Brother M.* has given me detailed accounts of the rise of most of the churches here; of their revival seasons, and of the unusual number of ministerial sons which they have sent forth.

⁸ There is a discrepancy between the Minutes and *Mr. Murphy's* statement as to the date of this body. Those of 1846 purport to be of the seventh annual session; but probably no one is better acquainted than *Mr. M.* with the rise of this community.

The LEXINGTON CHURCH, *Wm. C. Ligon* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹ This is an old and efficient community, and from it have gone out the Richmond, Mount Prairie, Grunton Valley, and Dover Churches.

The UNION CHURCH, *Henry Farmer* pastor, is the next in size.

CONCORD ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the old Mount Pleasant, in 1823; with materials for the history of this now the largest associational confederacy in the State I am very amply supplied.

The early history of this body will anticipate, in part at least, that of Mt. Pleasant, which our brethren in that region suppose is on the oldest baptist ground in the whole of this part of Missouri. It is to be placed at the head of the next section, and I shall reserve a portion of the facts which are common to both, to be inserted in connection with the affairs of the mother of this and most of the communities in this *wp* country territory.

The commencement of this Association, as copied by my correspondent from the Records of the first meeting, is as follows:

"Pursuant to a resolution of the Mt. Pleasant Association, held at Pisgah M. H., in Cooper county, in September 1823, under a wise and righteous Providence, we, the baptist churches of Christ, resident on the south side of Missouri river, and west of a line commencing at some point on said river, and running such a course as to include the Big Bottom church, do agree to be called and known by the name of the 'Concord Association.'"

The churches to the number of eight, containing, in the aggregate, 325 members, met at the Nebo M. H., in the same county, in October following, and completed their organization.

Rev. E. Rogers was the first preacher, P. Wood, moderator, and J. O. Bryan, clerk.

The whole list of delegates is put down without distinction. Luke Williams, John B. Logan, Peter Woods, Jacob Chisholm, and probably a number of others were of the clerical order.

The Principles of Union, *Plan* or Form of Government, the *Rules* of Decorum, and *Articles* of Faith, are all sent me in MS. *verbatim et literatim*, making no small display of documents for the beginning of an infant institution; but that is the way they do the thing through the south and west.

So slow was the increase of the baptists in this country, that this community remained stationary for a few of the first years, when, by means of revivals of religion, frequent and extensive, large additions were made to its ranks; and, although heavy drafts have, in a number of cases, been made on it in favor of new institutions, yet it has held its own, and is now a fraction in advance of its maternal neighbor, which holds the second rank as to numerical strength in Missouri.

In 1842, three hundred and seventy-five were baptized into its communion, and six new churches were added to its number.

In the following year, upward of seven hundred were received by baptism, which augmented its membership to more than twenty-one hundred. Soon after, a third colony went off to set up a new standard on the Osage river. The other detachments from this fruitful mother will soon be named.

The Concord Association appears to have contained from the beginning a good number of efficient churches, whose pastors have been eminently distinguished for untiring industry and ministerial usefulness. Historical sketches and favorable notices have been sent me of most of the constituent members of the body; in some cases, the details are very ample and minute, especially of Pisgah, Mount Pleasant, Concord, and Big Lick churches; those of Mount Pleasant, Boonsville, formerly called Double Springs, and High Point, are noticed as among their active and efficient communities.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 186; Union, 120; Little Blue, 99; New Cape, 94. *Rev. Henry Farmer* is my correspondent for this community. Ministers of the name of Farmer have been somewhat numerous in this region; *Rev. J. M. Peck* informs me they came from Virginia. The Minutes of this Association for 1845, contain historical sketches of the churches.

Among the pastors of these churches and other evangelists and pioneers of the country, John B. Logan, Jacob Chisholm, Kemp Scott, M. D. Noland, A. P. Williams, and T. C. Harris, are respectfully mentioned.

The CONCORD CHURCH is *one of, if not the oldest* community in this region; as its history is somewhat singular, I shall relate it in the note below.¹⁰

The PISGAH CHURCH is also an important institution in this region.

Rev. John B. Logan has had the pastoral care of this people for many years; assistant to him, at present, is

Rev. T. C. Harris, who has stood in this relation but a short time.

The BIG LICK CHURCH, 1822, is another of the old and efficient communities on this ground.

The MOUNT NEBO CHURCH is, at present, the largest in this connection.¹

These churches assisted to form both Mount Pleasant and Concord Associations.

SALINE ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the Concord in 1842; the Lamine river was agreed upon as the line of division, and the new interest took the churches to the west of that river.²

OSAGE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was also formed from the prolific Concord, in 1844; it is about five hundred strong. Its churches are in the counties of Camden and Pulaski, and the south parts of Miller and Morgan.³

There are a few more associational communities in this southern division, which I shall name in my summary statements at the close of my account of these bodies in Missouri.

¹⁰ This body was organized in due form in the district of St. Charles, some distance above St. Louis, then called *Upper Louisiana*, in 1810, and Joseph Baker became its pastor. It was soon dispersed by the *Indian war* which broke out in this country. "The next we hear of these cross-bearing disciples was in the *Boon's Lick country*, where they, with others who had settled in this then remote and wilderness location, were re-organized in 1827." The names of the constituent members, and the officers of the body, whether in its original or re-organized form, are all before me. This has been an important institution in this part of the State, and a fruitful nursery of churches, although at present its numerical strength is not equal to some of its neighbors.

¹ In 1846, it reported 215; Pisgah, 147; Big Lick, do.; Mt. Pleasant, A. K. Longan, 143; Moreau, M. D. Noland, 114.

The history of the churches above named has been supplied me by lay brethren. *James Greenhalgh, Esq.*, a deacon of the old Concord community, appears to have taken the lead in the business; associated with him as church clerks or committees, were George Crawford, Robert Tindell, Moses Martin, James Bradley, Josiah Gabriel, Hawkins Barnes, James Williams, Adam W—. The documents are quite voluminous and well written, and with all other things of the kind, will be carefully kept for future use. So great has been the increase of our denomination, that my narratives, in the most condensed form, overran all my calculations, and oblige me to study brevity at every point.

"The Concord Association is located in the County of Cole, the northern part of Miller and Morgan, and is spread into all the eastern part of Cooper county, below the Lamine river."—*Greenhalgh's papers*.

² This fact is communicated in Mr. Greenhalgh's history of the Concord Association; its Minutes I have not seen, and know nothing more of its history. It must of course be on the south of the Missouri river, in Saline and adjacent counties.

³ Mr. Greenhalgh's historical papers.

SECTION II.

Mount Pleasant Association—Fishing River—Salem—Little Bonne Femme—North Liberty—Platte River—North Grand River—Cuiivre—Salt River—North Bethel—North Union—Wyaconda—Southern—Northern—Closing Remarks—Correspondents.

MOUNT PLEASANT ASSOCIATION

BEARS date from 1818; its early history I very opportunely find prepared at my hand, in a document on which full reliance may be placed;⁴ from it the following extracts are made:

"In 1818, five small churches on the 25th of July convened at Mt. Pleasant M. H., Howard county, Missouri Territory, then denominated *The Boon's Lick Settlement*; and there, in the but recent abode of the savage, and where the echo of his howl had hardly ceased vibrating upon the ear, these churches formed the Mt. Pleasant Baptist Association, viz.: Mt. Pleasant, Concord, Mt. Zion, Salem and Bethel, numbering one hundred and sixty-one members, including Wm. Thorp, David McLane, Edward Turner, Colden Williams, and Luke Williams, preachers of the gospel of Christ.

"These churches, and every member thereof, were of one heart and of one mind, of one soul and of one spirit, as was the first church at Jerusalem. Would to God that the same could now be said of the churches composing the same Association. We say the same Association; for, although three Associations have originated with us, the primitive name is yet attached to us.

"The Association thus assembled proceeded to adopt the constitution upon the basis of which it was formed, and an abstract of principles Calvinistic in their character.

"The first annual conference was held at Mt. Zion, commencing on Saturday, 11th Sept., 1819, where the churches of Mt. Pisgah and Providence knocked for admittance with the Association, and were received.

"The second anniversary meeting was held with the church at Concord, Cooper county, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th days of September, 1820, where the churches at Petitsaw Bottom, Mt. Nebo, Double Springs, Mt. Arrarat, Little Bonne Femme, Big Bottom and Chariton, were severally admitted."⁴

In the next three years, 18 new churches united with this growing community, which brought its members up to a little over a thousand and a half, which were dispersed over a distance of about 200 miles on both sides of the Missouri river.

This brings us down to 1823, when colonies began to go out from this mother institution. The Concord has been described, and the Fishing River and Salem will be soon.

The WALNUT GROVE CHURCH, *F. Wilhoit* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

After all its curtailments, by mutual agreement or otherwise, this community is now located principally in the counties of Howard, Randolph, and Boone.

FISHING RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed from old Mt. Pleasant, in 1823; it went off at the same time as the Concord, as we have seen in its history. The Concord community took the churches on the south side of the Missouri river; this, those principally on its northern side, in the counties of Clay, Ray, and some adjoining ones.

I have seen none of its Minutes later than 1842; then it abounded with churches, none of which came up to 100, and its membership was about 900.

⁴ Minutes of the Mt. Pleasant Association for 1833.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 235; Bethlehem, G. Carey, 221; Chariton, F. Friestoe, 211; Mt. Olive, W. H. Mansfield, 160; Huntsville, —, 137.

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1827; this was the third colony which emigrated from old Mt. Pleasant. I have none of its Minutes, and know not enough of its history for the construction of my usual accounts.

The counties of Boone, Calloway, and some adjoining ones, embrace the Salem community.

LITTLE BONNE FEMME ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839; it came out from the one last named, on account of her opposition to the missionary enterprise. I have none of its Minutes later than 1842; then its membership was about 700. It appears by the B. Almanac to have had large additions since. This appears to be a vigorous and growing institution; its locality, so far as its Minutes indicate, is in the counties of Calloway, Montgomery, &c.

COLUMBIA and NASHVILLE, on or near to the Missouri river, are within the bounds of this Association.

The LITTLE BONNE FEMME CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in this body at the date above named.⁶

PROVIDENCE CHURCH, *James Suggett* pastor, was the next in size.

In order to follow the genealogy of the Associations thus far in this northern section, we have gone a considerable distance down the Missouri river; we will now take an opposite course, and go up this noble stream towards the western and north-western boundaries of the State.

NORTH LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1844; it was formed of seceding churches from the Fishing River fraternity, and some new churches in its vicinity; the circumstances attending its formation I have not learnt. It is located in the counties of Clay and Platte.

The PLEASANT RIDGE CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this new interest;⁷ it appears to be a vigorous and growing body.

PLATTE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1842; this *far west* institution was organized at Bee Creek M. H., Platte Co., with only three small churches, containing, in the aggregate, about one hundred and twenty-five members. Fifteen churches have since been added, nine of them in 1845. This vigorous young interest, I should judge, is located mostly in the county in which it was constituted, and is probably the result of missionary labors.

NORTH GRAND RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 184—; this body is located on the river whose name it bears, in the northern part of the State, mostly, I should judge, in the county of Grundy. I have a copy of its late Minutes, but no items of its history.

⁶ In 1842, it reported 146; Providence, 106; Richland, Noah Flood, 94.

Bonne Femme is French, and means a *good woman*; it is the name of a place here probably of some distinction, as it has given name to this church and Association. In some cases it is written *bon*, which is incorrect, as that is the masculine from the old Latin, *bonus*. *Bonne* is feminine, and is the term to go with *femme, woman*.

Rev. James Suggett, who removed from Kentucky, where he was formerly favorably known; and *John Welch, Esq.*, a brother of *Rev. James E. Welch*, agent of the A. S. S. Union, I see are members of this community.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 142; Pleasant Grove, Jonas D. Wilson, 119; New Hope, Robert James, 104; Richmond, A. P. Williams, 96.

I am indebted to *Rev. J. M. Peck* for the pedigree of this community; its Minutes decide its age; they, as well as those of Platte River, were sent me by elder M. Cline. Elder E. Stout, a member of the body, has written me, but none of them have given me the needful historical sketches.

For a rare thing in this country, the dates of the churches are put down in the Minutes; Bee Creek was formed in 1832; Sugar do., 1840; all the others are of a later date.

This body is in the neighborhood of Fort Leavenworth, in the Indian country.

The WASHINGTON CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this community.⁸

Having described all the associational interests in the upper regions of the State of which I could gain any items of intelligence, I will go down towards the mouth of the Missouri, and give some brief reviews of the communities which have risen in the eastern and north-eastern portions of this northern division, most of which are the descendants in the second or remoter generations from the old Missouri fraternity.

CUIVRE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1822; I have none of its Minutes, and know very little relative to its history, except that it originated from the old Missouri, and is located in the counties of Warren and Lincoln, on the north side of the Missouri river. So small is this non-effort fraternity, that, were it not for its maternal relation to the next body to be named, and its pedigree, I should not give it a separate head.

SALT RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1823; it consisted at first of the six following churches, viz.: Penno, Ramsey's Creek, Stout's Settlement, New London, Bethlehem, and L. Bear Creek; the ministers in attendance were Davis Briggs, Leroy Jackson, Jesse Sitton, and Jeremiah Taylor. Davis Briggs was moderator, and Wm. Carson clerk of the first meeting; its membership, in the commencement, was less than 100; it has now become a large and influential community for this part of the country, notwithstanding the drafts which have been made upon it for one or more kindred institutions.⁹ The churches in this region were raised up principally by the ministry of D. Briggs, D. Hubbard, N. D. Landrum, and Jere. Vardeman, the last of whom was formerly a distinguished evangelist in Kentucky, from which State he removed to Missouri, in 1830, where he spent the last twelve years of his eminently useful life. According to the custom of the country, he had the pastoral care of the four following churches, viz.: Palmyra, Bethel, Salem, and Mount Pleasant. Elders Broaddus and Bailey succeeded him in the care of these churches. Soon after Mr. Vardeman's death, the Bethel church enjoyed an extensive revival of religion, by means of which some seventy or eighty members were added by baptism.

Elder J. Vardeman is said to have baptized a greater number of persons during his long and successful ministry in Kentucky and Missouri, than any other minister in the western valley. He died in peace, at his residence in Ralls Co., in 1842.¹⁰

Rev. A. D. Landrum is said to have done much in this community and region in stirring up the churches in the business of ministerial support, which is but imperfectly attended to at present, but was formerly almost wholly neglected.¹

I have none of the Minutes of this body later than 1844; at that time,

The RAMSEY'S CREEK CHURCH, *A. D. Landrum* pastor, was the largest in this connection.¹

The counties of Ralls, Pike, and Lincoln embrace the churches of this body.

⁸ In 1845, it reported 139. This appears to be a growing body, with some apparently strong churches. None of the others come up to 100.

⁹ *Rev. Waller McQuie* is my correspondent for this Association; he has also given me important items for most of the institutions of the kind in this part of the State. His account of the rise of them is as follows: "This Association came principally from Cuivre, which originated from the Missouri Association. Since its formation, the Bethel Association went out from it, and out of the Bethel, I believe, was formed the Wyaconda and also North Union."—*Mr. McQuie's letter of 1846.*

¹⁰ I have his autograph, and hope to obtain some biographical sketches of him for my work on that subject.

¹ At the date above named, it reported 167; Sulphur Lick, R. Gilmore, 136; Bethel Wm. H. Vardeman, 128; Noix Creek, —, 100.

NORTH BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1834; it originated, as we have seen, from the one last named. It is situated principally in the counties of Munroe and Marion, in a northern direction from the mother institution.

The oldest churches in this institution were of course planted by the ministers already named, in connection with the Salt River fraternity. I have no items of its history except the few facts communicated by Mr. McQuie.

The PALMYRA CHURCH, A. *Broadus* pastor, is the largest in this body.²
The BETHEL, J. *Taylor* pastor, is the next in size.

NORTH UNION ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Bethel, in part, in 1844; it is located in Adair and some adjoining counties.

WYACONDA ASSOCIATION

Came wholly from the northern part of the Bethel, and bears date from 1845.

I have thus made separate heads for upwards of twenty associational confederacies in this State; and there are a number more, most of them quite small, of which I have gained so little information, that I must say what little I know of them under *sub-heads* in a summary manner. So much are they scattered, that I shall not make any great efforts to carry out my principle of contiguity and family alliance.

SOUTHERN DIVISION.

MISSOURI DISTRICT ASSOCIATION. This body was formed in 1829, by a division of an old institution in Illinois, which had *Friends of Humanity* as a part of its cognomen, whose history will be given under the head of that State. At the date above given, that community filed off under three heads; this was the Missouri branch or *district*. I have seen none of its Minutes, and have gained but little of its history, except that it is a very small community, located in the counties of Jefferson, Franklin, and Gasconade.

LITTLE PINEY ASSOCIATION was formed in 18—; it is in the county of Crawford, and probably some adjoining ones on the waters of the Gasconade river.

THIRD RIVER ASSOCIATION was formed in 18—; it is on the same river, but nearer to its mouth, mostly in the county of Gasconade. Two of its churches formerly belonged to the old Missouri Association.

SAC RIVER ASSOCIATION was formed in 18—; it takes its name from one branch of the Osage river; in what counties it is located I am not informed. These bodies are all small.

SPRING RIVER ASSOCIATION bears date from 1840; it is said to be of considerable size, and is in the south-west part of the State, toward the line of Arkansas.

MOUNT ZION ASSOCIATION was formed by a seceding party from the Blue River, in 1841; it is of course on the same ground, in Jackson, Van Buren, and a few other counties, in the western part of the south section of the State.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

MOUNT PLEASANT ASSOCIATION, No. 2, bears date from 1836; it was formed by a division of the old body of the same name, and of course is in or near to the Boone's Lick country. I have none of its Minutes, and have no information as to its present condition.³

² In 1845, it reported 139; Bethel, 138; Little Union, W. Hurley, 114; Gilead, P. N. Haycraft, 106; Hannibal, B. Stevens, 96.

³ Mr. Peck, in his accounts published in Allen's Register, intimates that the missionary party was the minor and seceding one. By the aid of some good friend (Mr. R. Hughes, I sup-

MIDDLE FORK ASSOCIATION was formed in 18—; the county of Macon, I should judge, is about the centre of this community.

SILOAM ASSOCIATION of so-called *Regular* baptists, went out from the Bethel, on account of missions, in 1840.

TWO RIVERS ASSOCIATION is north of Salt river; it was formed in 18—; no items of its history have I received.

The foregoing associational communities under their *sub-heads*, are generally quite small, and are, for the most part, on the opposing side as to evangelical efforts. There may be some other minor establishments, whose names I have not reported, in this wide-spread field of baptist operations, but I am confident that all of much numerical strength or moral efficiency have been named.*

Closing remarks. Although the baptists in Missouri began to make settlements almost half a century ago, yet it was at a much later period that they commenced operations, except on a very limited scale. Their first institutions originated with the brethren in the neighboring State of Illinois. Kentucky, which also comes in contact with its southern corner, has had no small share in building up the baptist cause here; but as is common in all new States, people from various quarters flocked here and united their efforts in the promotion of evangelical religion, and in making proselytes to the baptist creed. I see nothing peculiar in the history of our denomination in Missouri, except that they have propagated their sentiments and planted their churches and Associations much more extensively in almost all parts of the State than I had anticipated; so recent and wide-spread, however, have been their operations, and so little has been done to collect and arrange their history, that I did not calculate to be able to be very thorough or minute in my historical descriptions; but by the aid of Messrs. Peck, Rogers, and Allen, as to their oldest institutions, and of a number of good correspondents, I have succeeded much beyond my expectations.

In some few cases, there may be some slight inaccuracies in dates and historical facts; but so many of them have been reported from the records by men on the ground, who have had a very general acquaintance with the rise and progress of the society in their locations and vicinities, that I have great confidence in their correctness.

Literary institutions. As yet, I do not discover that our people have made any progress toward founding a college or theological seminary in Missouri. The Shurtliff College, at Alton, Ill., is so close alongside of them, and the water communications from almost all parts of the State concentrate so generally at that point, that their students, I believe, generally avail themselves of the advantages of that institution. At no distant period, our Missouri brethren will no doubt have an institution of their own somewhere on the great river which gives name to their State; and somewhere in the Boone's Lick settlements, in my opinion, would be a good location.

General Association. This body, under the name of the *Baptist Central Convention of Missouri*, was commenced in Calloway Co., in 1834; its beginning was small, but its doings have been equal to the first efforts of the kind in any other State; its history at large must be deferred for future description.

pose.) I have had the Mount Pleasant Minutes from 1833; their annual doings exhibit many of the particulars of the severe struggles which the friends of missions had with their opponents, but I do not find that they left the ground, or organized anew.

This was the most singular dispute I have met with in the whole range of altercations on the subject of benevolence; neither party had committed any overt acts in the business, *pro or con*. The Association had passed but one *Resolution* on the subject, which was to the effect, that all should be *free* to contribute or not, as their consciences and judgment might dictate. But this did not satisfy the opposing party; with them it was a *sine qua non*, an indispensable prerequisite, that the *ban of proscription* should be passed on the whole system of benevolence, and that no member should be held in fellowship who gave his own funds to support it! This I believe is a true version of the story.

* Rev. J. M. Peck, to whom, in connection with a number of very good correspondents for this State, I am indebted for a knowledge of the names, localities, and history of the Missouri Associations, refers to a body near the line of Arkansas, whose name he could not recollect; he also mentions the *Lamine* Association as one of the Missouri institutions. Mr. Greenhalgh says that the *Lamine* river was agreed upon as the dividing line, when the *Saline* Association was taken off from the Concord. He is very particular in all his accounts of new organizations in this region, but says nothing of one of the name in question. There was a small party went out from the Concord about 1828, with elder Chism or Chisholm at its head, which was afterwards dispersed; this may have been the company which is reported as the *Lamine* Association.

Correspondents. While communications have been somewhat voluminous, the list of contributors has not been large. Most of them have been mentioned in connection with my narratives, but, as usual, I will recapitulate the whole, with the omission of titles and localities: J. M. Peck, I. T. Hinton, James Greenhough, Henry Farmer, A. Hogard, J. C. Brickey, W. McQuie, D. R. Murphy, Geo. Crawford, R. Tindell, A. B. Harris, H. Hill, Wm. Taylor, John Welch, A. P. Williams, E. Stout, S. McGee, J. M. Johnson, Thomas Boulware, G. B. Perry, Moses Martin, James Bradley, Gabriel Hawkins, — Barnes, James Williams.

SECTION III.

I O W A.

Early history—Iowa, now Des Moines Association—Des Moines River—Davenport.

My information of the rise and progress of our denomination in Iowa and Wisconsin is exceedingly limited, as but few correspondents have made me any communications relative to the history of either territory; of course, my sketches of both these new regions must be very brief.

Rev. Wm. M. Morrow, of Mount Pleasant, Henry Co., is the only correspondent who has given me any historical sketches of the early movements of the baptists in Iowa; his account is as follows:

"In June, 1835, I and elder James Golshon, then on an exploring expedition from Illinois, commenced ministerial labors in this new country; some of my relatives, with others of the baptist order, had settled here early in the spring of that year; in the autumn following, I removed and settled in the place. Elder Samuel Hutton soon followed me, and in August, 1836, at the house of brother C. Jones, we, with others, were constituted into a church, by the name of Big Creek; our number at first was sixteen."⁵

This, from the best of my information, was the first baptist church which was planted in Iowa. Mr. Morrow's narrative continues to relate that Geo. Walter, M. B. Rowland, Thos. Howell, J. L. Gilmore, and Wm. Bradley, all, I believe, ministers, soon after settled in the country.

The **LITTLE CEDAR CREEK CHURCH** was also formed in 1836; that of **WEST LIBERTY**, in 1839.

The Association which grew out of the labors of these adventurers into this important field, appears to have been organized one year later than the one which I shall place first on the list of Iowa associational institutions.

DESMOINES ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1838; I have but an imperfect file of its Minutes, and no items of its history except what they contain.

IOWA ASSOCIATION was the name first given to this body, which it retained until 1843, when it was changed to the one which it now bears.

The Minutes of this community for 1846 contain some historical sketches of its churches, in which, for the most part, their dates are given; the one called **KESAUQUA**, *W. B. Morey* pastor, was formed in 1838.

The **PISGAH CHURCH**, *H. Burnett* pastor, was formed in 1839; all the others are of more recent origin; but few of them come up to half a hundred.

The disposition of this institution toward the cause of missions and evangelical efforts in general, is developed in the following items of doings at its last session:

⁵ In the above quotation, I have followed the ideas rather than the exact phraseology of elder Morrow.

"Resolved, That the proper development of christian principles, obedience to the command of Christ, our living head, and duty to a perishing world, imperiously demand our unabating sympathies, prayers, and free-will offerings, in publishing the gospel throughout the world."

'The *A. and F. Bible Society* is recommended in the same cordial manner, to the friendship and patronage of the Association.

'The *B. Publication Society* is also recognized as worthy of their special attention and support.

'*Sunday Schools*, and a number of baptist publications, the old *B. Magazine* among the rest, are named as objects of the favorable regard of this zealous fraternity.'

Messrs. J. N. Seely, H. Burnett, D. P. Smith, D. Jewett, W. B. Morey, and M. J. Post, were the chairmen of the various committees by whom these *Resolutions* were presented.

This body is located on or near to the great river whose name it bears.⁶

DESMOINES RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1840, with five small churches, whose aggregate of membership was a fraction under 100.

The names of the churches were Lick Creek, Little Cedar, Concord, Big Creek,⁷ Fairfield and Lynn Creek; they are now about double that number.

The present ministers are Samuel Hutton, Wm. M. Morrow, Jas. L. Gilmore, McCormac Zion, M. B. Rowland, Wm. Bradley, Jos. H. Flint, D. Wortman, J. Hill, Thos. Powell, *Ransom Coop*, and *J. Snofford*.⁸

DAVENPORT ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1841; this young interest exhibits a good degree of activity in evangelical efforts, and appears increasing in its numerical strength. Its locality, in its Minutes for 1846, is described as follows:

"The Davenport Association comprises the whole country lying between the Mississippi and the two Iowa rivers."

Rev. H. Burnett, the moderator of the Des Moines Association, next to *Mr. Morrow*, is my principal correspondent for Iowa; the whole baptists in this Territory, and the location of its institutions then in being, he has presented as follows:

"In this Territory are two Associations of the *missionary*, and one of the *old school* order of baptists. The *Des Moines*, and the *Des Moines River*, O. S., include the south part of the old, or *first purchase*, and are located south of the Iowa river.

"The Davenport Association lies north of the Iowa river, and runs as far north as Du-
buque. But two years since, it was organized; its increase last year was 163.

"The two missionary bodies comprise between six and seven hundred members; these, with the O. S. Association, and some Separate baptists and unassociated churches, make an aggregate of about twelve hundred of the denomination in Iowa.

"Besides these, there are about six hundred Campbellites or Reformers, in different parts of the Territory."⁹

⁶ Its position in Iowa will be more fully described in the quotation soon to be made from *Rev. Mr. Burnett's* communication.

⁷ This church is now called Mount Pleasant.

⁸ *Rev. Wm. M. Morrow* is my correspondent for this Association; to him I am indebted for most of my information of the affairs of the baptists in this territory. His accounts are much more minute than my limits will allow me to insert.

⁹ *Rev. H. Burnett's* communication, 1843. Elders *Morrow* and *Burnett* are citizens of the same town, Mount Pleasant, although they are on different sides as to missions. &c., yet, I should judge from their manner of writing, are on friendly terms with each other. Their accounts, also, of the whole baptist population in this region, essentially agree: their principal difference is, that *Mr. B.* counts only the members of the *D. M. River Association*, while *Mr. M.* takes into his account of O. S. B. a number of unassociated churches and small collections not yet organized, by which he computes his brethren at about four hundred and fifty, something more than double the amount of *Mr. B.'s* computation.

SECTION IV.

WISCONSIN.

Early history—Wisconsin Association—Racine—Milwaukee—South-western—Walworth—Closing Remarks.

I AM in about the same situation as to the early history of Wisconsin as of Iowa, and must glean a few sketches from the communications of elder B. Pierce, one of my principal correspondents for this Territory. His account of his ministerial labors as a pioneer in this then new and destitute region is as follows :

"I was the second minister that preached in Racine and Walworth counties.¹⁰ * * * I removed and settled here in Sept., 1836, and commenced preaching to a few scattered families. My first discourse was delivered in a little log shanty, in what is now the town of Delevan."

Mr. Pierce proceeds to state, that his assemblies, at first, were very small—that after continuing his itinerant labors in the two counties above named one year, he had collected a sufficient number of members for a small church, which was organized in Rochester, in 1837; Rev. Mr. Hinton, now of New Orleans, but then in Chicago, Ill., united with him in giving fellowship to the feeble band. Elder R. Griffin was preaching at this time to a small church in Milwaukee; other ministers soon moved into the country, among whom he mentions Topping, Lake, Conrad, Miner, Carr, Winchell, &c.

The settlement of some of these men was after the Association was formed.

Such is the account given by my aged correspondent, of the early movements of our denomination in this part of Wisconsin.

WISCONSIN ASSOCIATION

Was formed at Milwaukee in Oct., 1838; it consisted at first of six churches, viz., Rochester, Southport, Milwaukee, Lisbon, Sheboygan, Jefferson, and Salem, all young and small; the number of members is not stated by my correspondent, nor in the Minutes of the Convention which formed it.

Elder B. Pierce was the moderator, and R. M. Hollister, a lay brother, was clerk of the first meeting.

Rev. R. Griffin, then of Milwaukee, was the only minister in addition to the moderator to assist in the organization of this infant community.

At this point, I will make one more selection from Mr. Pierce's narrative :

"Ministers continued to come in among us so, that in 1840, we had a full session at Southport; in '41, then a little less than five years from the time I preached in the log shanty in Delevan, we held our Association within a few rods of the place, in a baptist meeting-house, with thirteen churches and eight ministers; and now (1843) we have fourteen ordained ministers and some licensed preachers, twenty churches and between six and seven hundred members. The church at Delevan, which sprung from my log-cabin assembly, has one hundred and twenty members. Truly I may say, what hath God wrought?"

This community made good progress in numbers and strength, so that at its seventh anniversary, it reported upward of thirty churches and ministers each, and about fifteen hundred communicants.

The PRAIRIEVILLE CHURCH, *O. Conrad* pastor, was then the largest in this body.¹

Since then, the two communities next to be named have been formed, mostly from this mother establishment.

¹⁰ The name or denomination of the first minister is not mentioned.

¹ At that date it reported 158; Delevan, J. H. Dudley, 139; Milwaukee, L. Raymond, 121.

RACINE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1846; although the fact is not expressly stated on the Minutes, yet it is evident, from the names of the churches, that most of them came from the one last named.

Rev. S. Tucker was moderator, and *Lorenzo Jones* clerk of the first meeting.

The RACINE CHURCH, *S. Tucker* pastor, is the largest in this new interest.²

MILWAUKEE ASSOCIATION

Was also formed in 1846; this new fraternity took the central part of the Wisconsin community.

Rev. P. Conrad was the moderator, and *H. Hovey* the clerk of the first meeting.

The Milwaukee and Prairieville churches, containing, together, about three hundred members, as their statistics have reported in the account of the mother body, it would be a repetition to insert them here.

The SOUTH-WESTERN ASSOCIATION, a young and small community, is put down in the B. Almanac as one of the Wisconsin institutions.

The WALWORTH ASSOCIATION is named in the Minutes of the Racine confederacy for 1846, as one of its corresponding bodies. Of neither of these recent organizations have I obtained any historical accounts.

Brief sketches of a few of the churches in Wisconsin.

MILWAUKEE CHURCH was gathered in 1837, and is probably the oldest in the territory.

Rev. Richard Griffin was its first pastor.

Rev. Peter Conrad, now of Prairie du Sac, then late from Hamilton Institution, New York, was settled here in 1841.

Rev. L. Raymond, his successor, is the present incumbent, but the date of his settlement I have not learnt.

This church, after passing through some scenes of trial and depression, appears now to be well founded and in a flourishing condition.

This town or city has had a most rapid growth; it is located on the eastern shore of lake Michigan, and bids fair to become the emporium of this growing territory.

GREENFIELD is six miles west of Milwaukee; the church here was formed in 1841, by the aid of elders *J. Blake* and *R. Griffin*.

RACINE, on lake Michigan, still lower down the country, is another very important location, but I have no information relative to the circumstances under which the church arose.

Both in this territory and Iowa, our people have planted the baptist standard in many places of much importance.

Closing remarks on Iowa and Wisconsin. The foregoing brief sketches of baptist affairs in these new governments exhibit no inconsiderable amount of enterprise, activity, and success on the part of the pioneers and evangelists by whose labors the first churches were planted.

The B. Home Mission Society has done much toward bringing matters to their present favorable position. I see here, as I have in many other regions, decided proofs of the wisdom of their planning, and the beneficial results of their well-timed patronage.

² In 1846, it reported 157; none of the others come up to half a hundred. *Mr. Tucker* is a brother of the pastor of the Oliver Street Church, New York.

General Conventions. Institutions, so called, exist in both Iowa and Wisconsin; they, of course, are mere incipient organizations, which serve as rallying points for the new baptist interests which are widely scattered, and form connecting links with the Home institution, to which they are auxiliary.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

Some projects have been started in favor of such needful aids to the baptist cause in these regions, but as yet, I believe nothing of the kind has been matured.

The SHURTLEFF COLLEGE at Alton, Ill., I see in some of their documents, is recommended as a suitable place for their students until they can get up institutions of their own.

Correspondents. This list for both these territories is small, but without them, I could have made no narratives at all of their early history; most of those who have made available communications have already been named in the course of my brief sketches, but, as usual, I will recapitulate them with the omission of titles and localities:

Iowa. Wm. M. Morrow, H. Burnett.

Wisconsin, Benjamin Pierce, Peter Conrad, A. Ferris.

³ I am fully impressed with the belief that there are other pioneers in both Iowa and Wisconsin, whose names ought to be mentioned in the accounts of the early movements of the baptists in both these territories; but as none of them have been reported to me, whoever they were, they must for the present be omitted.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ILLINOIS.

SECTION I.

Early history—comparative views—Illinois Association—Edwardsville—South District—Saline—Nine Mile—Franklin—Clear Creek—Muddy River—Bethel—Palestine—Vandalia.

REV. J. M. PECK, will be my guide in this State, in which he has long resided, and has very thoroughly explored; I shall, however, avail myself of the communications of a good number of correspondents, which will help to fill out the details at different points in this great State, where Mr. P.'s information was not so minute as theirs.

Allen's Register, whose information I believe came principally from Mr. Peck, will afford me essential aid.

Introduction to the history of the baptists in Illinois.¹

"The baptists were the first Protestant Christians to enter this region. The conquest of the county by General George Rogers Clark, in 1778, and the organization of a civil government by Virginia, opened the way for American emigration, and by 1786, a number of families had settled on the American Bottom, and in the hill country of what is now called Monroe county. They came chiefly from western Virginia, and Kentucky. In 1787, elder James Smith, a baptist minister, whose name is found on the first table for Kentucky, made them a visit, and preached the gospel with good effect. A few families from their first settlement, had been in the habit of keeping the Sabbath, governing their children, and holding meetings for religious purposes. At that period there were none who had been members of churches. Their method of observing the Sabbath was to meet, sing hymns, and one would read a chapter from the Scriptures, or a sermon from some author. No public prayer was made till after the visit of Smith, and some had professed to be converted. It deserves to be noted that the descendants of these families are now exceedingly numerous, that a very large proportion are professors of religion, that they are marked for industry, sobriety and good order in their families, that there is not an immoral person among all their descendants, and that of one family are five brothers who are ministers of the gospel.

"James Smith visited the settlements in Illinois three times. The Indians made frequent depredations, and on one occasion, they captured Smith, and conveyed him prisoner to their town on the Wabash. The people of Illinois, though extremely poor, raised \$170 for his ransom."

"In 1793, Joseph Lillard, a methodist preacher, visited this remote settlement. In the commencement of 1794, elder Josiah Dodge, of Kentucky, made a visit to the Illinois country, and in the month of February, baptized James Lemen, sen., Catharine Lemen his wife, John Gibbons, and Isaac Enochs. No church was organized on the occasion. Early in 1796, elder David Badgley removed his family from Virginia to this land of promise, and on the

¹ Mr. Peck is the geographer and civil, as well as ecclesiastical historian, of a territory of very great amplitude as to geographical boundaries, and of a rapidly increasing population. His *Gazetteer, Emigrant's Guide, &c.*, exhibit ample proof of his thorough knowledge of its affairs. In general, my limits will not admit of many details beyond the objects of my immediate research; but in this case, I will insert the following article from my industrious correspondent:

"*Illinois.*—This State extends along the eastern side of the Mississippi river, from the mouth of the Ohio, for the distance of nearly 700 miles, following its meanderings;—from 37° to 42° 50' North Latitude. In a direct and horizontal line by survey, its extreme length is 390 miles, and its extreme width 220 miles—its mean width 150 miles; including a section of Lake Michigan, its superficial area is 60,000 square miles. No State in the Union has an equal amount of rich arable land."

28th of May, the same year, constituted the *New Design Church*, of 28 members. Mr. Badgley had preached to the people for several weeks previously, in a revival, aided by Joseph Chance, an exhorter, and had baptized 15 converts. An Association called the *Illinois Union*, was organized in 1807, consisting of five churches, *New Design*, *Mississippi Bottom*, *Richland*, *Wood River*, and *Silver Creek*; four ministers, David Badgley, William Jones, Robert Brazil, and Joseph Chance, and 62 members. In 1809, difficulties arose on the question of a correspondence with the Associations in Kentucky, where slaves were held. Those who declined correspondence adopted the appendage 'Friends to Humanity, to the term Baptist, which they still retain. In other respects they accord with the baptists generally. The South District, North District, Saline, Vandalia, and Colored Associations in Illinois, and the Missouri District, a small body in Missouri, are of this class. Correspondence, co-operation and fellowship exist between these and other Associations and the Convention in Illinois, though by tacit consent it does not extend beyond that State. The peculiarities of the Friends of Humanity have been presented in our notes on Kentucky.

"The 'United baptists' re-organized themselves by a subsequent meeting into the 'Illinois United Baptist Association,' which, in 1812, included eight churches, four in Illinois and four in Missouri, and four ordained and two licensed preachers. A third party grew out of the division, of two or three small churches which still claimed to be the 'Illinois Union,' but which in 1819 merged in the Illinois Associations, which at that period numbered ten churches, eight ministers, and one hundred and ninety-four members. The Friends of Humanity, in 1821, reported four churches, nine ordained ministers, and one hundred and eighty-six members. The subject of both Foreign and Domestic missions was introduced into the Illinois Association in 1818, and met with approbation, and a social organization for mission and education purposes was recommended to be formed in conjunction with the Bethel and Missouri Associations west of the Mississippi, the same autumn. This organization was called 'The United Society for the Spread of the Gospel.' Its object was 'to aid in spreading the gospel and promoting common schools in the western parts of America, both among the whites and Indians.' The labors of this society will be noticed in our notes on Missouri. The missionaries employed to preach to the destitute in Illinois were David Badgley and William Jones. Two churches, *Little Wabash* and *Lamotte*, were gathered on the eastern side of the Illinois Territory, in 1815, which appear on the Minutes of the *Wabash District Association* of that year. Thomas Kennedy was a licensed preacher, and a member of the latter church. In 1820, the churches of *Lamotte*, *Little Village*, *Grand Prairie*, *Little Wabash*, and *Glady Fork*, existed in the settlements near the *Wabash river*, and were connected with the *Wabash District Association*. They numbered, jointly, 130 members. The same year (1820), the *Muddy River Baptist Association*, consisting of six churches, four preachers, and one hundred and fifty members, was formed in the south-eastern part of the State. Some of the churches had been in existence several years, and connected with an Association in Kentucky. In 1818, the eccentric Daniel Parker removed from Tennessee to Crawford county, Ill., of whose doctrine some notice has been given under Indiana. His efforts against missions produced divisions in the Associations in Illinois, so that the Illinois Association declared a virtual non-fellowship with missionary operations in 1824, and similar declarations were made by other Associations at subsequent periods. For several years, very few revivals of religion were enjoyed, and the principal additions to the churches were from emigration. The Friends of Humanity were the most active in preaching to the destitute, and received considerable accessions by conversions. In 1830, they had two Associations in this State (besides one in Missouri), which included nineteen churches, twenty-five ministers, and six hundred and thirty-two members. Successive revivals, under the preaching of ministers and students connected with *Rock Spring Seminary*, produced churches at *Edwardsville*, *Rock Spring*, and *Upper Alton*, which were formed without any direct connection with the existing subdivisions of the denomination. After due consultation, a circular was sent forth by these churches, inviting a conference with baptist ministers and brethren, without distinction of party, to consult on the interests of religion and devise measures to secure harmony and mutual co-operation among the churches and brethren in Illinois in advancing the Redeemer's kingdom. In response, about twenty-five ministers and a large number of private brethren met at *Edwardsville*, in October, 1830. After organization and mutual consultation, committees were appointed to prepare reports on the following subjects which were subsequently presented and adopted."

Mr. Peck's narrative extends to a description of the various institutions which arose in the region for domestic missions, periodical publications, literary, theological, &c., in more minute detail than I am accustomed to give

Comparative views of the progress of the baptists in Illinois.

From the foregoing sketches we see that very little was done toward planting churches of our order in this extensive region until after the commencement of the present century; up to 1820, two years after Illinois became an independent State, but four Associations had been formed here, viz.: *Illinois Wabash District*, *South District*, and *Muddy River*, which, in the aggregate contained about fifteen hundred members.

In 1836, the baptist population in Illinois, so far as church members were concerned, was about seven thousand;² considerably over 100 per cent. has been added to our society here since that period, as the statistical table will show.

From these introductory and general statements I shall proceed in my usual manner to exhibit the progress of our denomination in this State, under the heads of the associational fraternities which they have planted in almost every direction. I shall divide this State into three sections, *southern*, *middle*, and *northern*; my lines of demarcation will be rather loosely drawn, from about Alton to the neighborhood of Palestine, on the Wabash, for the *first division*; and from the mouth of Rock river, by Hennepin, to where it will strike Indiana, for the *second*; and all north of that line for the *third*.

Although it is now nearly extinct, yet, on account of its age and its maternal relation to a large family of kindred institutions, I shall place at the head of the list the old

ILLINOIS ASSOCIATION.—*First, or Southern Division.*

This body bears date from 1807; it was two years in advance of any other on the whole ground, and for many years was an important institution among the Illinois baptists. The Missouri Association, as has been shown in the history of that State, originated from it in 1809, as did a number of others in after years, at different points of the extensive field which it originally occupied.

The ministers and churches of this body, in its origin, are related in Mr. Peck's introductory narrative; it is now reduced to a few small churches, which are located along the Mississippi river, and at no great distance from it, in the counties of Macoupen, Madison, Clinton, St. Clair, Washington, and Randolph.

Although it is of but recent origin, yet, because of its important position, I will place next on the list the

EDWARDSVILLE ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1830, at the place from which it takes its name. Mr. Peck's introductory narrative exhibits, in a brief manner, the commencement of this community; it seems to have been intended as a rallying point for the friends of evangelical efforts throughout the State—of ministerial education—and of the missionary enterprise, both Foreign and Domestic. Its numerical strength has never been great, but by some means, it is much reduced from its former size.

The ROCK SPRING CHURCH, at the residence of Rev. J. M. Peck, is a member of this body.

The UPPER ALTON CHURCH, Rev. Jesse W. Dennison pastor, is the largest in this connection. This is the seat of

SHURTLIFF COLLEGE, and the whole corps of its officers, I should judge from the list of clerical delegates, are members of this establishment.

ALTON CITY holds the second rank as to the amount of its membership.

Rev. O. Hackett was the late pastor of this people.

Rev. A. Sherwood, D.D., president of the college, was a resident member. He has now removed to St. Louis, Ky., to become the successor of the late Rev. I. McCoy, Secretary of the Indian Missionary Society.

BRIGHTON CHURCH. Rev. E. Rogers, whose name appears in the early settlement of the Boone's Lick county, Mo., is the pastor of this church.³

Although the doings of this body for benevolent objects are on a limited scale, yet they exhibit for them a decided friendship and good will.

² These statements have been taken from Allen's Register for 1833 and 1836.

³ I have the minutes of this body for 1847; none of its churches, however, come up to 100.

SOUTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION,

Bears date from 1810; it holds the second rank as to the amount of its membership among the Illinois institutions. The old Illinois confederacy was its maternal parent; the circumstances of its origin are hinted at in Mr. Peck's narrative, and are more fully explained by him and another correspondent whose name appears in the note below.⁴

They together have given the history of the *Friends to Humanity*, and also the definition of this singular appendage to a few religious bodies in this particular location; it ought, in my opinion, now to be laid aside.

Mr. Peck, in a late communication, has described this whole family of associated confederacies in the following manner:

"The *South District Association—Friends to Humanity*, originated by a division of the old *Illinois B. Association*, in 1809.⁵ For several years the churches had a sort of annual mass meeting—not by regular delegation, but by voluntary attendance.

"In 1820, they first printed Minutes with the above names. The subject of correspondence with the * * * Associations in Kentucky first gave rise to the division. * * *

"The principal ministers of this body are and were the *Lemen* family, consisting of a father and four sons in the ministry. * * *

"In 1829, the body divided into three parts, called *South, North, and Missouri Districts*, but published only one set of Minutes.

"The *Saline Association* was formed from South District, in 1834.

"The *Vandalia Association* was formed from the Saline, in 1840.

"The *Nine Mile* and *Franklin Associations* and some others, grew wholly or in part from this old associational family alliance." * * *

As I shall make separate heads for most of these communities, I shall not, at this point, pursue Mr. Peck's narrative on this subject in a connected form.

The ground occupied by this numerous progeny from the old Illinois mother in the second, third, and succeeding generations, extended from Fayette county, in which *Vandalia*, the former seat of government is located, to the southern boundaries of the State. The counties are so numerous that I shall not name them here.

The *BETHEL CHURCH*, *Joseph Lemen* pastor, was the largest in the South District community in 1845.⁶

It is located principally in the counties of Clinton, Marion, Jefferson, and Franklin.

NINE MILE ASSOCIATION

Was formed Oct., 1845; it began with seven churches; J. R. Hutchings, Peter Hagler, David Huggins, Samuel Eaton, and M. J. Bracker, were the only ministers at its organization; the two last named were unordained.

Rev. P. Hagler was the moderator, and *J. R. Hutchings* clerk of the first meeting.

This body came from the Clear Creek and Saline Associations; the last one named is now extinct.

⁴ At my instance, the Rev. J. R. Hutchings, clerk of the Saline Association, before its dissolution, has given me a full explanation of the origin of the term *Friends to Humanity*. According to his account, in the *Compact* between Spain and the United States, a portion of the old French citizens had certain rights vested in them to continue the custom of their ancestors in this free state, &c. * * * The baptists, methodists, and others, got up the "St. Clair Humane Colonization Society," auxiliary to the General one, &c., &c. * * *

"About this time, the baptists began to multiply largely, &c., &c., and in process of time the *humane* character of the old secular institution just named, was applied to the fraternities in question."

Mr. Hutchings' article is well written and explains this whole humanity story very intelligibly. I would make some extracts from it, were it not that I have resolved not to touch at all on either side of Mason and Dixon's line, on the subject matter of the narrative. The substance of the story is told by Mr. Peck, who well understands it.

⁵ I give the full titles, names, surnames, and all, as they do it at the west, in quoting from my coadjutor; I shall, however, generally omit them in this State, as I have usually done in others, in the narratives which I construct myself, as I am unwilling to place so many unmeaning appendages on my stereotype pages. The people themselves cannot tell why they use them, only that others have done so before them. *Friends to Humanity*—very well; but certainly they do not mean to monopolize the milk of human kindness, and say to the world, we are the men, and human friendship will die with us!

⁶ At the date above given it reported 205; Silver Creek, A. Arnett, 126; Bellville, J. Pullian, 100.

The church called *NINE MILE*, *P. Hagler* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

"This church is the oldest and strongest community within forty miles of its location. She has an efficient Sunday school and Bible class, and gives a moderate support to her pastor on the semi-monthly plan."

The counties of Perry, Jackson, and Randolph embrace the churches of this young interest.

FRANKLIN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in Oct., 1841, with seven churches, and eight ordained ministers, whose names were C. Carpenter, J. Browning, T. M. Vance, H. Vise, Wm. Ferrel, and his two sons, Wilfred and Hezekiah. This new interest came out from the Bethel Association, on account of her opposition to benevolent operations. The reasons for this secession from the mother body are thus expressed by my correspondent for this young interest:

"We withdrew on account of her anti-mission principles, and the absurd doctrines of Daniel Parker, to enjoy the benefits of freedom, and to join with our brethren in the benevolent enterprise of propagating the gospel in our own and foreign lands."

I have none of the Minutes of this enterprising community later than 1844; at that time,

The *UNION CHURCH*, pastor not named, was the largest in this body.⁸

The counties of Franklin, Gallatin, Johnson, Pope and a few others, embrace the churches of this Association.

This recent organization already holds the third rank as to numerical strength among the Illinois Associations, and bids fair for the future, if it continues the course it has thus far pursued.

CLEAR CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1831; its churches came from the Cape Girardeau community, one of the Missouri institutions, on the opposite side of the Mississippi river. It is in the extreme south-west part of this State, in the counties of Jackson, Union, Johnson, Alexander, and Pulaski.⁹

MUDDY RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1819; the origin of this comparatively old fraternity is noticed in Mr. Peck's introductory narrative. It has been the nursery of a number of ministers and other baptist institutions, but at present is quite feeble as to its numerical strength. Some of its churches had been associated in Kentucky.

I have none of its Minutes later than 1844; at that time,

⁷ In 1846, it reported 120; this statement was made by Rev. Mr. Hutchings, who is my correspondent for this and a number of other communities in this region. He is the clerk of the *Nine Mile* fraternity, as he was of the *Saline* before it was dissolved.

My readers must bear in mind my definition, p. 817, when they fall in with communities which are described by this sort of running measure, it is not the length of the body, but of the stream on which it is located.

⁸ At the date above named, it reported 130; Sugar Camp, 125.

Rev. Wilfred Ferrel and N. Harrelson, the clerk, are my correspondents for this community. Messrs. Peck and Hutchings have also given me descriptions somewhat extensive of this young and vigorous baptist interest, and have said more in favor of the family of Terrels and of the clerkship generally, than my rules permit me to repeat.

Some of their preachers, Mr. P. informs me, emigrated to their present locations from the State of Tennessee.

⁹ I do not find among my papers any communications from any member of this fraternity. Messrs. Peck and Hutchings both speak of it in terms of commendation, as "an effort-working body, which has lately sustained a heavy loss in the death of elders Thos. Howard and Jer. Brown, two of their very efficient ministers." None of its churches come up to the amount of membership which I place in my statistical notes.

The LICK CREEK CHURCH, *Moses Pearce* pastor or supply, was the largest in this body.⁹

The counties of White, Hamilton, and Franklin embrace most of the churches of this fraternity.¹⁰

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1829; its Minutes for 1844, the latest I have received, exhibit it in such a condition of feebleness that I should place it in the *sub-head* list, were it not for its age and pedigree. It is located in the counties of Jefferson, Franklin, Jackson and Williamson.

We have now gone down the great Mississippi river, from the neighborhood of the city of Alton, branching out far into the interior of the State to the mouth of the Ohio—followed that noble stream to the mouth of the Wabash river on the Indiana side, and noticed all the associational fraternities, for which I shall make my ordinary heads, leaving a few small establishments to be disposed of in my summary statement, at the close of this chapter. I will now go up the Wabash, to the points which I have designated as the southern boundary of my *first* or *south* division, and then turn westward to the former seat of government of the State.

I would here remark, once for all, of each of the three sections into which I have divided this extensive State, that while my plan of completeness of enumeration of all confederacies which have assumed an associational form will be adhered to as far as possible, I find so many of them so young and small, and supplying so few materials of a historical character of any kind, that I shall be compelled to pass by a considerable number as I go on, to be disposed of under *sub-heads* in a summary manner.

PALESTINE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1841; it originated, in part, at least, from the Union Association in Indiana. It is a small body of what, in that country, they call working men, or effort baptists, who seem to have taken a decided stand in favor of evangelical operations. It is located principally in the counties of Clark, Crawford, and Lawrence, on the Illinois side of the Wabash river.

The LAMOTTE CHURCH, *Stephen Kennedy* pastor, is the oldest and largest community in this body.¹

The history of old Lamotte, as furnished by my correspondent for this young interest, is as follows:

"It was one of, if not the first that was formed on the Illinois side of the Wabash river. Although now on the friendly side of benevolent efforts, it has been the seat and centre of opposition to all institutions for missions and all kindred objects. The famous *Daniel Parker*, the author of the *Two Seed* doctrine, and of a self-existing devil, was once its pastor, while she stood in connection with the Wabash District fraternity; and her full history would do much toward showing the cause of the many splits and divisions among the baptists in the West."

⁹ At the date above named, it reported 133; but one of the others came up to half a hundred. "*Muddy River Regular B. Association*, is the full title of this fraternity." The term *Regular*, in Illinois and Indiana, was introduced by *D. Parker* and his adherents, expressive of doctrine; the tendency of which is thought to be *Antinomian*, with which he connected opposition to benevolent societies. The same term in Ohio and the other States, merely expresses soundness of faith and practice. The term *united* is applied to those who adopt the principle of *union* of the *Regular and Separate Baptists* in Kentucky in 1801. Allen's Register for 1836. This union is explained under the Kentucky head, p. 821.

¹⁰ Rev. C. H. Clay is my correspondent for this Association: he has supplied me with a brief memoir of the late Elder W. Gholson, one of their ministers, which with all documents of the kind will be laid by for future use.

¹ In the Minutes of 1844, the latest I have seen, it reported 118; none of the others came up to half a hundred. The pastor of this church is my correspondent for this young interest, whose history he promised me in a more detailed manner. He has sent me a file of Minutes from its commencement, from which I discover that it began with 6 churches; the *ord.* Ministers were R. Dudley W. Betteys, S. Kennedy; *lic. do.* Wm. Dudley, M. M. Henderson, C. Howell and Geo. C. Hartarke,

VANDALIA ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1840; it originated from the Saline fraternity, which, as we have seen, was an offspring of the old South District community, which stands near the head of this list.

This body takes its name from the former seat of the State government, where a small church appears to be located. The whole interest is spread into the counties of Fayette, Marion, and Clinton; it began in feebleness, and has not yet attained much numerical strength.

We have now gone the rounds of South Illinois, and brought under review most of the associational communities below the National road. We will now go up to the *middle or central division*.

SECTION II.

MIDDLE DIVISION.

Springfield Association—Kaskaskia—Wabash District—McLean—Illinois River—Spoon River—Salem—Quincy.

So extensive are the boundaries of this middle division, and so multitudinous are the associational fraternities which are spread over it, that I am at a loss at what point to commence, and how to arrange my circuit around it. In all cases where it may be conveniently done, I endeavor to place at the head of my sections communities which are distinguished for their age, location, or efficiency, or for their maternal relations to the kindred institutions around them.

Mr. Peck has given me a list of the Associations in the whole State, but his collocation of them differs somewhat from that which I generally pursue. So I must begin anew; and I have resolved to commence with the present seat of government, and taking first a southerly course, go completely around it in all directions.

SPRINGFIELD ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836; it originated, in part, from the old Sangamon confederacy, and of course is nearly on the same ground.

The Minutes of this community exhibit a decided interest and a good degree of activity in all the evangelical enterprises of the times.

The SPRINGFIELD CHURCH, whose name stands at the head of the list in their statistical table, is probably among their strongest institutions.

Rev. Jonathan Meriam, lately deceased, for several years sustained the pastoral care of this people in connection with a wide range of evangelical efforts.

The BIG SPRING CHURCH is among its most populous communities; its pastors for the past or present I am not able to name.

JACKSONVILLE is the seat of Illinois College, which, I believe, is under presbyterian control; the baptist interest here appears to be in a flourishing condition.

Rev. A. Bailey, the publisher of the *Western Star*, officiates as the pastor of this community.

The WINCHESTER CHURCH, *Rev. W. H. D. Johnson* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

The counties of Sangamon, Morgan, and Scott embrace the churches of this Association.

² In 1846, it reported 121; Big Spring, 105; Springfield, 90; but few of the others came up to half a hundred.

Our brethren in this region use their efforts to plant and nourish up churches in important locations—a thing too much neglected in most parts of our country.

SANGAMON ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1823; it was an offspring of the old Illinois confederacy; it began with seven churches, of which LICK CREEK, where the constitution took place, was one; the ministers, at first, were John Jordan, Aaron Smith, Samuel Bristoe, and James Street.

Old Sangamon, for many years, was in circumstances of prosperity and advancement, and spread its branches around in different directions; it has been the nursery of a considerable number of ministers, and from it have gone out, wholly or in part, most of the kindred institutions around it, as will be shown when they come under review. The Minutes for 1844, the latest I have seen, exhibit its numerical strength a fraction under five hundred.

The county from which it takes its name embraces most of its churches. There is a river also so called running through its bounds, from which the cognomen of this fraternity may have been originally derived.

APPLE CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1830; it is in a lower region of the State, in Greene, Macoupin, and probably some other counties.

LEBANON CHURCH, *David Myers* pastor, is the largest in this body.³

HICKORY GROVE CHURCH, *James Smith* pastor, is the next in size.

NORTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Originated from the old South District, in 1829; it is located in the counties of Morgan, Greene, and Macoupin.

KANE CHURCH, *M. Lemen* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁴

This is the last community which will probably appear on our list of the associational fraternities in this State, which descended immediately from the old confederacy which claimed in an especial sense to be the *Friends to Humanity*.

KASKASKIA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1830; the old Illinois and the Sangamon communities supplied most of the materials for its first organization.

The churches, in the commencement of its operations, were Clear Spring, Silver Creek, Hurricane Fork, Bethel, Shoal Creek, Cold Spring, Mt. Oliver, Mt. Nebo, Bethlehem, Liberty, Union, Salem, New Hope, and Little Flock.

The ministers were James Street, Henry Sears, John Crouch, John Christian, James and Bennett Wood, James Beck, John W. West, Peter Long, Willis Dodson, James Long, Thomas Smith, and probably some others.

This community is located on the head waters of the river whose name it bears, in the counties of Bond, Fayette, Shelby, Montgomery, &c.⁵

We will now go on to the eastern side of the State, to the region opposite Terre Haute, which is on the Indiana side of the Wabash river, and give a brief account of some associational communities in that quarter.

WABASH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION.

This old fraternity bears date from 1809; the seat of it, at first, was on the Indiana side of the Wabash; it is now, however, regarded as an Illinois institution, as its churches are mostly, if not wholly, in that State.

³ In 1845, it reported 111; the Carrollton, Jerseyville and Mt. Gilead churches are of good size; but do not come up to 100.

⁴ In 1845, it reported 121; Hickory Grove, James Smith, 95.

⁵ Elder Peter Long, the publisher of the *Western Evangelist*, is my correspondent for this Association, and has supplied me with an abundance of materials—historical, biographical and expository, more than my limits will permit me to use. Bro. L. is a good deal of a reader and thinker, and has taken much pains, not only to supply me with facts, but to promote the interests of my publication, both as to its construction and sale.

The rise of the baptists in this region is referred to in Mr. Peck's Introductory remarks. The settlement of the Wabash Valley, and of this associational interest, in its primary movements, will be more fully explained in the next chapter.

Allen, in his Register, Mr. Peck and other writers, have given mournful accounts of the baneful influence of D. Parker's hyper-Manichean theory, and thorough-going hostility to all benevolent institutions in this Association and region of country, which neither my plan nor limits will allow me to repeat.

This Association for a long time was of the same faith and practice with the denomination generally; it branched out in different directions, and from it, no doubt, a number of kindred institutions arose; the particulars of which, however, I am not able to specify.

This old interest, after all its dilapidations and curtailments, retains some considerable numerical strength.

I have seen none of its Minutes later than 1842; then the

CONCORD CHURCH, *R. M. Newport* pastor, was the largest in the body, and the only one which came up to one hundred; its churches were numerous, but mostly small. It is located in the counties of Crawford, Clark, and Edgar.

BLOOMFIELD ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836; it began with five small churches, a less number of ministers, and a very small company of members, who had been driven to the wall by the contemptible whimsies and intolerant measures of Daniel Parker and his associates, among whom they resided.

After long and severe struggles to maintain the *old* baptist ground, as to scriptural faith and freedom of conscience, they have become a well-consolidated company, of moderate size, who appear to be united on gospel ground.

The BLOOMFIELD CHURCH, *G. W. Riley* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶ This community is located principally in the counties of Edgar and Vermillion.

M'LEAN ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1837; "it was raised up principally by the labors of Rev. I. D. Newell; it spread over a wide and important section of country in and adjacent to McLean Co., but has always been quite deficient in the number of its ministers in proportion to its churches."⁷

In the Minutes of this body for 1843, are found historical sketches of all the churches then on the ground; from this document, it appears that none of them were of many years standing.

The following item in the doings of this young interest a short time since, exhibits its disposition toward the benevolent enterprises of their brethren.

"Resolved—That this Association regard the following benevolent organizations as worthy of our hearty co-operation and support, viz.: the B. Board of F. Missions; the A. and F. B. Society; the A. H. M. Society; the B. Pub. Society, and the Sabbath S. Society."⁸

The BLOOMINGTON CHURCH, *L. Whitney* pastor, is the largest in this body.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 101; but two of the others came up to half a hundred.

Mr. Riley is my correspondent for this community; he has given me a history of the rise of the churches, and a full account of the absurd principles and despotical measures above referred to, more in detail than I have usually received. I am mortified to find that any of our ministers or people should be led away, as many of the followers of the visionary man in question most assuredly were.

⁷ Communication of Rev. J. M. Peck, 1847. The late Rev. J. Merriam, but a short time before his decease, gave me a full account of all this region of country—of the labors of Mr. Newell and himself, who together came from Vermont—and of other evangelists in this great missionary field, on which has arisen the Bloomfield, McLean, the Illinois River in part, and other institutions of the kind.

⁸ Minutes for 1845. "Elder G. W. Riley of the Bloomfield community, among others, ably sustained the Resolution."

ILLINOIS RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1836; it was formed at Peoria, with the following churches, viz., Pleasant Grove, now Tremont, Peoria, Princeton, Round Prairie, and Vermillionville; the ministers engaged in its formation were Thos. Brown, Thos. Powell, Henry Headley, and A. M. Gardner; total number of members, seventy.

This now flourishing community is a sort of Hudson River institution as to its longitudinal dimensions; it stretches along on both sides of the great river whose name it bears, nearly as far as does its sister body in the Empire State, if we reckon the meanderings of that noble stream. The locality of this young, but already wide-spread fraternity, and the agents to whom it is indebted for its establishment and prosperity, are thus represented by my correspondent for this region:

"It now extends over a wide range of country, embracing churches lying in the counties of Fulton, Peoria, Knox, Stark, Bureau, Tazewell, Woodford, Putnam, La Salle. Elders Powell, Brown and Headley have been efficient laborers in this field. The instrumentality of the first has been much blessed. Elder Headley has lately deceased."

The CANTON CHURCH, A. Gross pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹ For a young interest, the doings of this people indicate considerable activity and liberality.

I have now gone over this middle section, so far as that portion of it is concerned which lies to the eastward of the Illinois river. There is, however, a large territory yet to be explored, of sufficient dimensions for a good sized State, which is called the *Military Tract*, which is located between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, where a considerable number of associational communities are found.¹⁰

I am not sure that the *Military lands* include all that part of Illinois above described, but for the convenience of my surveys, I shall so consider it, and will go up till I meet the bounds of the Rock Island Association.

On this great field I shall commence where our society first planted the baptist standard, and take the institutions as they arose, or as they lie contiguous to each other.

SPOON RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This primary institution for this tract of country bears date from 1830; a few of its first churches came from old Sangamon, others were new formations. Elder John Logan is my principal correspondent for this whole region, as to the early movements of our denomination in it; and from his accounts it appears that the institution now under consideration was the first one planted on this ground. Mr. Logan was evidently one of the principal pioneers in this then frontier and hazardous region. Elders Strickland and Bristoe appear also to have been early and efficient laborers here.

Some sketches of Elder Logan's commencement in this new field I will copy from his narrative:

"I emigrated to this country from Indiana in the spring of 1828, and found a church called Crane Creek, of 11 members. * * It was the only one that I knew of in the *Military tract* at that time. In August of that year, I had the pleasure of burying three willing converts with Christ in baptism. This, I suppose, was the first time this holy ordinance was administered west of the Illinois river."¹¹

⁹ In 1846, it reported 129; Rev. H. G. Weston is my correspondent for this Association and region of country; among the efficient ministers on this essentially missionary ground, Mr. Peck has named to me, Powell, Newell, Metcalf, Martin, Gross, Weston, &c.

This is an entirely different concern from the old Illinois community.

¹⁰ This is a large tract of land which was assigned by Congress as bounty lands to the soldiers, which had been enlisted in the war of 1812; the whole amount which had been surveyed some twenty years ago, was more than equal to the whole of the State of Massachusetts.

¹¹ Mr. Logan's narrative abounds with interesting incidents of the itinerant labors which he performed for a number of the first years of his residence in this then new country, and of those hardships, hazards and privations, which were common to all frontier settlements at that time. As this was about the commencement of the *Black Hawk War*, so called, the dangers from the irritated red men who were still in the country were unusually great.

The rise of the first church in this region, and the foundations which were laid for their first Associational interest, are related by my correspondent with more particularity than my limits will permit me to insert.

I have seen none of the Minutes of this body later than 1841; then its churches were mostly small, and its aggregate of membership was not great. It is located in McDonough, Knox, and some adjoining counties.

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a seceding party from the old one last named, in 1833, on account of her non-effort principles. John Logan was the moderator, and William J. Davis clerk of the first meeting. This appears to be an active and increasing community; it is spread into a number of counties, but McDonough, Hancock, Adams, Brown, and Warren, I should judge, embrace most of its churches.

NEW HOPE CHURCH contains a hundred save two; but one of the others comes up to half that amount of membership.

SALEM ASSOCIATION, NO. 2,

Was also formed from the Spoon River, in 1835.

Wm. Bradley was moderator, and H. Owen clerk of the first meeting.

I have none of the Minutes of this community, and of course cannot furnish any statistical accounts of its churches. They are located on the western borders of the State, in the counties of Adams, Pike, and probably some others.³

QUINCY ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1842; it holds the fourth rank as to numerical strength among the kindred institutions in the State. This young and vigorous fraternity arose as follows: the *Blue River* and *Western* Associations had previously coalesced and formed a body, to which they gave the name of *Union*, which was changed to that it now bears, in the year above named.³

Although this is an important institution, yet so recent has been its origin under its present form, that its progress does not supply many materials for general history.

QUINCY CHURCH, S. S. Parr pastor, is the largest in this body;⁴ it is located principally in the counties of Pike, Brown, and Adams.

These, I believe, are all the associational fraternities which, according to my *modus operandi*, should be placed under capital heads in this middle section.

³ Elder Joseph Botts is my correspondent for this Association; he has sent me the Minutes of the first session in MS.; those of the other Salem I have in printed form from Elder Logan. In the beginning, one was called *United*, the other *Regular*; the everlasting name of *United* is now left out; so that they now stand *Salem* and *Salem Regular*. There was some rivalry between them formerly; how it is now, I do not know; I should judge, however, that they are on friendly terms. The above distinctions are made by me for my own convenience; as one was two years in advance of the other, there can be no dispute as to dates.

There was some obscurity in Mr. Logan's statement respecting the origin of the Second Salem community. From his account I was led to suppose that it fell off from the First, and so I had stated the case in my copy for the press. Before the proofs came back from the stereotypers, a communication from Mr. Peck, on this and other things, has set this matter right; according to which I have made my corrections.

⁴ I have the Minutes of the different incarnations of this body, as a Hindoo would call them, and was not a little embarrassed to know how to trace their history, until I got the hang of the thing by the aid of Messrs. Peck and L. Eastman, both of whom have addressed me on this subject.

⁴ In 1846, it reported 161; Payson, —, 96; Griggsville, B. B. Carpenter, 90.

SECTION III.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

Rock Island Association—Rock River—Northern—Fox River—Separate Baptist—Colored B., Friends to Humanity, and others—Closing remarks.

Although this *northern* section is large in its geographical dimensions, yet so recent are the settlements in it, that the institutions of our order are few compared with the *middle* and *southern*.

ROCK ISLAND ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1844; its constituent churches were four, viz.: Rock Island, Galena, Cordova, and Mount Pleasant. The ministers engaged in its organization were Ezra Fisher, Luther Stone, Otis Hackett, and T. Wakefield.

The churches are of so recent formation, that they furnish but few items for general history.

The ROCK ISLAND CHURCH, 1837, is the oldest in this connection.⁵

Rev. Ezra Fisher, then stationed in this town, is now engaged in the B. Mission to the Territory of Oregon.

Rev. Daniel Dye, his successor in office, I believe, is from the State of New York.

The Minutes of this body for 1845 expresses the following sentiments relative to Mr. Fisher and his present vocation:

"Resolved—That while this Association feels the need of the counsel and labors of elder Ezra Fisher, a pioneer in the West, within the bounds of this body and the Iowa Convention, and feel sorrowful on account of his removal from among us, yet our 'sorrow is turned into joy,' upon the consoling reflection that he, with elder Johnson, have gone, as we trust, in the strength of God, to proclaim in the Oregon wilds and on the Pacific shores, the unsearchable riches of Christ, and the fulness of redemption through Jesus Christ our Lord."

ROCK RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1840. The name of this fraternity indicates its locality; it extends nearly or quite to the northern parts of the State, in the counties of Winnebago, Boone, and some adjoining ones.

The BELVIDERE CHURCH, S. Bennett pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.⁶

ROCKFORD CHURCH, L. Stone pastor or supply, is the next in size.

NORTHERN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835; it is the largest institution of the kind in the State, but it so happens that I have no correspondent within its bounds. For a number of years it has occupied high and important ground in baptist affairs in northern Illinois, and has superinduced correct views as to evangelical efforts, and the proper *modus operandi* of baptist affairs in general, in all the region around.

CITY OF CHICAGO. This has become a central point of operations for our denomination in this end of the State. The first church here has become a large and efficient body; its origin or progress I am not able to state, nor to give the names of all its pastors.

⁵ *Rock River* is a large stream which runs through the north-west part of Illinois, and empties into the Mississippi, high up in the State; at its mouth is an Island, a county and town of this hard sounding name.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 217; all the others were under 100. I have no correspondents for this important and growing institution for this region.

Rev. I. T. Hinton, now in New Orleans, for a few years occupied this pastoral station.

Rev. Miles Sanford, late of Michigan, is the present incumbent.

TABERNACLE CHURCH, in this city, *W. H. Rice* pastor, appears to be a growing community; its history, however, is wholly unknown to me.

The ELGIN CHURCH, *A. J. Joslyn* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

FOX RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1846. A few items relative to its origin I have selected from the Minutes of the mother body for 1846.

"Resolved—That this Association be divided, and that the division line commence at the east end of Washington Street, Chicago, running due west to the western boundary of the Association.

"Resolved—That the body north of the line be denominated the *Northern Illinois Association*; and that the one south of the line be called the *Fox River Association*; and that the latter retain the present organization."

Those who are acquainted with the geography of Northern Illinois, will understand better than I do how this division would affect the primary community; both portions, I should judge, bid fair to become important baptist interests

Summary account of the remaining Associations.

This place is reserved for those which are so small as to be mere apologies for confederacies of the kind, or for such as I could not gain sufficient information for the construction of my usual details.

SOUTH ILLINOIS, 18— It is located in the counties of Washington, Perry, and Jefferson; *J. Gibson* and *J. Hartley* are their principal preachers.

LITTLE WABASH, 1823, takes its name from one branch of the great river, which is the eastern boundary of the State; "it was formed from the Salem, Indiana, and took all the churches south of the Vincennes Road."

SKILLET FORK, 1842, was formed from the one last named; these three bodies are in my *southern division*.

VERMILLION, 1830. It is a very small body, in a county of the same name, adjoining the Wabash river.

OKAW, 1832. This is also a community of inferior size, in the county of Coles, &c. Both these fraternities came from the old Wabash Association.

SHELBY COUNTY, 18— Its name indicates its locality, which is a central part of the State.

CONCORD, 1838, came from the Apple Creek Association, in the counties of Macoupin, Greene, &c.; it is but a short distance above Alton.

The **UNION CHURCH**, *James McBride* pastor, has a hundred members save two.⁸

MORGAN Co., 1830, was formed from the old Sangamon; it is located between Springfield and the Illinois river.

MOUNT GILEAD, 1842, was formed by a division of the Salem (the one called Regular I suppose); it is located on the *Military tract*.

CLARY'S GROVE, 1841. This was formed from the Springfield; it went out, I believe, by mutual agreement. These are all in the *middle division*.

To the two following institutions, for certain reasons, I shall give the usual heads.

⁷ In 1846, it reported 199; Chicago, 187; Tabernacle, do. 127; Warrenville, P. Taylor, 110; Long Grove, J. F. Tollman, 105; Dundee, M. L. Wisner, 99.

⁸ Elder John Alesbury has furnished me with detailed accounts of the Concord and Mt. Gilead Associations; as for most of the others, I am indebted to Allen's Register, and Mr. Peck's communications, for what little I have said of them.

SEPARATE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836; it is located in the counties of Morgan and some adjoining ones; I have none of its Minutes, nor any items of its history. I suppose it is the same kind of people which we found in Kentucky, who claim descent from the old Virginia stock, who keep up the name as a matter of tradition and agreeable reminiscences.*

COLORED BAPTIST ASSOCIATION—*Friends to Humanity,*

Bears date from 1838; it has about a dozen churches, but one of which comes up to half a hundred.

All I have learnt of this community is contained in the following note from Mr. Peck:

"The Colored Association extends into the three districts of the State. The oldest and most active ones are in Madison and St. Clair counties; but they have churches, small for the most part, at Shawneetown, Vandalia, Jacksonville, Springfield, Chicago, and Galena."

Closing Remarks. But few people have an adequate idea of the magnitude of this State as to its geographical boundaries, or of the rapidity with which it has been settled. And as I find baptist institutions in almost all parts of it, I should judge that our society has had a full share in moulding the moral and religious character of the people. The strong anti-mission current which, under the influence of the famous elder Parker and his associates, ran through the State a few years ago, has evidently subsided, and the main thing wanting now, is for the O-mission party to open their eyes to the wide-spread fields of moral destitution around them, and to come up to a more decided action to supply them. The H. M. Society has shown a very friendly disposition toward this, among other portions of the great West. Our brethren here have a good system of operations blocked out for education, missions and other commendable objects; and it now remains for them to go ahead and mature their well-digested plans.

I would not say another word about the *uses* or the *isms* of former years, nor debate any more on their absurd and unscriptural character; but, forgetting the painful and injurious things that are past, press forward in what they believe to be a better way, and show by their active example what the genuine evangelical effort system will lead its advocates to perform.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

I believe there are some academies or high schools under baptist influence and direction; but the

SHURTLEFF COLLEGE, at Alton, on the Mississippi river, is the principal seminary of our people in this State. Its full history must be deferred for future description.

B. G. Association. Such an institution, about two years since, took the place of a Convention which had existed for a short period previously. It is similar to all bodies of the kind in the other States. Its history must of course be omitted for the present.

Correspondents. Although the documents which have been sent me are somewhat voluminous, yet the number of contributors is not large. I shall name them, as usual, with the omission of titles and localities: J. M. Peck, A. Sherwood, J. R. Hutchings, W. Ferrell, C. F. Clay, N. Harralson, Wm. Hobbs, T. Howard—*southern division.*

John Logan, Peter Long, John Alesbury, S. Kennedy, G. W. Riley, J. Meriam, F. G. Weston, B. B. Piper, R. M. Newport, J. F. Crafton, J. Botts, C. Harrington, L. Eastman, A. Beach, Wm. Stilwell.

The Western Star, Western Christian, and Western Evangelist have all been very attentive to my requests in my circulars and historical papers.

After this part of my copy went to press, I received a communication from Mr. Peck pertaining to the history of the baptists in this State. The principal facts I have incorporated in the text. As I find this space in this proof sheet, I will add the following comments, in the peculiar style of the author:

"The northern section of Illinois began to be settled after the *Black Hawk war*, in 1832.

"The settlers here came chiefly from New York, New England, Ohio, &c., with all the *whim-chams* of the Yankees. Now, in the northern half of the middle section, the Yankees have gotten the preponderance; while, in the southern half, the feelings, manners, customs, &c. of the people of Ky., Tenn., the Carolinas, &c., preponderate, as they do in South Illinois, which was originally settled by them."

* I am indebted to Mr. Peck, for a knowledge of the existence of this body, as none of their own people have made me any communications respecting it.

CHAPTER XXVI.

INDIANA.

SECTION I.

Early history—Comparative views—Whitewater Association—Laughery—Silver Creek—Blue River—Coffee Creek—Madison—Flatrock—Brownstown—Sand Creek—Bedford—Bloomington—Mount Zion—Bethel—Union—Curry's Prairie—White Lick—Liberty—Salem.

Introduction to the History of the Baptists in Indiana, by Rev. J. M. Peck.

"A FEW baptists emigrated to the territory (now included in the State of Indiana) at the commencement of the present century. Several small churches were organized along the Whitewater, bordering on the State of Ohio, the first of which was in 1802. These churches were first connected with the Miami Association, but in 1809, were formed into the Whitewater Association, which then consisted of nine churches, six ministers, and about three hundred and eighty members.

"In 1806, the Wabash Church was formed about eight miles north of Vincennes, and the same year, the Bethel Church, in a settlement further down the Wabash river. In 1808, the Patoka Church was organized in what is now Gibson county, and the Salem Church still farther south. The same year, the Wabash District Association was organized. In 1809, the Maria Creek Church was formed, about fifteen miles north of Vincennes. The ministers who were instrumental in gathering these churches in the wilderness, were Alexander Devin, Samuel Jones, James Martin, and Isaac McCoy. Mr. McCoy, for more than twenty years, has been an indefatigable missionary among the western Indians.

"Silver Creek, in Clark county, was formed near the commencement of the present century. We find it on the Minutes of the Long Run Association, Kentucky, in 1806, with fifty members, and from its position in the table, it must have existed several years, and probably was the first Protestant church formed in this territory. Elder William McCoy, the father of Isaac McCoy, labored much in the early settlements of Clark county. He came frequently on preaching excursions over the Ohio river, from Shelby county, Kentucky, where he then resided, and finally removed his family to Indiana, in 1801, and died in 1813. He was a pious, devotional, laborious, and useful minister.

"The Silver Creek Association was organized in July 1812, of eight churches, four ordained preachers, and two hundred and seventy communicants. In 1816, this Association contained twenty-four churches, ten ordained, and eight licensed preachers, and five hundred and eighty-two members. About one hundred converts had been baptized—the balance of the increase was from emigration. The same year, the Association was divided, and the Blue River Association formed from it, which, in 1817, reported seventeen churches, seven ordained, and three licensed preachers, and five hundred and seventy-one members; while Silver Creek Association reported twelve churches, four ordained, and six licensed preachers, and three hundred and sixty-five members. The two Associations report one hundred and eighty-eight baptized during the year. Revivals had prevailed in several churches.

"The Whitewater Association increased gradually. In 1815, it reported sixteen churches, fourteen ministers, one hundred and twenty-five baptized, and seven hundred and ninety-eight members. In 1820, it reported twenty-five churches, thirteen ministers, thirty-eight baptisms, and one thousand one hundred and eighty members. Its additions have been more from emigration than conversions. It has been a consistent anti-mission body, rather hypercalvinistic in doctrine, and not very active in enlarging its own borders, or adopting and carrying out measures to extend the kingdom of Christ.

"The Wabash District Association 'run well' for some years. Its most intelligent and efficient minister was Mr. McCoy, until he consecrated himself and family to Indian reform, and removed from its boundaries. On the pages of its Minutes, a file of which lies before us, we see the impress of his hand and heart until 1819, when his name is no longer found on its tables. Until that period, Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Indian Missions, Bible operations, and other benevolent projects, appear on its Minutes. From that time, the usefulness of this Association has been a blank! It is a singular coincidence, and a mys-

terious Providence, that the year in which Isaac McCoy took leave of the Association which he had nurtured from the first, the name of *Daniel Parker* appears on its Minutes as connected with Lamotte Church, in Crawford county, Illinois. Mr. Parker is one of those singular and rather extraordinary beings whom Divine Providence permits to arise as a scourge to his church, and as a stumbling-block in the way of religious effort. Raised on the frontiers of Georgia, without education, uncouth in manners, slovenly in dress, diminutive in person, unprepossessing in appearance, with shriveled features, and a small, piercing eye. few men, for a series of years, have exerted a wider influence on the lower and less educated class of frontier people. With a zeal and enthusiasm bordering on insanity, firmness that amounted to obstinacy, and perseverance that would have done honor to a good cause, Daniel Parker exerted himself to the utmost to induce the churches within his range to declare non-fellowship with all baptists who united with any missionary or other benevolent (or, as he called them, new-fangled) societies. He possessed a mind of singular and original cast. In doctrine he was an Antinomian from the first, but he could describe the process of conviction, and the joys of conversion, and of dependence on God, with peculiar feeling and effect. This kind of preaching was calculated to take a strong hold on the hearts, and gain the confidence of a class of pious, simple-hearted Christians, of but little religious intelligence and reading. He fully believed, and produced the impression on others, that he spoke by immediate inspiration. Repeatedly have we heard him when his mind seemed to rise above its own powers, and he would discourse for a few moments on the divine attributes, or some doctrinal subject, with such brilliancy of thought and force and correctness of language, as would astonish men of education and talents. Then, again, it would seem as though he was perfectly bewildered in a mist of abstruse subtleties.

"In 1820, he wrote and published a book against the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, though all the knowledge he possessed on the subject was derived from one or two annual Reports. Being exceedingly tenacious of church and associational authority, the main drift of his argument was, that the Board of Missions was not created by the churches, nor under their direct control. He persuaded the church of which he was preacher, to take a process of ecclesiastical discipline with a neighboring church, because some of its members contributed to missionary societies. This produced a difficulty that came into the Association, extended into the other churches, and finally spread through a number of Associations. Fellowship was interrupted, correspondence broken up, and the evils are not yet entirely removed."

This well-condensed epitome of the early settlements of our denomination in this State, in part anticipates the history of some of the oldest associational fraternities, but I thought it better to present the sketch in its original form than to attempt to divide it. I shall refer to the accounts when the bodies named come under review.

Comparative views, &c. Thirty-five years ago, there were but four small baptist Associations in the extensive territory out of which have since been formed the States of Indiana and Illinois; three of them, viz., the Whitewater, Wabash, and Silver Creek, were in the Indiana territory; the fourth, the old Illinois community, has already been described.

When Allen's first Register was published, in 1833, the baptist population in this State, so far as church members were concerned, was about eleven thousand; the increase since has been about 100 per cent.

This being of much smaller geographical dimensions than Illinois, I shall divide it into two sections—*southern* and *northern*. The National road, which runs through its central regions, will be my general line of demarcation. Where bodies are divided by this great thoroughfare to the West, I shall place them on the side where their greatest strength is found.

WHITEWATER ASSOCIATION—*Southern Division.*

This community, we have seen by Mr. Peck's account, was formed in 1809, and that it was a colony from the Miami, whose seat was in the adjoining parts of Ohio; and, furthermore, that at the time his statement was made out (1840), it was on the opposing side as to missionary efforts; but since then, I learn from one of my correspondents for this region, they have ceased to be what are called O. S. baptists, and have come back to their *old* foundation; his note is as follows:

"The Whitewater Association is no longer an anti-effort body. At their meeting last month they tested the question—the anties (about one-fourth) withdrew!"

¹ Letter of Rev. E. Ferris, of Lawrenceburg, to the author, Sept., 1845.

This old institution spread its branches abroad in different directions, and supplied materials for new organizations; its present location is in the counties of Franklin, Rush, and probably some others.

The PIPE CREEK CHURCH, *J. C. Perrine*, pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.²

LAUGHERY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1816, and was organized with six small churches, four ministers, two of whom were unordained, and about one hundred and twenty-five members. This body is located in the counties of Dearborn and Switzerland, in the south-east corner of the State, at no great distance below Cincinnati, on the Ohio river. This has been a substantial community from its commencement, and now stands the second on the list in this State in point of numerical strength.

I will name a few of their ministers who have been somewhat distinguished among their brethren, not only in this institution, but in all this region of country.

Rev. Ezra Ferris, whose name will appear in connection with the early movements of our denomination in Ohio, was one of the founders of this fraternity; he has generally presided at its annual sessions.³

Rev. George Hume was an early pioneer and planter of churches in this region.

Rev. John Watts was another of the same class of men; he began his public career as an humble elder in the baptist cause, but by the calls of the citizens, he occupied a place on the judicial bench, both in Kentucky and Indiana—was a delegate in the State legislature, and served six years in the senate of the U. S.

Rev. and Hon. Jesse Holman was also a baptist preacher not long after he settled here from Kentucky, and never abjured that humble profession, although he rose from one judicial station to another until he was appointed judge of the U. S. District Court of the State of Indiana, which office he filled with distinguished ability and the popular satisfaction till his decease.⁴

From such men we should naturally expect a salutary influence would be diffused in the community with which they were identified.⁵

I will now go down to near the Falls of the Ohio; and on account of its age and maternal relations to most of the institutions in that region, give an account of the origin and progress of the

SILVER CREEK ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1812. It was the third institution of the kind which was formed in this State.

My materials for the history of this old community are so abundant that I find it somewhat difficult to make a selection in the condensed manner which my plan requires. Peck, Allen, Vawter, and others who have described the rise of the baptists in this region, have all given a conspicuous place to this primary fraternity.

The few facts which my limits will permit me to insert respecting it, I will select from a document named in the note below:

² In 1845, it reported 128; Lick Creek, W. Thompson, 120; Big Cedar Grove, J. Stout, 112; Rushville, J. Sparks, 104.

³ Mr. Ferris is a Conn. man, and is a nephew of the late elder E. Ferris, of Stamford, in that State. I have been personally acquainted with him from early life; as he added the medical to his clerical profession, Dr. Ferris is his usual address.

⁴ Watts and Holman were elders among their brethren, but the hon. titles of their civil functions were applied to them abroad.

In Allen's Register, but more especially in the B. Memorial, interesting biographical sketches of these distinguished men are found. The articles, I believe, were prepared by Rev. J. M. Peck.

⁵ Very good accounts are given in the Memoirs of Judge Holman of his successful efforts at Sunday Schools and other benevolent institutions in his own place, and in the surrounding regions.

Its first churches were Silver Creek, Mt. Pleasant, Fourteen Mile, Knob Creek, Indian Creek, Upper Blue River, Lower Blue River, Camp Creek, and Salem.

The ministers were Wm. McCoy, Jesse Vawter, Philemon Vawter, and John Reece. This body came out of the Long Run Association, Kentucky.

Jesse Vawter was the moderator of this old interest from 1814 until he went out of it with the Coffee Creek community, in 1827. A detailed account of each session up to that date is given in the historical sketches before me.⁶

The various institutions which have arisen from this mother body will be named in the course of my narratives.

BLUE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1816, and was the first colony which went out from the one last named; its locality was in the counties of Washington, Harrison, and some adjoining ones. This body also sent out branches on its outskirts, as our future accounts will show.

I have no Minutes of either this or the old Silver Creek fraternity, and of course, cannot give my usual accounts of them. My impression is that they have declined materially from their former strength, if they still exist.

COFFEE CREEK ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1827; this was the second colony which emigrated from the ancient interest at Silver Creek.

By the kind attentions of its clerk, I have Minutes and MSS. in full measure for the history of this vigorous community.⁷

"Coffee Creek Association was formed by a union of the following churches, at Coffee Creek M. H., in August 1827, viz.: Mt. Pleasant, White River, Indian Kentucky, Vernon, Middle Fork, Harbert's Creek, Lick Branch, Concord, Freedom, and West Fork—sixteen churches. On reference to the Minutes of the Association, it appears that there were eleven ordained preachers and four licentiates, the names of which were Jesse Vawter, Alexander Chambers, John Bush, Wm. Blankenship, John Vawter, Wm. T. Stott, John B. New, James Alexander, Thomas Hill, Thomas Hill, jun., James Glover, *William Vawter*, *Valentine Chasteen*, *Bazil Meek*, *Caleb Moncrief*, together with 692 communicants. This Association was called Coffee Creek, in honor of the church at which it was first held, it being one of the largest and most flourishing in the body, and the churches, with the exception of two—Scaffold Lick which lies in Scott and Indian Creek which lies in Jackson county—were all in the counties of Jefferson and Jennings."

The annual sessions of this institution are all recorded in the documents before me, up to 1832, when the next community to be named went out from it.

The COFFEE CREEK CHURCH, *Thomas Hill* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁸ This is reported as one of, if not *the* strongest community in this Association.

The two Vawters, the two Hills, in both cases father and son, Alexander, Blankenship, Stott, Glover, Butler, and others, are reported as successful laborers within the C. C. bounds.

Rev. Jesse Vawter was the moderator of this Association from its commencement till 1832; he had acted in the same capacity in the mother institution, from near its beginning, making twenty-three years in succession that he presided at the annual sessions of the two bodies.

MADISON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1832: the one last named was its maternal parent, of course it is in juxtaposition with it. I might select a good account of this community from the documents already often referred to, but will go for it to another source:

"The State road, leading from Madison to Indianapolis, was agreed upon as the line of division, when this then new interest commenced its operations.

⁶ Minutes of the Coffee Creek Association for 1839.

⁷ Rev. John Vawter. ⁸ In 1846, it reported 220; Liberty, —, 119; Hopewell, —, 103.

The ministers engaged in this organization were Jesse Vawter, Jesse Miles, L. Stephenson, J. Bush, J. S. Ryker, J. Alexander, W. T. Stott, *ord.*, and a large corps of probationers, among whom were W. Vawter, M. Moncrief, C. Moncrief, M. E. Edwards, A. Merrill, J. Whitten, C. Woodward, Wm. Wallace.⁹

MIDDLE FORK CHURCH, *W. Wallace* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

MADISON CHURCH, *E. D. Owen* pastor in 1845, is the next in size. This body was formerly called Mount Pleasant; it was constituted in 1806; for twenty-five years, it was under the pastoral care of the late Jesse Vawter, and from it have gone out a number of other churches, and not a few ministerial sons.¹

Jefferson and a few adjoining counties embrace the churches of this community; the city of Madison on the Ohio river, the seat of that shire, appears to be its centre of operations.

For the other Associations in the regions contiguous to those I have described, I have no definite guides, but must follow them by the map, and the few items which I can glean from imperfect files of Minutes, and the hints which are found in the communications of my correspondents.

FLAT ROCK ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1822; this appears to be a fraction in advance, in numbers, of any Association in this State; it is on this prolific soil for baptists, but no items of its genealogy have I been able to obtain. It probably originated with one or more of the neighboring institutions contiguous to which it is located, in the counties of Decatur, Bartholomew, &c.

The SALEM CHURCH, *J. McEwen* pastor, is the largest in this body.²

SECOND MOUNT PLEASANT, *B. Reece* pastor, is the next in size.

BROWNSTOWN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835; a considerable portion of its churches formerly belonged to the Coffee Creek fraternity.

The UNION CHURCH, *Owen Whitcombe* pastor, is the largest in this body; its number is ninety. The town from which this institution takes its name is the chief one for Jackson Co., which, I should judge, embraces most of this community.

SAND CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1843; I have a few copies of its Minutes; Jennings is the only Co. named in them, which I conclude is the centre of this young interest.

The HOPEWELL CHURCH, *Benj. Tucker* pastor, is the largest in this community.³

⁹ Allen's Register for 1836. The article was prepared by James Alexander, then pastor of the Middle Fork church.

¹⁰ In 1846, it reported 165; Brushy Fork, R. Stephenson, 131; Madison, 125; Harbert's Creek, —, 122; Versailles, A. Baker, 115; Vernon, —, 101; Union, 100; Indian, Ky., A. Smith, 98.

¹ Thus we see that Elder Vawter was identified with the Silver Creek, the Coffee Creek, and Madison Associations; and yet I believe he did not change his place of abode. In the enlargement of the baptist interest in this favorable region for its growth, he did not go after the communities, but they came to him. The character of this useful man, is thus given by Mr. Alexander, in the article mentioned above: "He combines with a talent for quick dispatch of business, deep humility and love to God and his cause. In fact, he may be said to be the father of three Associations, viz.: Silver Creek, Coffee Creek, and Madison."

A brief memoir of this man, so distinguished in his day, is found in the Minutes of the Coffee Creek Association for 1838, which will be reserved for future use.

The Minutes of this body contain an unusual amount of historical matter pertaining to the different institutions which have sprung from the old Silver Creek fraternity. If an equal amount of labor and care had been bestowed on our old institutions generally, mine would have been a much easier task. Rev. John Vawter, a son of Jesse, I suppose, took the lead in these historical collections.

² In 1846, it reported 202; Second Mt. Pleasant, B. Reece, 150; Union, J. Pavay, 117; Franklin, Wm. Brand, 113; Sand Creek, —, 106.

³ In 1846, it reported 128; Mt. Pleasant and Brush Creek are good sized churches, but fall short of 100 each.

BEDFORD ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1843, in the town from which it took its name; it is on ground originally occupied by the Blue, and afterward by the White and Lost River communities. My correspondent for this region gives the following account of the rise of this institution:

"In 1841, I located in the flourishing town of Bedford, Lawrence county, and commenced my labors without a church, amidst pedoism, and a considerable opposition from anti-brethren. But the good Lord blessed my labors, and soon we organized a church, which now numbers about one hundred and forty.

"I have since had the united labors of elders Odell, Parks, Duncan, and Elkin, who are in the Bedford Association with myself.

"Some of our churches came from the White River body, in consequence of her tyrannical government. Others were dismissed from the Bloomington for convenience."⁴

The **SPICE VALLEY CHURCH**, *J. Odell* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

BEDFORD, *T. N. Robertson* pastor, is one of their large churches; this body has been much reduced in numbers within a year or two past, probably some new community has gone out from it.

BLOOMINGTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835, from churches which withdrew from the Lost and White River fraternities, on account of the test lines which they had drawn in their *new* rules of church fellowship as to donations for benevolent objects.

I have seen none of its Minutes later than 1842; then the *Spice Valley Church*, which now belongs to the Bedford Association, was the only one which came up to one hundred or more; the Co. of Monroe appears to be a central position for this body.

This carries us far into the interior of this southern section of the State. I will now go down again to the neighborhood of the Ohio river, and notice a few institutions there.

MT. ZION ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1844; it came out of the Lost River community, on account of the offensive doctrines of the famous elder *D. Parker*.

This young interest, which is very small, would be placed in my *summary statement* were it not that I wish to give a brief description of what in the West is denominated the *Two-seed system*, which has caused so much disturbance among the baptists in the Wabash Valley and many other places.

I have seen elaborate definitions of Parker's *Manichean* theory of two governing powers in the affairs of mankind made out by its opponents, but this comes from those who had once embraced it, but who now, by a solemn abjuration, had set it aside. The article may be seen in the note below.⁶

Wm. W. Sellers was moderator, and Z. Sparks clerk of the first meeting.

Scott, Clark, and Washington counties embrace the few churches of this Association.

⁴ Communication of T. N. Robertson to the author, 184-.

⁵ In 1845, it reported 120; Beaver Creek, 115; Bedford, 111.

⁶ In the convention held by these people for the formation of their seceding interest, they set forth their grievances with the mother body in a number of articles, the second of which reads as follows:

"2d. Because they believe the *two-seed* doctrine (first propagated by elder D. Parker) and its improvements, such as that Jesus Christ and his children were created before this World was, and existed materially in heaven, and all that were put forth or created, stood or fell in Adam—Jesus Christ died for and will save them all, for they have a right to heaven by relationship; but the multiplied race of human beings, or devil's children, never were created, never stood nor fell in Adam, and these *two seeds* had a corporal existence, and one were eternally sheep, and the other were eternally goats. Such doctrines are called the gospel by said Association, yet in open violation of the articles of faith on which it was united.

"These are some of the reasons that impel us to the course that we are pursuing—to have the liberty of conscience, which the law of God and the law of our country has given us to maintain our former articles of faith—live in peace and enjoy union, and fellowship, and correspondence with regular baptists of our faith and order."

BETHEL ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1837. I conclude it is a branch of the old Silver Creek community; it began with five small churches; the number or names of its ministers I have not learnt.

NEW ALBANY CHURCH, 1820, *S. Woodruff* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷ This is a flourishing town, on the Ohio river, in the Co. of Floyd. The *Parkerites* and the *Reformers* have in turn made converts of a large portion of this people; the former took off one-fourth, the latter about two-thirds of their members in the years 1830 and '34.⁸

We will now go over to the *Wabash Valley*, in the western part of the State, adjoining Illinois, where our society planted the baptist standard simultaneously with their brethren on the Ohio side.

The WABASH ASSOCIATION, which was first formed in this region, in 1809, by the course of events, has become located principally on the other side of the great river whose name it bears, and is of course claimed as an Illinois institution. On nearly the same ground has arisen the

UNION ASSOCIATION,

Which bears date from 1824. It arose out of a division of the old Wabash, by mutual agreement; the churches on the Ill. side of the river retained the original name, while those in Indiana assumed the one at the head of this article. The new institution began with eight churches and three hundred and sixty members.

The ministers, at first, were Robert Elliot, Wm. Anderson, John Graham, Willis Pierson, Abner Davis, and Elisha —.

In about ten years from its commencement, this community had increased to between eight and nine hundred members; but in consequence of a heavy draft upon it in favor of the next organization to be named, and the inroads of the *Reformers*, its membership was greatly reduced. For a few years past, however, its numerical strength has been gradually augmented, and it now holds a rank among the active effort institutions of the State.

The MARIA CREEK CHURCH, *M. McRea* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

WABASH CHURCH, *Wm. Stansil* pastor, is the next in size.

Maria Creek Church, 1809, is one of the oldest and probably the strongest in this connection. It is located 16 miles east of Vincennes, in Knox county—was a constituent, or at least an early member of the Wabash Association. As the country was new, and the red men who were on the ground or near it often made their savage inroads on the infant settlements, this people for many years encountered all the hazards and hardships of frontier life.

This church has, at different periods, been under the pastoral care of Isaac McCoy, Aaron Frakes, Daniel Anderson, Abner Davis, A. Evans, Wm. Stensil, and M. McRea, the present incumbent.

Isaac McCoy, Wm. Polke, and A. Evans and their wives were sent out by this church as missionaries among the A. Indians, and through all the struggles of the opponents of the missionary enterprise, for which this region of country has been peculiarly distinguished, this people have stood its firm and unwavering friends.

In the Cos. of Knox and Pike, the Union Association is principally located.

CURRY'S PRAIRIE ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1834; the northern portion of the mother body united in organizing the new interest, which is a fraction in advance of its parent in numerical strength. A good portion of its churches come

⁷ In 1846, it reported 178; Salem, —, 112; Lost River, J. D. Crabs, 92. The Minutes of the Bethel Association were printed at Louisville, Ky., and are well got up; but in two copies before me no mention is made of any county from first to last. The *Gazetteer* tells us where New Albany is; in this way I ascertained its locality.

⁸ Communication of Rev. B. C. Morse, 1842. Mr. Morse at that time was pastor of the New Albany church, and Cor. Secretary of the Bethel Association. To him I am much indebted, as I shall more fully express in my list of correspondents for this State, for information of baptist affairs in Ia.; but the items needful for the history of this Association I do not find among his historical papers.

⁹ In 1845, it reported 109; Wabash, 94.

up near to 100, but none of them have as yet quite attained to that amount of membership. They are located on or near to the Wabash river, in the section of country which lies between *Vincennes* and *Terre Haute*, in the county of Sullivan, Vigo, &c. In *Terre Haute*, which in English means *highland*, one of its churches is planted.¹⁰

WHITE LICK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835; its membership at the time of its organization was a fraction over 300. The ministers within her bounds at the time were J. W. Thomas, Wm. Pope, J. Jones, Thomas Bradstreet, T. N. Robertson, Jacob Reynerson. The first churches in her constitution came from the Danville, White and Eel River communities.

FRIENDSHIP CHURCH, *W. Pope* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

BELLVILLE CHURCH, *J. Reynerson* pastor, is the next in size.

STILESVILLE CHURCH, *T. Bradstreet* pastor, holds the third rank as to numerical strength.

This institution is located in the counties of Hendricks, Morgan, Owen and Putnam.²

LIBERTY ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1824; it is located in the counties of Gibson, Warrick, and probably some others. Evansville, on the Ohio river, appears to be a central position for this people, who style themselves *General Baptists*; but I am informed by Mr. Peck, that they do not differ essentially from their brethren around them, who, in England, in contradistinction from the *Generals*, are denominated *Particular baptists*.

The ENON CHURCH, *J. Speer* pastor, is the largest in this body.³

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1822; no historical sketches pertaining to it have been received; it is located in the Co. of Posey and some adjoining ones in the southwest corner of the State. I have none of its Minutes later than 1844, at which time the

BETHEL CHURCH, *Joel Hume* pastor, was the largest in this body.⁴

In this region of Indiana, and, indeed, in different parts of the southern section of the State, are scattered a number of small communities of an associational character, which I shall notice in my summary statement at the close of this chapter.

¹⁰ Moses Pierson and Samuel Chambers are my correspondents for this Association. They have given me much valuable biographical information respecting the pioneers and pastors among the baptists in all this region of country.

¹ In 1845, it reported 151; Bellville, 148; Stilesville, 112.

² A. Bland, Esq., is my correspondent for this Association and a number of others. His accounts are much more minute than my limits will permit me to insert, as to annual sessions and the conflicts in which the friends of benevolence have been compelled to engage with its opponents at many different points.

³ In 1845, it reported 110; Liberty, B. Stinson, Concord, J. Blackburn, Mt. Gilead, T. Fuller, and Owensville, all came up near to that size.

Rev. Mr. Reavis is my correspondent for this body, but among his various statements he failed to give me the few historical sketches which I need for the construction of my usual account of this institution.

The *General Baptist Herald*, a religious paper, was published for a while under the patronage of this people.

⁴ At the date above named, it reported 127; Little Wabash, 114; Big Creek, L. Duncan, Harvey's Creek, S. Fettinger, and Bethlehem, —, were large churches, but they were all short of 100

SECTION II.

NORTHERN DIVISION.

Indianapolis Association—Eel River—Freedom—Sugar Creek—Tippecanoe—Northern—Elkhart—North Eastern—Salmonie River—Huntingdon—Little Pigeon—Little Zion—Lost River—White River—Conn's Creek—Danville—Lebanon, and others.

INDIANAPOLIS ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1828. This body takes its name from that of the seat of government for the State. It is an important location, and I have good reason to believe, exercises a healthful and extensive influence in the regions around it; but it so happens that no one has given me any historical sketches of its rise, progress, or present condition. Its Minutes for 1840 are the latest I have received; at that time the

PLEASANT VIEW CHURCH, *J. M. Johnson* pastor, was the largest in this body.⁵

This community is located on both sides of the National road, in different directions around the State Capitol.

This appears to be a growing interest. In 1840, its additions by baptism were two hundred and a half; but still its numerical strength, as reported in the B. Almanac, was a fraction less in 1845, than at the date I have named. Probably some new institution has been set off from it.

EEL RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1825. The Minutes of this comparatively old fraternity for 1841, the latest I have seen, represents it as an institution of considerable strength. Its rise or progress I am not able to state. Its churches are somewhat numerous, but they are not numerically strong. None of them come up to my centum guage. Putnam Co., which lies on the National road, between Indianapolis and Terre Haute, appears to be a central position for this community.

FREEDOM ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1840. It is a new institution, which came out in favor of the cause of benevolence in the midst of those who oppose it.

FREEDOM CHURCH, *Jacob Kerkendall* pastor, is the largest in this young interest.⁶

Park Co. is a central point for this body.

SUGAR CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1832; a portion of its churches came from the Eel River fraternity. I have its Minutes for 1840, the latest I have seen. Its session that year was held at Crawfordville, Montgomery Co., which is probably somewhere near its centre.

SUGAR CREEK CHURCH, *J. Lee* pastor, was the largest in this body.⁷

⁵ At the date above named, it reported 126; Bethel, 93; Lick Creek, 97; Little Bush Creek, 93; On the Minutes, no distinction is made between the ministers and other delegates. This being the case, I am not able to name the pastors of the churches.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 100; but one other came up to half that amount. Fredonia Association I have often seen mentioned as being on this ground. It is probably the same thing with a change of name. ⁷ At the time above named, it reported 121; all the others were much inferior in size.

TIPPECANOE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1833. This body is in the vicinity of the two institutions last named, and was made up of dissenters from them on the missionary question, and their notions of church discipline. These people took the ground of freedom of conscience in the disposition of their own funds for benevolent objects, which their opposing brethren were not disposed to allow. This business is explained in the Minutes of this fraternity as follows :

"The churches of Delphi and Grand Prairie once belonged to the Eel River Association, and in June 1831, were dismissed from said body in order to join what is now the Sugar Creek Association. Accordingly, they met with the delegates of said Association, in May, 1832, at Crawfordville, Indiana, for the purpose of uniting in the said Sugar Creek Association."

The narrative goes on to show that the 14th article of the company with whom they were about to unite, prohibited their members, under the penalty of church censure, from uniting with any conventions, colleges, bible, tract, temperance, &c., societies. On discovery of this obnoxious feature in their rules, the delegates in attendance, after fruitless arguments to have it expunged, requested their letters to be returned, retired from the scene, and the year after united with others in organizing, on such free principles as the baptists have always maintained, the institution now under review.

The LAFAYETTE CHURCH, *S. G. Miner* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁸

COVINGTON CHURCH, *S. French* pastor, is the next in size.

The Cos. of Tippecanoe, Montgomery, and Carroll, embrace most of the churches of this community.⁹

NORTHERN INDIANA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1836. I have before me the Minutes of its tenth session, which comprise my whole stock of information respecting this apparently vigorous community; they have a *Home M. Society* within their bounds, and their regulations, doings, and details, in favor of the cause of benevolence generally, show that these northern Indianians are tolerably wide awake to the evangelical enterprises of the times.

The LA PORTE CHURCH, *E. W. Hamlin* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

ROLLING PRAIRIE, *J. M. Whitehead* pastor, is the next in size.

DOOR VILLAGE, *M. W. Leland* pastor, holds the third rank.

The Co. of La Porte appears to have been the centre of operations for this people. Before the division soon to be named, it extended to those of Joseph, Fulton, Kosciusko, and some others.

The VALPARAIZO CHURCH, *W. T. Bly* pastor, is in the Co. of Porter.

ELKHART RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the one last named, in 1845. In the Minutes for that year, I find the following entry :

"It was decided that we divide the Association, making the old Michigan road, running north and south, the division line; the west part of which retains the name of Northern, the east part that of Elkhart river."

The Minutes of this new interest I have not seen; by comparing those of the mother body for the years when and after it was formed, it must have taken off some of its strong churches, such as *South Bend, Oscego, &c.*, with *elders Barnes, Stocker, &c.* and about five hundred of its members.

⁸ In 1845, it reported 151; Covington, 109.

⁹ The Tippecanoe *Battle Ground* is within the bounds of this Association: there is a town here also of the same name.

¹⁰ Rev. Wm. Rice, the moderator, is my correspondent for this body. From his communication and what I find in their Minutes, it is plain that this people, after a hard struggle, planted among them, the principles of religious freedom on a firm and consistent basis, and such as all baptists in all ages and nations approve.

¹¹ In 1846, it reported 30; Rolling Prairie, 96.

NORTH-EASTERN ASSOCIATION

Is a young institution, having been organized in 1841. Its name indicates its locality. The churches of this body are generally young and small, and have been raised up by the labors of missionaries in this new and heretofore very destitute region.

This body is located in the county of Steuben and some adjoining ones.

SALMONIE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1840. It is an original body, having been raised up by the labors of missionaries, among whom elder R. Tisdale appears to have been distinguished for assiduity and success.

The late *Rev. Isaac McCoy*, as a missionary to the Indians about Fort Wayne, was the first minister of our order on this ground; his attention, however, was not long after directed to other portions of the aboriginal race, and other men, as pioneers of the whole region of country, occupied this new and extensive field. Mr. Tisdale's account of the commencement of his labors, which resulted in the establishment of the churches of which this body was at first composed, is as follows:

"With the exception of the labors of Elder I. McCoy, missionary to the Indians for a while in Fort Wayne, I was the first baptist minister that ever labored in this section of Ind." * * *

Mr. Tisdale goes on to give a detailed account of his various removals from Va., his native State, until he settled here, in Adams Co., and the hardships and privations which he encountered in his early operations: "The country was very new, without roads or bridges, and very little feed for my horse." * * * The first church which was constituted here under my feeble efforts, was formed in Fort Wayne, in 1827. It united with the Tippecanoe Association until ours was constituted."

Rev. F. G. Baldwin was a little later in his ministerial and missionary services on this ground, which, I should judge, he has occupied for a number of years past, with a good degree of faithfulness and some efficiency.¹

The churches in this body, as yet, are generally small; they are located principally in the Cos. of Adams, Huntington, Blufford, and Randolph.

HUNTINGTON ASSOCIATION

Was constituted in 1841, at Cole's Mills, on Eel River in Miami Co.; three of the seven churches of which it was composed, viz., Logansport, Crooked Creek, and Fort Wayne, had formerly belonged to the Tippecanoe Association; the remaining four being new organizations, had never united with any other body.

Dea. George Weirrick was the moderator, and *elder Wm. Cox* clerk of the first meeting.

The ministers concerned in forming this new interest were Wm. Corbin, Wm. Cox, M. Leland, and David Lewis.

The LOGANSPORT CHURCH, (1828,) — *Manning* late pastor, is the oldest and largest in this body.² These people have had for pastors, Wm. Corbin, Wm. M. Pratt, — Manning, and some others whose names are not mentioned.

The FORT WAYNE and HUNTINGTON CHURCHES are also named as among the efficient institutions of this young interest; its pastors or supplies, in addition to those already named, have been R. Tisdale, Wm. Cox, Wm. Giller-sleeve, J. H. Dunlap, H. D. Mason, David Lewis, and G. Sleeper, the present incumbent at Huntington.³

¹ Messrs. Tisdale and Baldwin have each made me long and interesting communications pertaining to the early history of the Fort Wayne settlement, and the first churches which were here planted, and in the vicinity of the Salmonie river, and of their own services and sacrifices in the good cause. Would my limits permit, I could give accounts very much in detail of all the early movements of the baptists in all this north-eastern region of Indiana. The brethren above named have also given the names of the other ministers generally who became companions and coadjutors in this field of moral destitution.

² In 1845, it reported 115; none of the others came up to my centum rule.

³ Communication of Rev. George Sleeper, clerk of this body, 1846. The other ord. ministers were S. B. Searle, M. N. Leland, J. E. Thomas, S. Deweese.

The counties of Huntington, Miami, and a few adjoining ones embrace the churches of this connection.

Very wide spaces appear on the map of Northern Indiana, in which I have not found any baptist institutions. Large tracts of this upper region of the State are probably yet unsettled or but sparsely inhabited.

Summary statement of the remaining Associations.

As this list is very much scattered in different parts of the State, my rules of contiguity cannot be very strictly adhered to.

LITTLE PIGEON ASSOCIATION was formed in 1822. I have an imperfect file of the Minutes of this comparatively old institution. *Chas. Polke* and *Solomon Lamb* were its officers for a number of the first years of its existence, and the Co. of Spencer, in the south part of the State, appears to have been a central point of its operations.

BAKER'S CREEK CHURCH, pastor not named, was the largest in this body in 1843.⁴

LITTLE ZION, 1841, is a small body of two or three hundred members, whose location is near to the last one named, in the Cos. of Warwick, Dubois, &c.

LOST RIVER, 1825. It began with seventeen churches, which were then principally in the Co. of Washington; it now extends into Orange, &c.

WHITE RIVER, 18—, is located in Monroe and some adjoining Cos.

The **BLUE RIVER** fraternity, we have seen, was the parent of the two last named; it was the first colony which went out from the old *Whitewater*, and of course these are the second generation from that prolific mother.

The **BEDFORD**, on the same ground, is the third in the line of succession.

CONN'S CREEK, 18—, is, or was in the Cos. of Shelby, Rush, &c.⁵

WEST RIVER, 18—, is in the Co. of Henry, and probably some adjoining ones.⁶

DANVILLE, 1827. In former years, this was an institution of considerable numerical strength; in Allen's Register for 1836, it is reported as upward of seven hundred strong, and was then located in the Cos. of Hendricks and Morgan, not far from the State Capitol. It has since been divided: for what cause I am not informed. I believe both parties are on the opposing side as to benevolent operations.

LEBANON, 18—, is nearly on the same ground, in the Co. of Boone, &c.

Thus far thirty-five Associations in this State have come under review. Their localities have been ascertained, and also their dates with a few exceptions. Although the enumeration is not complete, yet, as my guides fail me, I cannot name the time when, nor the places where the few remaining ones were formed. Their names are *Williams' Creek*, *Prairie do.*, *Bethel No. 2.*, *White River, do.*, *Bethlehem*, *Mississinewa*, and probably some others.

Messrs. Bland, Morse and others of my correspondents, have said a good deal about a number of these small communities; but as men on the ground are vague and indefinite in their statements, I shall not attempt to go beyond them.

⁴ At the date above named, it reported 103; *Gilead* was a church of good size, but did not come up to my centum rule.

⁵ In 1835, this Indiana institution appears as a corresponding one of the old Miami fraternity in Ohio.

⁶ This is according to Mr. Morse's list of the Ia. Associations. Mr. Vawter's rough map, soon to be named, would seem to assign it a somewhat different locality.

Extinct Associations in Indiana.

CRAWFORDVILLE and LAFAYETTE certainly come under this head, as may be seen in the note below.⁷ LIBERTY, JUBILEE, and SILVER CREEK must also be placed in the list of defunct institutions, so far as our denomination is concerned.⁸

Closing Remarks. The number of associational fraternities in Ind., for the amount of the baptist population, is unusually large. In some cases, the paucity of their membership may be satisfactorily accounted for in consequence of the recency of their origin, and the sparseness of the population in some of the new settlements in the State; but, for the most part, the painful divisions of the denomination have been the cause of the existence of such a number of mere apologies for communities of the kind. But, after all the severe struggles which the friends of the *old order* of baptists have had to encounter with the *Parkerites*, and all other opponents, they now seem to have a clear sky and a wide field; and as I have said of Illinois and many other States, active and united efforts are the main things that are wanting for our Indiana brethren, so far as human agency is concerned. Our brethren in this, as in the Western States generally, are beginning to occupy central and populous locations; and in order to do this, they must have ministers who are not afraid to hold forth in such places; they must also leave their old log shanties in their lonely retirement, and have good houses of worship in central positions. This course I believe the baptists in this State are pursuing with a good degree of zeal and activity.

The *Campbellites* or *Reformers* have a strong interest in Ind.; some computations make their numerical strength about equal to those of our order.⁹

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS.

Some academies or high schools have been maintained by our people for some years past; but

The FRANKLIN COLLEGE, now in its incipient movements with good prospects of success, appears to engross much of the attention of our people in this State. Its history in full will be given at a future time.

GENERAL ASSOCIATION. Such an institution has been maintained by the Indiana baptists since 1833, with different degrees of efficiency and success; its doings, however, have not been so spirited as in some other States.

Correspondents. In addition to the introductory article at the head of this chapter, by Rev. J. M. Peck, I am indebted to him for many valuable suggestions pertaining to baptist affairs in this State. The names of most of the citizens here who have afforded me essential aid in my historical inquiries, have already been given in the course of my narratives. Without their contributions, my accounts must have been much more deficient than they now are.

Rev. John Vawter, of Vernon, in addition to all his other historical papers, at my instance, drew up a rough map of the State on a small scale, for the purpose of exhibiting the positions of the various associational communities so far as his knowledge extended.¹⁰

Rev. B. C. Morse, then of New Albany, made a table of all these bodies, whose Minutes he had procured of a late date, with their ages, numbers, locations, &c.

A. Bland, Esq., of Stilesville, has given me historical sketches of a number of small and obscure communities, relative to which no other information had been obtained. The names of the rest of my coadjutors I will recapitulate as usual, with the omission of titles and localities: E. Ferris, J. W. Given, D. Moss, T. N. Robertson, J. Chambers, M. McRae, J. F. Wade, Wm. Rees, H. Bradley, N. Field, Wm. Reavis, M. Pierson, S. Chambers, L. H. Jameson, J. Jones, J. L. Richmond, Jabez Johnson, R. Tisdale, F. G. Baldwin, Geo. Sleeper.

The *Christian Messenger*, the organ of the denomination in this State, has been very attentive to notice and reiterate my requests in my circulars; and the same may be said of the *Greenland Baptist Herald* while it was in operation.

⁷ "Bro. Peck speaks of knowing but little of the *Lafayette* and *Crawfordville* Associations—the truth is, there are none such in the State. The Tippecanoe Association, when organized, was called *Lafayette*; but at her first session, the name was changed to the one she now bears. *Sugar Creek*, do, was formed at *Crawfordville*, and on that account was often so called at first. It is to be hoped that these names will be dropped for the future." * * * *Letter of Rev. Wm. Rice*, 1843.

⁸ *Letter of Rev. B. C. Morse*, 1843. The old Silver Creek community, according to Mr. Morse's account, has gone over to the Reformers, and of course their associational meetings are discontinued.

⁹ I have more statistical information of this community in this State than any other, which will be exhibited when their affairs are brought under review.

¹⁰ The following sketch from Mr. Vawter's papers, which was omitted in its proper place, I will here insert: "I have supposed till lately that the oldest church in Ind. was near the Ohio or Ill. State lines, as settlements were made in the White water and Wabash valleys at an early date; but on examining the records of the old Silver Creek church, * * * I find the following entry: 'We, the church of Christ, on *Owen's creek*, in the county of Knox, and territory north-west of the river Ohio, in the Illinois grant, were constituted 1798, by Bro. Isaac Edwards, on the Phila. Confession of Faith, &c.: John Fisher, Elizabeth Fisher, John Pettit, Catharine Pettit.' * * * I was personally acquainted with all four of the members above named," &c. This probably will be a new item to the antiquarians of baptist affairs in this State.

CHAPTER XXVII.

OHIO.

SECTION I.

Early history—Comparative views—First Company—Second Company—Other companies—Miami Association—Baptist interest in Cincinnati—Mad River—East Fork—Straight Creek—Scioto—ditto No. 2—Musk- ingum—Leigh's Creek—Zoar—Salem—Ohio.

The civil history or geographical dimensions of this great and populous State I shall not attempt to give, but will merely observe, that in 1790 the whole number of white inhabitants, French and English, was estimated at 3,500; it now, in point of population, holds a high rank among the States of this great Republic.

Comparative views. In 1809, in this State, there were about sixty churches, and twenty-five hundred members.¹

Allen's Register for 1833 makes the baptist population of Ohio—churches, two hundred and eighty; communicants, ten thousand five hundred; about two hundred per cent. have been added since that date.

First Company of Baptists in Ohio, 1789.

In the autumn of 1789, a number of families went down the Ohio river, and commenced a settlement at the mouth of the Little Miami river, on Col. Symmes' purchase, where the town of Columbia now stands. This was about six miles from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. In this company were Mr. Isaac Ferris, from Connecticut, the late Judge Goforth, from New York, Gen. John Gano, from the same city, and Messrs. Benjamin and Elijah Stites, originally from New Jersey. Some others were in the company, whose names I have not learnt. This settlement was made in perilous times. The Indians made every exertion to cut them off and prevent their settlement. They tried by many stratagems to decoy them ashore on their passage down the river; and after they had settled, they were continually lurking to destroy them. They were obliged, for a number of years, to live mostly in forts and block-houses; but, notwithstanding all their precautions, a number of the first settlers fell victims to the rage of their savage neighbors. A number of the company above mentioned were baptist professors; but having no preacher among them, they set up a meeting among themselves, which they conducted by turns.

In 1790, Rev. Stephen Gano, of Providence, R. I., took a journey into the Western country to visit his father and family relations; he also visited this settlement, baptized three persons, and formed the little company into a church, which was the first of any denomination raised north of the Ohio river, in that extensive country, then called the North-western Territory.

The church soon received considerable accessions from emigrants to the Miami country; and as the fears of the Indians subsided, they extended their settlements farther out, and the Columbia church became the mother of most of the first churches which arose in this region.²

Second Company on the Scioto River, 1801.

In 1801, six families, among whom were fifteen church members, removed from Rockingham county, Va., and in the wilderness of Ohio formed a settlement at a place called Pleasant Run, near the present town of Lancaster. This colony of baptist emigrants were Germans, or of High Dutch descent.

¹ Hist. of Baptists, Vol. II., p. 258.

² Benedict's Hist. of the Baptists, Vol. II., pp. 268, 269. This account was composed from statements from some of the original settlers on the ground in 1809.

The church which they transported from the Old Dominion to the fertile regions of the West, came out from what was called the *White House* church, in the county of Shenandoah. When I visited them in 1809, they had three ministers, by the names of Sites, Comer, and Colman, who could officiate both in German and English.³

Near to them, a company from N. E. planted a colony about the same time, who formed a baptist church in Ames. These two churches were constituent members of the Scioto Association.

On the *Mad*, *Muskingum*, and *Beaver* rivers, colonies of our order must have been planted early in the present century, but I have obtained no historical sketches respecting them, except what will appear in the accounts of the Associations which their enterprise assisted to produce.

I shall describe our baptist affairs in Ohio under three heads: *southern*, *eastern* and *western*. The *National Road* will be my first line of demarcation; all the Associations south of this road will constitute the *southern* division; the *eastern* will embrace that portion of the State which lies east of the *Ohio and Erie Canal*, and the *western*, all that remains west and north of these lines.

MIAMI ASSOCIATION.

This parent institution among the Ohio baptists commenced its operations in 1797; the meeting for its final organization, as well as the preparatory conferences, were at Columbia, six miles east of Fort Washington, where Cincinnati now stands.

Columbia, at the mouth of the Little Miami river, at that period and for some time after, was the centre of operations for our denomination in all the Miami country. It was a long time after this event, before they planted their standard in what is now the Queen city of the West.

This body was formed with four churches, viz.: Columbia, Miami Island, Carpenter's Run, and Clear Creek. Turtle Creek and Little Prairie churches joined the infant confederacy soon after it was formed.

John Smith, Peter Smith, James Lee, and Daniel Clark, at first, and John Sutton soon after, assisted in moulding this young interest into a regular form. Joshua Carman and Josiah Dodge, from Ky., were visiting ministers when the Association was formed. Carman afterwards removed and settled here, as did John Mason, from the same State.

In the course of a few years, the boundaries of this primary establishment became very extensive, and its numerical strength was much augmented; its branches spread into all parts of the Miami country, and in the surrounding regions on all sides, north of the Ohio river, and all the kindred institutions which, in succession, arose in the south-western portion of Ohio and also in the contiguous parts of Indiana, went out, wholly or in part, from this growing community.

In the list of churches before me, which in groups sought an associational home in the old Miami fraternity, I see the names of those which afterwards appeared in the Whitewater, Laughery, Mad River, East Fork, Scioto, and Strait Creek Associations.⁴

Those in Ind. have already been named; such as were formed in this State will come under review in the natural order of my narratives.

CITY OF CINCINNATI.

This famous emporium, for many years past, has been a central point of operations, not only for this Association, but in all this end of the State, and, indeed, for the whole of Ohio; but it was not so at first, for while Columbia, Duck Creek, Turtle Creek, afterward called Lebanon, &c. were the favorite

³ *Ib.* Vol. II., p. 261.

⁴ Historical documents prepared by the joint labors of Messrs. Peck and Sedwick. They will be described more fully at the end of this chapter.

resorts of our people, and the places where their most important convocations were held, and their primordial rules were adopted, the great city which has since risen up to be such a splendid metropolis, was yet in its infancy, and but here and there a baptist communicant was found within its bounds.

Our people here were late in the field, as they have too generally been in populous and growing places. The presbyterians, methodists, and others took the lead in getting up religious establishments. And since they commenced operations, their measures have not at all times been the most felicitous and beneficial, and a retrograde motion has in some instances marked their course.⁵

Many churches have been established, which, like the Tabernacle in the wilderness, were put up and taken down in quick succession. The history of all these changes I shall not attempt to give, and perhaps it would not be desirable if I could to place all the facts pertaining to their doings and undoings on my stereotyped pages; neither am I able to be as minute as I could desire in my accounts of those which have escaped the dilapidations of former years, or else have been re-edified to their present standing.⁶

FIRST CHURCH, formerly called *Enon*, was constituted in 1821.

Rev. A. Denniston was the first pastor, and continued in the station a few years; his successors in office I am not able to name.

Rev. Daniel Shephardson is the present incumbent.

UNION, colored, 1827, was formed of that portion of the colored members who were associated with the mother body for a few of the first years.

Rev. Charles Satchel was the first pastor.

Rev. A. E. Graham now fills that station.

NINTH STREET, 1830. *Dr. Lynd*, now of St. Louis, was many years the pastor of this people.

Rev. E. L. Magoon, late pastor of the Second Church, Richmond, Va. was settled here in 1846.

FIFTH STREET, 1840. Who was its first pastor I cannot tell.

Rev. D. Bryant is the present incumbent.

SIXTH CHURCH, 1842. *Rev. King Griswold* was the first spiritual shepherd of this community. *Rev. W. H. Brisbane* is his successor in office.

WALNUT STREET, 1846. *Rev. R. E. Pattison*, D.D., of the Covington Institute is the pastor of this young interest.

ZION, COLORED, 18—. *Rev. W. Shelton* is pastor of this people.

Recapitulation of the baptist churches in Cincinnati.

Churches.	Dates.	Pastors.	Members.
First Church, - -	1821	D. Shephardson, - -	200
Union, (colored)	1827	A. E. Graham, - -	360
Ninth Street, - -	1830	E. L. Magoon, - -	400
Fifth Street, - -	1840	D. Bryant, - -	80
Sixth Church, - -	1842	W. H. Brisbane, (estimated)	50
Walnut Street, - -	1846	R. E. Pattison, - -	40
Zion, - (colored)	18—	W. Shelton, (estimated)	60
		Total - -	1190

Another church is soon to be formed in the east part of this city.—*Stevens.*

⁵ My first acquaintance with Cincinnati was in 1809. The family of Gen. Gano and a few others of the baptist order resided here. Dr. Wilson of the presbyterian church was then settled here. I attended his church, and, I think, preached in his pulpit. The methodists also were well under way.

With these congregations the few baptists here united in religious worship when it was not convenient to go out of town; but if they wished to worship with their own order, they must go out six miles to the old church at Columbia where I also attended.

⁶ I am often referred by my correspondents to *Rev. John Stevens' Historical Papers* relative to the history of the Cincinnati churches and other matters pertaining to the Ohio baptists. Bro. S. has sent me some valuable documents, but does not name the papers in question, nor inform me how I could obtain them.

This man was killed by a savage opponent, who threw a stone at him in the street as he was returning from an evening meeting. An account of this tragical scene has been sent me by *Rev. Thos. Goodwin*, who was walking with him at the time.

I would have given more full historical accounts of the churches in this city, had the materials been supplied me.

The Campbellites or reformers have three churches in this city, which, in point of numbers I believe are quite respectable.

The Whitewater Association in Indiana was the first colony which went out from the old Miami; this was in 1809, as has already been related under the head of that State.

MAD RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1812; this was the second company which set up a new organization from the mother body at Miami; its early history I will relate in the language of one of its present members.

"Some years previous to the late war with Great Britain, among the mass of emigrants to the great valley of the Miami, elders John Thomas, Joseph Morris, Lemuel Cotrell, James Jameson, John Guthridge and others commenced their labors of love among these then destitute settlements."

My correspondent proceeds to show that the early ministers here, in common with their brethren in similar circumstances in new and frontier settlements, encountered many hardships and privations while they executed their laborious and successful ministry among the perishing multitudes in the great missionary field which they found open to receive them, and in which, by their instrumentality in due time, they planted the five churches of which the community now under consideration was at first composed, viz., King's Creek, Neule Creek, Big Darby, Staunton, and Antioch; the two first named were in the Co. of Champaign, the others in those of Madison, Miami, and Clark. The organization took place in Sept., 1812; the aggregate of membership was less than two hundred. Elders Moses Frazee, James Dunlap, Thos. Childers, and William Jones removed to this field in the early operations of the Association; Dunlap was from Ky., the others were from the southern part of this State. Samuel Dewcese, Robt. Steepleton, and Wm. Sutton were among the ministerial sons who became gospel laborers on the ground.

This community has had its full share of difficulties from various sources; it has suffered, at various periods, dilapidation, encroachment and derangement, but still it has continued its successful course, and now, in point of numerical strength, stands a fraction in advance of any kindred institution in Ohio. It is located in the Cos. of Clark, Greene, Fayette, Madison, Champaign, and Miami, on both sides of the *National Road*.

The **PIQUA CHURCH**, *D. E. Thomas* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁷

TROY, — pastor, is the next in size.

KING'S CREEK, *T. J. Price* pastor, holds the third rank.

NEW CARLISLE, *W. T. Roberts* pastor, is among their large communities.

SPRINGFIELD, *Wm. Lyon* pastor, is one of the strong churches in this old fraternity.

EAST FORK.

East Fork of the Little Miami river, is the full title of this body; it was formed in 1817, and was the third colony from the prolific Miami mother; it was constituted with the following churches, viz.: Columbia, now called Duck Creek, Little Miami, Clough, Clover Fork, Ten Mile, Indian Creek (since dissolved), Stone Lick, and East Fork. *Wm. Robb* was their moderator, and *Jas. Jones* clerk of the first meeting.

Among the pastors which composed this body before, at the time of its constitution, and for a number of years after, my correspondent for this department has named John Smith, Joseph Lee, Wm. Robb, M. Williams, Jas. Jones, Wm. Morris, Moses Frazee, Geo. Clapp, David Smith, J. Ferris, Jas. Lyon, A. Sargent, and others.

The **NEWTOWN CHURCH**, *L. French* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁸

⁷ In 1846, it reported 224; Troy, 154; King's Creek, 113; New Carlisle, 96; Springfield, 91.

Rev. E. French, of Urbana, is my correspondent for this Association.

⁸ In 1846, it reported 128; Georgetown, 107; Clough, A. Sargent, 97.

Elders A. Sargent and Wm. Cox are my correspondents for this Association; Bro. Cox has sent me a list of the annual returns of the churches since 1824; the highest number of baptisms in any one year was 375; that was in 1840; the maximum of membership was a fraction over 1,500, which was in the year after; since that period, its numerical strength has considerably decreased.

GEORGETOWN, *J. Sargeant*, is the next in size; the whole community is located principally in the Co. of Clermont; a few of its churches are in Hamilton and Brown.

STRAIGHT CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1812; it was composed, at first, of five churches, which were situated chiefly in the Cos. of Adams and Highland. *Jas. Abrams*, *Thos. Elrod*, *C. B. Smith*, and *M. Hutchings* were the officiating ministers on the occasion.

The names of the churches were Red Oak, Eagle Creek, Soldier Run, Crooked Creek, and Ebenezer.

The whole amount of membership was less than one hundred.

My correspondent for this community has given me very ample details of all its doings, from its commencement up to a late period; its correspondence with the B. Board of Missions then located at Phila., and the various struggles which the friends of the missionary enterprise at different times found it needful to maintain with the opposing members within their bounds.

The following extract may serve as a specimen on this subject:

"When the Miami and Scioto Association divided, in 1837, upon the mission question, this body was happily saved from utter ruin, by the kind providence of God, and the discreet management of some influential members. Only a small number seceded and left the Association, under the influence of those decidedly missionary in their views and action.

"From this period may be dated the true prosperity of this body, and its rapid and apparently healthy increase.

"The greatest increase ever reported was that in the Session of 1840, when three hundred were reported as baptized and added by letter." * * * * *

My correspondent has given me the annual returns to this institution for 30 years, viz., from 1812 to '42.

Although its numerical strength was gradually augmented, yet it was not equal to some of the other neighboring communities. One extract more from the document must suffice; its general expositions will no doubt suit other meridians as well as this:

"Various reasons may be given for the exceedingly small ratio of increase for the 25 years first after the organization of this body. Chiefly the sparseness of the population—want of ministers—and lack of education among both preachers and people—and a bad policy of operation—almost wholly neglecting the towns and villages for the country. But perhaps one more deserves notice—a distorted theology—which was not adapted to win souls to a saving knowledge of Christ.

"In some measure, these preventives of increase have been overcome, and a more liberal policy is now pursued—missionary and benevolent objects are now encouraged, and the Lord graciously has added the seal of his approval. Far be it from the writer to undervalue the pioneers who labored here in early days. The names of *Chas. B. Smith*, *Moses Hutchings*, *Thos. Elrod*, and *Eleazar Johnson* are honorably associated with its early history. They labored zealously, and with self-sacrifice in the beginning of our feeble churches. But they have passed away—none are perfect. And some of these, especially the first three, were unhappily opposed to missions and an educated ministry, and by their influence greatly retarded the prosperity of our churches. Among those whose labors have been most valuable in building up the churches in later years may be reckoned elders *Burnett*, *Johnson*, and *Froy*. The two former are now in Iowa Territory, though for many years they were valuable preachers in this Association."

Although the old fraternity had a good number of strong churches, yet none of them approached near enough to my centum rule to be placed in my usual statistical notes.⁹ The locality of this body is thus described by my correspondent:

"It is located in the southern part of Ohio, and is bounded south on the Ohio river, west by the Little Miami river, north by Fayette Co., east by the Scioto river. It spreads into the counties of Adams, Highland, Clinton, Brown, Fayette and Scioto."¹⁰

⁹ Among these churches we may name Winchester, and West Union, *Wm. Algood* pastor of both; Greenfield, *C. A. Clark*; Bethany, *F. Ellison*; New Market, *T. Craven*; Lick Fork, *P. Vance*; E. F. Brush Creek, *E. Fry*.—*Minutes of 1845*.

¹⁰ Rev. *I. K. Brownson* is my correspondent for this Association.

¹¹ I have not been able to trace any immediate connection between the Straight Creek and the old

SCIOTO ASSOCIATION.

This old fraternity bears date from 1805. It began with but four churches; two of which, viz., Ames and Pleasant Run, have been noticed in our introductory statements.

Their early history, and of course some of the most interesting facts pertaining to this community, so far as these constituent members are concerned, have been anticipated.

I have no correspondents for this body, and have learnt but little relative to its operations for many years past.¹

Its number, I believe, has never been large, although it is in a central and populous part of the State. Chillicothe, Lancaster and other important towns are within its bounds; the churches in them, however, I see are small. Indeed, no one in the body, in point of numbers, comes up to my centum gauge.

The WALNUT CREEK, *L. Madden* pastor, of fourscore, the LICKING, *D. Adams*, and WERT'S GROVE, *J. W. Heistand*, of threescore, are the largest in this community.

There is a large church of colored members in Chillicothe, which will be noticed in the account of the Association of their own race to which they belong.

The counties of Ross, Pickaway, and Fairfield embrace the churches of this body.

The five Associations which have thus far been brought under review, I believe are the principal ones in the south-west portion of the State. With but few exceptions, their churches are located below the *National road*, and west of the Ohio and Erie canal, whose southern terminus is at Portsmouth, on the Ohio river.

They correspond with each other, are of the same mind as to the promotion of evangelical efforts, and four if not all of them have had seceding parties go out from them upon the *non-fellowshipping* principles as to benevolent institutions. These will all be named in my summary statement of small associational communities at the close of this chapter—excepting the one denominated

THE SCIOTO PREDESTINARIAN B. ASSOCIATION.

This community also dates back to 1805. It is on the same ground with the one last named, from which it was divided, I believe, on the missionary question.

As I have no information whatever of the circumstances attending the division of this *primary* baptist interest for this part of Ohio, I shall make no comments on the claims of either party as to priority of dates, but give them as they do themselves. Both together would make an institution of a fraction over a thousand strong. They are nearly equal in size.

The JONATHAN CREEK CHURCH, *Jesse Stith* pastor or supply, is the largest in this body.²

I will now go to the oldest community in the north-east corner of the division now under review—follow out its ramifications, and describe the other institutions in this eastern and south-eastern part of the State.

MUSKINGUM ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1811. It began with five churches, viz.: Greenville, Marlborough, Liberty, Mohawk Run, and Hopewell.

Miami community. Mr. Brownson is very particular in his details of its operations, but does not refer to any union of the kind; but as churches in those early times, at a much greater distance, sought an associational home with the old Miami, it is highly probable such was the case with some which first arose in this region of country.

¹ Rev. C. A. Clark made me a short communication in 1844. I embraced his proffered aid, but I find no other document from him among my historical papers.

² In 1845, it reported 91. The Pleasant Run church, which was founded by a colony of German baptists from Virginia, as has already been related, is the next in size.

I am sorry to see a community who appeared so well established in good principles when I was with them almost forty years ago, on what I believe to be the wrong side as to the cause of benevolence. Could I have another interview with them, I would try to set them right in this business.

Father Nathan Cory, whose house was one of my homes while in the Scioto country, I am glad to see, is a decided friend and supporter of evangelical efforts.

"The place of meeting was the Welch Hills, the oldest and largest Welch settlement in Ohio, about three miles north of the present site of Granville College.

"This little nucleus of churches in the course of thirty-six years has branched out over a vast region of country, and multiplied into hundreds of churches and several thousand baptists.

"At that period, no printing office existed in the interior of Ohio, and no Minutes were printed till 1813."

The ministers at first were Wm. Burnside, Jacob Drake, Wm. Thrift, and J. W. Paterson. Amos Mix and Henry George were soon after added to the list of elders. The probationers were E. Ashbrook, James Peters, George De Botto, James Eaton, A. Miller, and S. Avery.

Elder Jacob Drake (still living) is mentioned as the pioneer of Ohio in every good work. He brought the subject of missions before the churches and Associations, which passed *resolutions*—opened a correspondence with the B. General Board—adopted the practice of monthly concerts of prayer for the spread of the gospel—recommended public collections on the Lord's day to aid the mission cause, &c.

The various associational communities which have gone out from this parent institution in different directions will be named as our narratives proceed. The Columbus and Meigs Creek were the most important.

I have none of the Minutes of this body later than 184—; at that time,

The LEXINGTON CHURCH, *James Skinner* pastor, was the largest in this old connection.³

MEIGS' CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1826. It began with seven churches, viz.: First Zanesville, Marietta, Brookfield, Salem Township, Cambridge, Bristol and Salt Creek. The ministers concerned in the new organization were George Russell, Wm. Sedwick, George C. Sedwick, Jere. Dale, Wm. Spencer, and Wm. Rees.

Rev. James McAboy was moderator, and Samuel Williams, now of Pittsburgh, Pa., clerk of the first meeting.

The organization took place at Brookfield, Morgan Co.; the pastors of the churches in this community, in addition to those already named, were W. Mears, F. Pringle, James McAboy, A. Darrow, F. Gear, S. S. Parr, H. Broom, B. Y. Seigfried, E. Crane.

The following account of the character and course of this fraternity is given by one of its former members:

"This Association was always remarkable for its harmony, peace and prosperity. No *isms* ever disturbed the union and fellowship of its members. Its annual meetings were seasons of love and friendship. It has ever been the warm advocate of missions and other benevolent operations."

FIRST CHURCH, ZANESVILLE, *J. M. Courtney* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁴

BROOKFIELD CHURCH, *H. Ward* pastor, is the next in size of this body.

Marietta, Adams, Newport, Little Muskingum, Manchester, &c., are among the strongest of this body.

The most important colony from this fraternity will be placed at the head of my next section.

³ At the date above named, it reported —; Granville, Thomas Hughes, —; Friendship, Geo. De Bolt, —; Lancaster, Samuel Carpenter, —.

⁴ In 1846, it reported 293; Brookfield, 155; Adams, 112; Marietta, 101; Manchester, 96; Little Muskingum, 94. This Association comes down to the Ohio river at Marietta; the three next to be named do the same, and they together extend from Wheeling to Portsmouth.

The Parkersburg Association (Va.) originated from the Meigs Creek in 1826. This fact I had not learnt when my account of that institution was made out.

ZOAR ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1826. It was composed of churches which formerly belonged to the Stillwater fraternity, which had run down before this community arose. No other items pertaining to its history have I been able to obtain. It is located principally in the counties of Belmont, Jefferson and Monroe, but extends into a number of others. It is opposite Wheeling, Va. One small church belonging to it is in that town.

STILLWATER CHURCH, *James Jenkins* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁵

SALEM ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1828. I have no information relative to its genealogy, commencement or progress. It is located in the counties of Perry, Athens, Hocking, Meigs, and Gallia. For some cause, it has not attained much numerical strength, and none of its churches amount to half a hundred.

OHIO ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1820. I am in the same situation respecting the history of this community as of the one last named. It is still lower down in the State, in the counties of Jackson, Scioto and Lawrence. It is contiguous to Va., and Kentucky, and corresponds with the Teay's Valley in the first, and Greenup in the latter State.

SECTION II.

EASTERN DIVISION.

Wills Creek Association—Coshocton—Wooster—Portage—Trumbull—Grand River—Gauga—Rocky River.

WILLS CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Meigs Creek, in 1820. It began with — churches, eight ministers, and nearly a thousand communicants. The ministers were R. Berkley, Wm. Sedwick, H. Broom, B. Y. Seigfried, L. Madden, M. Mears, G. S. Miles, and H. Tayne.

Wm. Sedwick was moderator, and Wm. Mears clerk of the first meeting.

MARKET STREET CHURCH, Zanesville, *Rev. N. N. Wood* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

ADAMSVILLE, formerly Salem Township, *Rev. Wm. Sedwick* pastor, is the next in size.

SALEM, Gurnsey Co., *Rev. H. Broom* pastor, holds the third rank.

CAMBRIDGE, 1828, *H. Broom* pastor, is also one of the strong churches in this establishment.

SALT CREEK, 1811, *Wm. Mears* incumbent, is the oldest church in this or any of the neighboring communities.

The counties of Muskingum, Coshocton and Gurnsey embrace the churches of the Wills Creek fraternity.

⁵ In 1846, it reported 132; Harmony, G. W. Wheaton, 109; Morristown, T. M. Edwin, 105.

⁶ In 1846, it reported 195; Adamsville, 134; Salem 116; all the others fall short of my centum gauge. The Adamsville church, Mr. Sedwick claims as one of the strongest of our order in Ohio. It is pleasing to see a pastor think so well of his own people. As all his statements were made for my use, the presumption is that he had good grounds for this high commendation of his spiritual charge.

COSHOCKTON ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the one last named, in 1846. The ministers concerned in its organization were L. Madden, B. White, L. Gilbert, Wm. Mears, L. Root, — Walden, — Sampson.

It began with 17 churches, which are located in the counties of Cashockton, Holmes, Tuscarawas, &c.

The ———, A. B. ——— pastor, is the largest in this young interest.⁷

One of the oldest and most important colonies which went out from the old Muskingum fraternity will be placed at the head of my third section. The other principal branches of that prolific mother of baptist institutions in this populous region of the State have been briefly described. As the churches and ministers in succession have been transferred from the older to more recent organizations, I have not thought it expedient to be very minute in my details as I went on, and now my comments must be very brief.

The planters of the large group of baptist institutions in this region, and of the pioneers and pastors here have generally been referred to in the course of my narratives, and the names of most of them have been mentioned either in the text of my history or statistical notes. Much historical matter has been communicated to me relative to their assiduity, efficiency and success, which neither my limits nor plan will permit me to insert. From all the information I have received, it is plain to be seen that this part of Ohio has been favored with a very good set of laborers, both clerical and of the lay brotherhood, by whom a very interesting group of churches has been established. Most of the pioneers have ceased from their labors or have removed to other portions of the great western field.

Rev. George C. Sedwick, whose successful labors in the city of Zanesville and other places in its vicinity, are well reported of. He is now in Kentucky.

Rev. Wm. Rees, who is favorably known in this region and other parts of Southern Ohio, is in Indiana.

Rev. Jacob Drake, although still on the shores of time, is in a measure laid by from his labors, in consequence of the inevitable imbecilities of protracted years.

From these few passing remarks, I must proceed to the more northern portions of this great State on its eastern side.

WOOSTER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839. It began with the following churches, viz.: Massillon, E. Union, Warren, Wooster, Salt Creek, Sugar Creek, Sandyville, and First Mo——, which were dismissed from the mother Association. The ministers at first were T. G. Jones, O. N. Sage, J. R. Williams, R. Freeman, B. White, P. Guest, and J. Brown. This young and vigorous interest appears to be actively engaged in all the departments of christian benevolence. It is located in the counties of Wayne, Stark, and Columbiana.

The WOOSTER CHURCH, *Rev. S. B. Page* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁸

MASSILLON, *J. Cox* pastor or supply, is the next in size.

A portion of over one-fourth of this community is embraced in the Wooster church, which appears to be a central point of operations for the denomination in this region. The State Convention and other large convocations occasionally convene at this place. This, and the church called CANAL DOVER, are the only ones which have preaching every Sabbath. All the others are supplied on the monthly or semi-monthly plan.

The late *Thos. G. Jones* was long and favorably known in all this part of the State as an efficient pioneer and pastor in the baptist cause.

PORTAGE ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1833. It is located principally in Portage and Summit Cos.,

⁷ The Minutes of this Association have not been received, and no statistics can be made out.

⁸ In 1845 it reported 248; Massillon, 93.

and probably sprung in part at least from the old Grand River fraternity, as it is within the bounds of that body in its early movements; but upon this point I have no information. It appears to act with decision in all benevolent operations.

The BEDFORD CHURCH, *W. Levesee* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

TRUMBULL ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839. It consisted at first of five small churches, whose membership in the aggregate amounted to 160. They came from the old Beaver fraternity, whose locality is now wholly in Pa. The Co. from which it took its name embraces most of its churches.

The WARREN CHURCH, *J. Winter* pastor, is the oldest in this connection. ORANGEVILLE, *B. Phelps*, HUBBARD, *W. B. Harris*, and some others, are good-sized churches, but each of them falls short of 100.¹⁰

GRAND RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This is an old institution for this region, as it dates back to 1817, which was in the early settlement of the country. Five small churches were all it had to begin with, viz.: Kingsville, Madison, Geneva, Jefferson, and Mentor; the two last were previously connected with the old Beaver community.

Elders A. Hawks, A. Bentley, B. Barnes, and J. Woodworth, were the principal ministers engaged in its organization. The last one named is still living.

The KINGSVILLE CHURCH, *J. B. Hackett* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹

CONNEAUT, *J. W. Weatherby* do., is the next in size. This was formerly a branch of Kingsville.

MADISON, *L. Whitney*, holds the third rank.

JEFFERSON, *B. S. Knapp*, stands in the fourth grade.

Rev. Joseph Elliot, formerly pastor of the 1st Ch., Roxbury, Mass., is one of the pastors of this establishment.

Rev. E. Tucker, now of the Oliver St. Ch., New York, is named as having been at one time engaged in evangelical labors within the bounds of this Asso.

This has been the parent of a number of the associational communities which have subsequently been organized around it, as our narratives will soon show.

GAUGA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1834; a part of its churches came from the one last named.² It is located in the county from which it took its name, and in the one called Lake, which is on the southern shore of Lake Erie. Neither its Minutes nor history have I been able to obtain.

ROCKY RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1832. *Rev. L. Tucker* was moderator, and *W. T. Smith* clerk of the first meeting. This community came also, in part at least, from the old Grand River establishment. The following items of history I have selected from the communication of my correspondent for this Asso.:

⁹ In 1845 it reported 124; 2d Salem, *F. Green*, 101; Aurora, *S. R. Willard*, 96; Akron, —, 95; Streetsboro, *C. Clapp*, 91.

¹⁰ *Rev. John Winter* is my correspondent for this Asso., which, he informs me, exhibits a good degree of interest in the mission cause and other objects of benevolence.

¹ In 1846 it reported 144; Conneaut, 122; Madison, 118; Jefferson, 107; Ashtabula, *A. Williams*, 93.

Rev. J. B. Hackett, clerk, is my correspondent for this Asso.; his account is made out according to my directions in my circular.

² For a knowledge of this fact I am indebted to *Mr. Hackett*, named above.

It consisted at first of seven churches, four ministers, and about one hundred and fifty members.

"Not a M. H. of any kind at that time belonging to our denomination was found within our bounds, which extended upwards of 60 miles along the southern shore of Lake Erie, and back into the country about 50 miles.

"I have attended ten dedications of good houses of worship, nine constitutions of churches of our order, and about the same number of ordinations within the last five years."³

The CLEVELAND CHURCH, 1833, *Rev. S. W. Adams* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁴ This church contains a fraction over one-fourth of the whole Asso.; the location is an important one, and although our people, as usual, were late on the ground, yet for a number of years past they appear to have conducted their affairs with efficiency and success.

Rev. Levi Tucker, D.D., was the first pastor of this people, in which office he continued about ten years.

Rev. J. H. Walden was his successor for a short time. The present incumbent has already been named.

The Cos. of Cuyahoga and Medina embrace most if not all the churches of this Asso.

I have now named all the associations in this eastern or north-eastern division, except a few small ones, which I shall put under *sub-heads* in my summary statement.

SECTION III

WESTERN DIVISION.

Columbus Asso.—Mount Vernon—Owl Creek—Mohican—Huron—Lorain—Seneca—Maumee—Anglize—Union, and others—Closing Remarks—Correspondents.

This division might properly be denominated the *North-western*, but as I study to simplify names as much as possible both for institutions and localities, I shall apply this term to the large territory which yet remains to be explored; in which, however, the fraternities of our order are not very numerous or extensive.

COLUMBUS ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a colony from the old Muskingum, in 1819. It began with 11 churches, five ministers, and 370 members.

Churches.—Liberty, Bethel, Marlborough, Westfall, Harlaem, Sunbury, Radnor, Turkey Run, Pickaway, Granville, St. Albans, and Munroe.

Ministers.—Jacob Drake, J. Thorp, D. Skeel, E. Ashbrook, and George Evans, now of Manchester, N. H.

COLUMBUS. The church here bears date from 1823. Of its early history or progress I have no information. As this is the seat of government for Ohio, we should naturally expect to find in it a strong baptist interest; but this does not always follow in this country, where our brethren generally heretofore have preferred rural locations rather than cities or towns.

Rev. T. R. Cressy, from N. E., was in the pastoral office here some ten or fifteen years since.

Rev. D. A. Randall is the present pastor or supply.

GRANVILLE, 1819. In this town is located the *Baptist College*, whose president for many years was the late *Rev. J. Going, D.D.*, who, I believe, added the pastoral to his literary functions.

³ Communication of *Rev. L. Tucker*, 1842.

⁴ In 1847 it reported 302; *Euclid*, L. Wilder, 107; *Seville*, —, 91.

The Church Manual of this community, which bears date from 1837, contains but a very few facts relative to its history. A very small number of *these* documents have I found in any of the Western and Southern States.

868 MOUNT VERNON, OWL CREEK, AND MOHICAN ASSOCIATIONS.

Rev. E. Turney now officiates as the pastor of this people.

This church is the largest in this body.⁵

The Cos. of Franklin, Ashland, and some adjoining ones, embrace the churches of this connection.

MOUNT VERNON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1843. It contained at first twelve churches, which came out mostly from the one last named. Its ministers were thirteen, two of whom were unordained.

From the communications of my correspondent for this young interest I will make the following selections :

Elder Henry George, a Welchman, well known as one of the early pioneers of the baptist cause in the west, and who died in 1821, was a distinguished planter of churches within the bounds of this community, especially among his own countrymen, who are numerous in this region.

"The RADNOR CHURCH, 1816, and the CHESTER, 1819, were gathered by his instrumentality.

"The OWL CREEK CHURCH, 1809, is probably the oldest in this part of Ohio.

"*Elder James Seymour*, formerly from Western Pa., for many years officiated as the pastor of this people, under whose ministry they experienced prosperity and enlargement."

The MOUNT VERNON CHURCH, *E. T. Brown* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁶

The Cos. of Knox, Richland, and Delaware, embrace the Mount Vernon churches. *Rev. Jennings Crawford* is my correspondent for this Asso.

OWL CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835. It is in close contact with the one last named, in the Cos. of Knox, Delaware, &c. It probably went out from the Columbus, but on the subject of its pedigree I have no information, and none of its Minutes have I received.

MOHICAN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1819, and is of course a comparatively old institution for this part of the State. It came entirely from the old Beaver community, which for many years spread over a large territory in this part of Ohio.

For a rare case in this country, I find in the Minutes of this Asso. for 1845, historical details of its formation and all its annual sessions up to that time. From this document I will make the following selections :

"At the annual session of the mother body in 1819, it divided into three parts: one retained the old name; another, the middle division, was called MAHONING; the western part took the name of this community. Thos. G. Jones was moderator, and John Rigdon clerk of the first meeting;⁷ it consisted of eleven churches at its organization. Its ministers, in addition to those already named, were David Kempton, E. Otis, A. French, and Thos. Rigdon."

The annual doings of this fraternity exhibit only ordinary events, except the troubles arising from the defection of John Rigdon, while he sympathized with the Reformers, before he espoused the doctrines of the *Latter-day Saints*.

⁵ In 1846 it reported 214; Columbus, 206; St. Albans, 125; Welch Hills, Wm. Snedder, 116; Berlin, 107.

I have no correspondents for this Asso.; Mr. Sedwick has given me the few items above as to its first churches and ministers.

⁶ In 1846 it reported 154; Chester, O. Owens, 125; Owl Creek, D. D. Walden, 90.

The Welch brethren who appear to have acted a conspicuous part among the baptists in this and other parts of this State, left Wales in 1796. They landed in New York, soon went to Philadelphia, and soon after removed to a place they called Beulah, about 200 miles to the westward of that city. The next removal of a part of them was to Owl Creek, Licking Co., Ohio. Some of them settled near Wooster. Thos. Powell, Henry George, David Kimpton, T. Davis, William Williams, and J. Jones were among their ministers. Morgan J. Rees led them out from their mother country. The account in full may be found in my 1st Vol. p. 600.

⁷ Three ministers by the name of Rigdon were members of this community at the same time; John first became a convert to the peculiar views of A. Campbell, but for many years has held a rank of some notoriety among the *Mormons*.

The GREENTOWN CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this body.⁸

HURON ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1821; of course it was but two years younger than the one last named. It came wholly or in part from the Grand river establishment.⁹ It is located principally in the Cos. of Huron, Erie, and Crawford. This is one of the important baptist institutions in northern Ohio; but no details of its history am I able to give.

The FAIRFIELD CHURCH, *S. Wadsworth* pastor, is the largest in this body.¹⁰

NORWALK, *J. Hull*, is the next in size.

BERLIN, *Wm. Storrs*, holds the third rank.

LORAIN ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1838. It was formed by a division of the Rocky River fraternity, and is of course of the second generation from the old Grand River community.

The Co. of Erie together with that from which this Asso. takes its name embrace most of its churches.

The AVON CHURCH, *Dudley Andrews* pastor, is the largest in this connection.¹

SENECA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835: its name at first was *Sandusky River*, which it bore for six years, when it assumed the one it now bears. It is located principally in the Co. of the same name. Some of the churches are in that of Sandusky. It began with five small churches, which came from the Huron community.

The SENECA CHURCH, 1823, is the oldest in this Asso.; it was gathered by Eld. Jacob Drake, from Luzerne Co., Pa.; *C. Bolles* is the present pastor. The members of this church at one time resided in ten different townships.

Elder Jacob Keating, from Thomaston, Me., is spoken of as an active and successful pioneer and pastor in this then new and uncultivated region.

Of the nine ordained ministers in this body in 1844, six were from N. Y., and one each from Me., Pa., and Wales.²

MAUMEE RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was organized Oct. 1838: it contained at first five small churches, four ministers, and less than two hundred communicants. The ministers were J. A. Peters, since deceased, J. P. Way, E. S. Babcock, and J. O. Birdsall. Of this small corps of elders, the last named is the only one remaining on the ground.

"PERRYSBURG CHURCH, 1836, is the oldest in this small interest. It was planted and nurtured by the fostering care of the A. B. Home M. Society."

⁸ In 1845 it reported 119; Haysville, L. Granger, 94. I have no correspondent for this community; its Minutes were sent me by Rev. D. Thomas, of Loudonville, Cor. Sec'y.

⁹ For this fact I am indebted to Hackett's communication relative to the Grand River Asso.

¹⁰ In 1845 it reported 180; Norwalk, 162; Berlin, 140; N. Haven, J. Kelly, 106; Ridgefield, Wm. White, 93.

¹ In 1846 it reported 166. Elyria, D. Eldridge; Henrietta, E. Royce; Camden, —, are good-sized churches, but fall short of 100 each. For some cause which I cannot explain, the largest churches in this and the Huron Asso. have diminished in size within two years past. The diminution runs through both establishments, notwithstanding they appear to be vigorous and active.

² Rev. J. Jackson, the clerk, is my principal correspondent for this Asso. He has entered into its history much more in detail than my limits will permit me to insert. His representations are much in favor of the baptist population, the pioneers and pastors by whose patient and pious assiduity this community has been brought to its present promising condition.

Jacob Cole, who I believe is a lay brother, has given me the names of all the ministers, as they are not distinguished in the Minutes from the other delegates; they were fourteen in number; two were unordained.

The Cos. of Wood, Lucas, and Henry embrace the churches of this Asso.³

ANGLAIZE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1845. It is located principally in the Cos. of Allen and Mercer, on the western side of the State, adjoining Indiana.

Wm. Chaffin was moderator, and Wm. Rose clerk of the first meeting.

I have the Minutes of this body at its first organization. Elders Fuson and Warner from the Mad River, and Gillespie from the Owl Creek Asso. were present at the organization of this body, which leads us to conclude that from one or both of these communities the constituent churches formerly belonged. For the most part they are of good size for such a location, but none of them come up to my centum gauge.

At this stage of my narratives I will make a few passing remarks on the appearance of the baptist institutions in northern Ohio.

Different from most other parts of the State, the senseless, vexatious and retarding quibbles, scruples, and downright hostility to evangelical efforts in all their varieties have been but little known here, as far as I have ascertained a knowledge of their affairs. The Assoc. generally do something in the cause of benevolence, and in some instances their operations, all things considered, are on a somewhat extended scale; and this end of the State I should judge is destined soon to co-operate in a very efficient manner with the older institutions in its middle and southern regions, and to exhibit ample and consoling proofs to the A. B. Home M. Society, to their own State Convention, and to the friends of missions in New York, New England and elsewhere, that their generous and timely assistance was well bestowed.

UNION ASSOCIATION—*Colored.*

This body was organized in 1840. A sort of Missionary Convention had existed a few years before, which was got up for the special benefit of the colored people of the baptist order. The churches of which it was composed still held a connection with the whites.

This confederacy seems to have spread its beneficial influence over not only Ohio, but Indiana and Illinois.

At the date above named, a portion of the churches in this State, after free discussions on the subject,

Resolved, that it was expedient for them to become an independent association, which was accordingly organized in due form, in conformity to the custom of the baptist order.⁴

Some of the churches chose to remain in their former connections, among which was the Union Church, Cincinnati, which is probably the largest in the State, 1st do. Columbus, &c.

My materials for the history of the colored churches not only in Ohio, but in the western States generally, are very ample, as I expected at the time they were made out to enter much more in detail into their affairs than my present limits will permit me to do.

Rev. Isaac M. Beck, of Sardinia, in Brown Co., at my instance has taken abundant pains to give me information on this subject. He appears to be an especial friend of the colored race.

Rev. Charles Satchel, pastor of the Union Church, Cincinnati, has also at my request made me contributions of much importance relative to the churches of his own color, their pastors, houses of worship, &c. &c., in the principal cities, towns, and other locations where they have formed churches separate from the whites in the States north of the Ohio river; also in Louisville, Frankfort, Lexington, Shelbyville, &c., in Kentucky, and in other places down to New Orleans. He exhibits an intimate acquaintance with all the affairs of the baptist communities of colored members in all the western and south-western States.⁵

³ I have none of its Minutes, but presume its churches are generally small. *Rev. J. O. Birdsell* is my correspondent for this body.

⁴ Minutes of the fifth annual Association of the *Regular Baptist churches of color in Ohio*, Aug. 1840. At this meeting, or at a subsequent period, their name was changed to *Union American A. S. Baptist Asso.*, as appears by the Minutes of the fifth session, after they became an independent body.

⁵ Elder Satchel, Mr. Beck informs me, is at the head of the extensive operations of our western brethren of the class now under consideration, especially in their wide-spread doings in missionary concerns.

THE CHILICOTHE CHURCH, N. S. White pastor, is the largest in this Asso.⁶

ZION CHURCH, Cincinnati, W. Shelton do., is the next in size.

I have placed this Asso. in this position for the sole reason that it is wide-spread in its operations, and is not circumscribed like others to a particular location.

I have thus far enumerated twenty-nine associational fraternities in my usual manner, which, as we have seen, are located in almost all parts of the State. I shall now, under *sub-heads*, give a

Summary account of the remaining Associations, which are generally very small, of the non-effort class.

MIAMI ASSO. This is on the same ground as the one which I have placed at the head of the institutions of the kind in the State; it also dates back to 1797. As I am not sufficiently acquainted with the circumstances of the division of the old body, I shall give no opinion as to the justness of the claims of either party as to the original constitution; but, for the sake of distinction, I shall call this No. 2, in my statistical tables. I have none of its late Minutes, and can of course give no account of its churches.

MAD RIVER, No. 2, 18—, was formed by a seceding party from the old body. It is on the same ground, in the northern parts of the Miami country. Its numerical strength is very small.

GREENVILLE, 18—, is a small community, located in Dark and some adjoining counties, near the line of Indiana.

TODD'S FORK and NEW MARKET are small communities in the Miami country.

CLOVER, 1837, split off from the East Fork on account of the mission question. It is in Highland and Clermont, and corresponds with the Miami, New Market, and Mad River.⁷

CESAR'S CREEK, 1846, is located in the counties of Greene, Clinton, and Montgomery. It has about ten churches. They are called *Regular baptists—Sedwick*.

SCIOTO, No. 2. This is a branch of the old community of that name, or perhaps its priority of claim is good. I have already stated that I am not sufficiently acquainted with the facts of the case to give an opinion on that point. Both parties date back to 1805.

OWL CREEK, 18—, was a seceding party from the original community of that name, which is accounted on the friendly side as to missions, &c.⁸

WALHOLDING, 1833, is a very small company of non-effort people in the counties of Knox, Delaware, and Coshocton.

SANDUSKY, 1840. This small body is in the north-west corner of the State

Extinct Associations. Little Miami, Bethel, Oxford, and Providence come under this head.⁹

⁶ In 1845 it reported 131; but few of the others came up to half a hundred. Mr. Beck has referred to some difficulties among the colored people on account of the formation of this body as an institution *per se* (by itself). The same thing I learn from their Minutes; but in my judgment I have not a sufficient knowledge of the facts of the case to attempt any comments on it, if my limits would allow it. In my next Vol., I intend to devote a full chapter to the history of all the baptists of African descent in America, the West Indies, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and all parts of the world.

⁷ I have its Minutes for 1845; its whole membership was 127. Its messengers to the New Market Asso. were instructed to propose a union with that body.

⁸ Mr. Sedwick, in his list of the Ohio Assos., has recorded one of this name. I have not seen it mentioned in any other list.

⁹ Mr. Steven's letter, 1842. Mr. Sargent places Todd's Fork on this list in 1813; but it is reported as living in a very feeble condition, in the Minutes of the Ohio B. C. Association, in 1841.

Closing Remarks. From the foregoing accounts we see that our denomination has spread into most parts of this great State. I commend our brethren here for their industry, and am glad for the success with which their efforts have been crowned; but still it is plain to be seen, that so far as the use of means is concerned, they might have done much more if they had had a better trained and more efficient ministry, and pursued the measures which they have adopted for a number of years past. For the remaining remarks on baptist affairs in Ohio, I shall adopt those which at my instance have been prepared for my use by one of my most attentive correspondents in the State.

As the comments I am about to quote will apply to other meridians as well as Ohio, I shall continue them to a greater extent than I should otherwise have done.

General Remarks on Baptist affairs in Ohio, by Rev. Wm. Sedwick.

"1. CAUSES OF THEIR ADVANCEMENT. The most prominent of all must have been the amount of gospel truth which the few ministers then in the field had to present. To this truth the baptists in those days seemed to cleave with purpose of heart; and upon this truth God granted his blessing, so that the number of the disciples was greatly multiplied. But no doubt the increase of numbers was owing also in a good degree to emigrations from the older States.

"2. CAUSES OF HINDRANCE, which have been numerous. And here it may be noticed that some of the sources of increase have at the same time produced hindrances. As we have said, emigrations have greatly increased our numbers; but emigrants from the four winds bring together a mass entirely different in its composition; each one brings his peculiar views along with him, and will often insist that the way they did things in England, or Scotland; in the Eastern, Middle, or Southern States, was the *best way*. Pastors here could not do things like Elder A, B, C, or D; and in fine to the end of the alphabet. They could not imitate all these at the *same time*; so, many would grumble, and others go still farther and not attend church meetings, prayer meetings, &c., 'because they were not conducted as they were where I came from.' It is easy to see that such a course of things would *hinder* the cause, and occasion a frequent change of pastors." * * *

The next paragraph is deserving of special attention from a large portion of our churches at the South and West.

"Again, the baptists have pursued a wretched policy in this country in regard to their choice of fields of operation, and in locating their houses of worship. &c.

"*First*, they seemed to avoid the towns, and confine their operations principally to the country, until some other denomination would go in and get a strong hold upon these places; and *Secondly*, when a church was organized in a town, the M. H. would be built out half a mile or so, in some pleasant, shady grove of trees, for the sake of the conveniences of hitching horses. Well, when it was too cold or too warm, too muddy or too dusty, the town folks would choose to go to some place of worship nearer home—this would *hinder* the growth of the denomination in the towns.

"*Want of literary institutions of their own.* Another *hindrance* to be mentioned was experienced in this destitution of the means of education among themselves. When young ministers of good parts wished to prepare for greater usefulness, they would have to go *east*, and when they got through their studies they would *stay* there; thus the State would lose their labors and influence.

"These are some of the things that have hindered the progress of the baptist cause in Ohio.

"The *present* condition of things is different. There are not so many changes by emigration; most of our churches have adopted a systematic method of doing things," &c. * * *

My correspondent gives a detailed account of the manner of raising funds for church purposes in this State.

"The ministry in many places is well supported; Ohio is far in advance of many of the older States in regard to system in their operations, and probably has as able a ministry as can be found in the West, if not any where in the same extent of territory."

Mr. S. here refers to the good effects of the B. State Convention in setting agoing a system of itinerant laborers—occupying the heretofore neglected villages, towns, &c. He also speaks of the over-efforts in the business of *protracted meetings*—of the *rush* for members, and of the evils which attended it. * * *

"The churches had to undergo a purgation—they are now recovering from the operation of this pruning process, and assuming a healthy action. *Protracted* seasons of worship are still attended to in the churches, but more prudence and caution are used in conducting

them and in the reception of members; experience has taught us that unconverted persons are of *no* service to a church, often a curse instead of a blessing, and always troublesome.

"In conclusion for the present—I think, if our present institutions are sustained; if ministers will preach the gospel as Paul preached it, and not slide off into another gospel (of which I fear there is danger); if church members will behave themselves well in the house of God;—if these things are observed and done, the baptists are destined to be a great people. But I fear indeed there is too great a leaning over to Arminianism with many.¹⁰ * * *

Literary Institutions. Granville College is the most important one of the kind among the baptists in Ohio; its beneficial influence begins to be sensibly felt among the rising ministry of our order. Although it is yet in its infancy, it promises much for the future. There are, I believe, some academies and high schools in this State which are under the control of our denomination. All things of the kind will be sought out in my future researches.

B. State Convention. This has probably been a more efficient body than any other of the kind in the Western States. Its full history I am preparing to give at a future time.

Correspondents. Rev. Wm. Sedwick, of Adamsville, has paid no inconsiderable attention to the history of the baptists in some portions of this State, and for some time past has made special efforts to supply me with historical matter. His documents in part were put into the hands of Rev. J. M. Peck, of Ill., who made valuable additions to them from his own historical resources. Although I have found this State, for one which manages its affairs in general with so much tact and care, exceedingly deficient in historical compilations, on the whole I have succeeded better than my fears. I have found two statistical tables on the Minutes of the B. S. Convention, which have afforded essential aid. They were prepared, I believe, by Rev. J. Stevens, who appears to have had no small share in the management of baptist concerns in this State for a number of years past. The names of the principal contributors of historical materials have all been mentioned in the course of my narratives, but, according to my usual custom, I will recapitulate them all, with the omission of titles and localities. Wm. Sedwick, J. M. Peck, A. M. Beck, J. Stevens, A. Sargent, I. K. Brownson, E. Robbins,¹ Wm. Cox, C. Satchel, E. L. Magoon, Thos. Goodwin, J. Faulkner, E. French, C. Emmerson, C. A. Clark, G. C. Sedwick, J. Crawford, J. Winter, Samuel Rouston, D. Marks, S. C. Parker, L. Tucker, J. H. Waldin, J. B. Sackett, G. W. Warren, E. Richmond, J. O. Birdsall, J. Jackson, J. Cole.

After this part of my work had been sent off, and before the proofs had come back, I received from Mr. Stevens, of Ohio, a full list of the Associations in that State, with their dates, &c., which I have compared with my copy, and have made corrections where it was needful. In a few instances, this valuable correspondent will find, I have departed a little from his dates; this I have done from the representations of men on the ground, who made their statements from personal knowledge, or from associational records.

¹⁰ Communication of Rev. Wm. Sedwick, 1847. Mr. S. is the first man that I have been able to find in all the States at the South and West who would comply with my oft-repeated requests for *general remarks* on baptist affairs within their own territories. This brief sample exhibits the benefit of such summary statements by men on the ground who are competent to the task.

Among Mr. Sedwick's historical papers I find the three following things spoken of, as having in succession produced no inconsiderable agitation among the Ohio baptists.

1. *The Campbellites, or Reformers.* Many churches were divided by this Reformation.
2. *The commencement of the missionary age.* This caused another war, and the division of many churches and associations. * * *
3. *Protracted Meetings.* These next occasioned some disturbance for awhile among the non-effort brethren, but the panic is now almost over; one party has learnt more prudence, the other more forbearance. * * *

What will come next the Lord only knows—but if our brethren will only adhere to the faith once delivered to the saints, &c.

¹ Mr. Robbins was preparing to afford that essential service which his extensive knowledge of baptist affairs in this State enabled him to do, but a mysterious Providence cut him down in the midst of his course. The death of no one of my correspondents did I more sensibly feel. I mourned his death both as an early friend, and an efficient coadjutor in my laborious work.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MICHIGAN AND THE CANADAS.

SECTION I.

Early history—Comparative views—Michigan Association—Washtenaw—Lenawee—Jackson—Wayne—St. Joseph's River—Kalamazoo—Hillsdale—Shiawassee—Grand River.

My documents for the history of the rise and progress of our denomination in this new and interesting field are somewhat extensive at certain points, but they consist for the most part of details of local matters, and of those incidents pertaining to individual churches that supply but few materials for general history. Indeed, of so recent a date has been the settlement of our brethren in this newly-settled State, and so uniform have been their operations, that little more can be expected than what is common to the early doings of infant establishments.

Early history. Some good remarks on this subject have been supplied me by my correspondents, which I will transcribe

"The State of Michigan, situated on the peninsula bounded by Lakes Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, with their connecting rivers on the east and Lake Michigan on the west, remained an almost unbroken wilderness until 1821. A few settlements were made by the French at an early period along the borders of the lakes and at the mouths of the rivers, but the interior remained a vast, unbroken solitude.

"About the year 1821, the tide of emigration from the eastern States began to set into Michigan. Among those who sought for a home in this beautiful land of the then 'far West,' were a few baptist families, who, in 1821 and '22 settled in Pontiac and the surrounding country. These for a time maintained their meetings for conference and prayer at Pontiac and the neighboring town of Troy.

"In the year 1822, *Elder Elon Galusha*, of Whitesboro', N. Y., under the patronage of the *New York Baptist Missionary Society*, visited Michigan, and finding a few brethren and sisters, organized and fellowshipped them as the *Baptist Church of Pontiac*. In the year 1823, *Elder Caleb Douglass* visited them and administered the Lord's Supper to them for the first time. About this time settlements were commenced in the vicinity of *Stony Creek*, and in Feb. 1824, ten brethren and sisters met in conference and adopted a confession of faith, who, in July of the same year, received fellowship as a church from a council of delegates from the church of Pontiac, together with *Elder Nchemiah Lamb* and son, then on an exploring tour in the territory."

In the year 1824, *Elder Elkannah Comstock* settled with the church in Pontiac, and commenced his labors with them, being the first Baptist minister that emigrated to the territory. The church of *Troy* was constituted in 1825. This year *Elder Moses Clark* commenced his labors in Michigan.

"In 1826, *Elder John Bullolph* settled in Troy, but in a few months was removed by death. His memory is yet fondly cherished by those who revere him as an ardent and devoted servant of Christ. This year a church was constituted in *Farmington*, making four churches, all located in Oakland county.

"The four churches just named met in Pontiac, June, 1829, and united in forming the first organization of the kind in this then remote and wilderness region. It was called the *Michigan Asso.*

"Their number of members at first was but 139. Although located far away to the west, an active correspondence was soon opened with their brethren to the east, who were deeply interested in this new and important colony of religious emigrants.

"For the few first years the increase of churches and members was very slow, but in 1832 extensive revivals were experienced, and the onward march of the body was much accelerated, so that in eight years from its formation the little one had literally become a thousand;

and on account of the extent of territory over which the churches were spread, which then amounted to twenty-eight, it became necessary to divide, and accordingly the *River Raisin Asso.* was formed, whose history will soon be given.

"*St. Josephs River Asso.*, at first called *Lagrange*, was formed in the south-western section of the State, in 1834. It was composed of churches that arose with the influx of population, too remotely situated to unite with those on the eastern side."

MICHIGAN ASSOCIATION

Was formed, as we have seen in the foregoing narrative, in 1827; it was organized with the first four churches which were planted in the territory, viz., Pontiac, Stony Creek, Troy, and Farmington. The ministers by whose labors these churches were planted have already been named, and the maximum of its membership at its commencement has also been stated.

E. Comstock was moderator, and Wm. Daniels clerk of the first meeting.

This mother community, this nursery of churches and ministers, laid the foundation for most of the kindred institutions which have since arisen in the eastern portion of the State. Its history very much in detail has been supplied me, but most of the facts which, according to my plan, can be incorporated in my very brief sketches, will be introduced in the associations which in succession went out from it.¹

DETROIT CHURCH, J. Inglis pastor, was the largest in this body in 1845.²

STONY CREEK, S. Chase, do., is the next in size.

OAKLAND, S. Morse, holds the third rank.

PONTIAC, Jas. Pyper, is the fourth, and

TROY, H. D. Buttolph, the fifth in point of numerical strength. This body is located principally in the Cos. of Oakland and Macomb.

WASHTENAW ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835; it was the first colony which went out from the one last named. It took off about one half the churches of the mother body.

The churches at first were, Ann Arbor, Barry, Clinton, Dexter, Fairfield, Logan (now Adrian), Lima, Swainsville, Napoleon, Saline, Spring Arbor, Wheatland, York.

Ministers. J. S. Twiss, R. Powell, J. Carpenter, B. Clay, E. Danielson, C. H. Swain, Wm. L. Judd, Ezra Rumery, B. B. Brigham. The total amount of membership was a fraction less than six hundred.

This community appears to have been unusually prosperous in its movements, as it supplied materials for two new organizations next to be named, in a few years after its formation, notwithstanding it was affected somewhat injuriously with the *Brooklin affair*, which was wide-spread and apparently unhealthy in its operations. The substance of the story may be found in the note below.³

¹ Rev. Messrs. J. Booth and S. Chase are my correspondents for the early history of the Baptists in Michigan. Mr. C. has given an account of most of the annual sessions of this primary community up to 1842; of the colonies which it dismissed to form new organizations, of the revivals and additions, and of the contributions for benevolent objects.

The names of all the churches which in each successive year sought an associational home with this comparatively old interest, are enumerated in his document.

Some interesting remarks on the incipient movements of the Michigan baptists are found in *All-n's Register* for 1836; they were furnished by Rev. Mr. Turnbull, now of Hartford, Conn., who was then pastor of the Detroit church.

² At the date above named it reported 181; Stony Creek, 151; Oakland, 142; Pontiac, 131; Troy, 125. Mr. Chase has given a full history of the Stony Creek church, the second in the territory, of its pastors, progressive movements, &c.; of none of the others have such sketches been received. It is pleasing to see their early organizations still in vigorous and successful operation.

³ Full details of this unhappy difficulty have been sent me by Rev. R. Powell; but as the affair is all settled now, it is probably best to omit them. The root of the whole controversy, which called for the attention of council after council for a number of years, may be traced to the location of three ministers (not as pastors) within the bounds of one small church, and the consequent jealousies which often arise in a small country parish from such a state of things. On the score of income there was but little to contend for; but no matter for that, preferences for Paul, Apollon, &c., soon exhibited their mischievous influence, and led on to what for a number of years might be called a *standing difficulty* throughout too large a portion of these infant churches. Although one of the men died soon after its commencement, yet the grand deceiver of our race was not to be baffled by this event, but the seeds of contention sprung up and spread to a fearful extent.

The SALINE CHURCH, *Charles Evans* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1845.⁴

ANN ARBOR, *M. Allen* do., was the next in size.

YORK, *L. M. Rose*, held the third rank.

DEXTER, *W. A. Bronson*, CLINTON, *J. Booth*, MOOREVILLE, *L. S. Boyden*, and MONROE CITY, *D. Barrett*, appear to be churches of strength and efficiency.

Ann Arbor I should judge to be a central point of operations for the denomination in this region; it is the seat of the State University, with which some of our brethren have official relations.

Rev. A. Ten Broek, late pastor of the church in Detroit, is a professor in this institution.⁵

The county from which this community takes its name embraces its churches with but few exceptions.

River Raisin at first was its cognomen; this was exchanged for the one it now bears, after the detachments next to be named took off the churches which are located on that southern stream.

LENAWEE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1839; it came I believe wholly from the one last named, and is of course of the second generation from the old Michigan. It is located in the south-east corner of the State. It goes down to the northern bounds of Ohio, and eastward to Lake Erie. Its churches principally are situated in the county whose name it bears.

The ADRIAN CHURCH, *A. Tucker* pastor, is the largest in this community.⁶

JACKSON ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1841. This was the second colony from the Washtenaw community; its locality is in a south-western direction from the seat of its maternal grand-parent, and the county from which it takes its name embraces most of its churches.

The NAPOLEON CHURCH, *E. Rumery* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁷

I have thought it proper to follow out the ramifications of the old Michigan fraternity in its southern boundaries before I attempted to trace them in other directions. I will now come back to the old baptist ground.

WAYNE ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a division of the parent body in 1842; it is located principally in the Cos. of Wayne, Oakland and Livingston. The city of Detroit is in the first named shire.

The FARMINGTON CHURCH, 1826, *N. Lamb* pastor or supply, is the oldest in this body, and is the fourth in age in the State.

I will now go over to the south-western corner of the State and give some brief account of the rise of the baptist interest in that region.

⁴ At the date above named it reported 162; Ann Arbor, 115; York, 112; Dexter, 94; Ypsilanti, 91. Rev. R. Powell is my correspondent for this Asso. and a number of its branches.

Rev. D. Barrett, its late clerk, has given me some valuable suggestions relative to its history.

⁵ I am obliged to write with much caution and in very general terms in my descriptions of matters in this region, in the absence of definite information. I did expect to have had some accounts from Professor Ten Broek and some others, which however have not come to hand.

⁶ In 1847 it reported 281; Second Rome, J. M. Coe, 123; Medina, A. S. Anus, 104; Brooklyn, 102.

⁷ In 1845 it reported 114; Jackson, G. W. Harris, is a large church for this region; most of the others are under half a hundred.

ST. JOSEPH'S RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This community arose in 1832; from the best information I have obtained it was not a branch of the Michigan community, but was formed with a few churches which were gathered in that then remote section of the State by emigrants who chose this location; among the oldest of which were Liberty, Constantine, Leonidas, Mottville, Sherman, Pleasant Lake, Centreville, Cold Water, &c.

LAGRANGE was the name at first applied to this community; it is located on the important river whose name it bears, in the Cos. of St. Joseph, Berrien, Branch, and Van Buren.

Elders Graham, Day, Halstead, Brown, Price, Dudley, Merrill, two Halls, J. and H. J. Loomis, Adams, Davis, Fuller, and Slater, were among the early laborers in this field.

The NILES CHURCH, *G. B. Day* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1844.⁸

LAGRANGE, *J. Price* do., was the next in size.

KALAMAZOO ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1841. This I suppose is a branch of the community last named, which it excels in point of numerical strength. The Co. of the same name embraces most of its churches; a few of them are in Calhoun, Eaton, Allegan, &c.

The BATTLE CREEK CHURCH, *G. V. Ten Brook* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

HILLSDALE ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1843; no historical sketches of this young interest have been received; its churches are located generally in the Co. from which it takes its name, which appears on the map to be about midway of the state on its southern side. The Litchfield church, pastor not named, contains 100 save four; all the others are under that size.

SHIAWASSEE ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1839. I labor under the same difficulty with respect to this community as of the one last named. I should judge from its geographical position that it was formed from the northern outskirts of the old Michigan fraternity; there is a river and Co. of the same name, from one or both of which it probably received its cognomen.¹⁰

GRAND RIVER ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1844 with five small churches; they are all located in the Cos. of Ionia and Kent; two of them, viz. Ionia and Portland, came from the Shiawassee Asso.; one, the Grand Rapids, from the Kalamazoo river; the others were previously unassociated.

The Ionia church, 1836, is the oldest in this new connection; it has had for its pastors, A. C. Sw—, now out of the denomination in default of character; H. D. Buttolph, a Hamilton student; and

Rev. Alfred Cornell, the present incumbent.

Rev. John Van Vleck is reported as a resident member.

This is the youngest and smallest associational fraternity in Michigan.

⁸ At that date it reported 122; but three of the others arose to half a hundred.

⁹ In 1846 it reported 107; S. Battle Creek, *J. Harris*, 97. Most of the other churches were short of half a hundred each.

¹⁰ The Minutes of the State Convention very opportunely assisted me to dates and localities in the absence of all other aids.

Closing Remarks.—This is the first state we have come to in all the great range of country southern, south-western and western, where there has been no splitting and dividing on the question of benevolent institutions.

Our denomination here seem much like their brethren in the state of New York, from which the planters of most of their oldest churches originated, not only as to benevolent operations, but also in the general management of their affairs; and their

State Convention appears to be as well regulated and efficient a body as we find in any of the states; its doings also will compare with some kindred institutions of longer standing where the baptist population is many-fold greater than in this infant government.

Literary Institutions.—A few Academies or High Schools have been got up by men of our order, but none in the character of a college, I believe, has as yet been attempted.

Correspondents.—As in all other cases, the principal contributors of historical matter have already been named in the accounts I have related. The whole list I will recapitulate in my usual style: John Booth, Supply Chase, N. G. Chase, R. Powell, M. Allen, G. B. Day, D. Barrett, J. Van Vleck, A. K. Tupper, C. L. Bacon, A. Church, A. Goodridge.

A number of these brethren have taken unusual pains to assist me with historical materials, but the baptist cause in this State is so young that, upon my plan of general history, the details of their local affairs could not be carried out so fully as their contributions would enable me to do.¹

Baptist State Conventions.—There is a singularity about these institutions in all the South and West, which consists mainly in the standing aloof from them, not only of the opponents of evangelical efforts, but also of a large portion of the denomination who profess to be their friends and supporters.

In a few cases the Reports and Minutes of these Conventions give imperfect lists of the associational fraternities within their bounds; a small number go for the whole, as far as can be ascertained, without respect to their views on missions and other benevolent objects. But, on the whole, these Convention documents, as works of reference to historical inquirers, are very deficient.

Michigan is the first State I have come to, after I entered Virginia, where all the Associations send delegates to and co-operate in the doings of these bodies, as they do in all the Middle and Northern States.

These Conventions are certainly doing much for the advancement of the baptist cause. They grew out of the wants of our denomination, and their beneficial tendency has recommended them to increasing favor in those parts of the country where hitherto our people have had the greatest fears of their bad effects.

SECTION II.

THE CANADAS.

Early history—First Company—Thurlow Association—Haldimand do.—Eastern—Grand River—Long Point—Johnstown.

Early history. According to the best information I have obtained, it is now about half a century since efforts began to be made to establish the principles of the baptists in this extensive country. These were made by emigrants from the U. States, who were soon visited by ministers of their own order, who acted as missionaries and pioneers in this new and destitute region. By these men a few feeble churches were planted, at points very remote from each other, toward the close of the last century. Although these incipient movements appear to have been made about the same time, one opposite Vermont, the other on the northern shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, yet as I have more information of the one than the other, I shall begin where I have the fullest account.

I shall pursue my brief details of baptist affairs in this great field under two divisions, *western* and *eastern*. Most of the associations will be described

¹ Rev. N. G. Chase, of Howell, in 1842 sent me a very curious document. It must have cost him much labor, and I regret that I am not able in this Vol. to use it. It is

A Memorandum of Pedobaptist ministers converted to Baptist sentiments in the U. S.

It is arranged under the following heads: *Names—residence—denomination—where educated—time of preaching pedobaptism—date of their change of sentiment—general remarks.* The first on the list are R. Williams, I. Backus, H. Wheeler, T. S. Harding, N. S.; E. Manning, do.; J. Burton, do.; D. Merrill, and so on, as far as their names had been ascertained. I have had my eye on the completion of this list in all my historical inquiries since it was received, and have added to it names not a few. For years to come I expect the number will be greatly augmented.

under the first head; the baptist interest in Montreal and vicinity, and the Franco-English establishment at Grande Ligne, will come under the second head.

FIRST COMPANY, 1794—*Western Division.*

The following sketches are selected from historical documents prepared for me by Rev. George J. Ryerse, of Woodhouse, U. C. In some cases I shall adopt his language, in others give the substance of his narratives.

"In June of 1794, elder Reuben Crandall, then a licentiate, settled in Hallowell, on the northern shore of lake Ontario, now in Prince Edward Co.; a religious reformation followed his labors, and the year after a church was gathered by his instrumentality. This was the first reformation in this part of the country.

"Elders Jos. Wynn, A. Turner, T. Finch, and some others soon after appeared on the ground, and in a short time churches were gathered in Cramah, Thurlow, Rawdon, &c.

"In 1802 or 3, the first association was formed in the eastern, or rather middle part of U. C., now called Western Canada; it was at first called *Thurlow*, which was afterwards altered to Haldimand.

"About 1800, elder Titus Finch, then a licensed preacher, came to this place, and commenced his successful labors, which resulted in the formation of a church about 1804, of 30 members. Brother Finch was ordained soon after, at Charlotteville, by elders L. Covel, and O. Warren, who were sent out as missionaries to this region by the Shaftesbury Asso. of Vt. Elders Irish, Hartwell, and others visited Canada in the same capacity soon after."

The Charlotteville church became a distinguished nursery of sister communities in after years. The First Townsend was set off in 1805, then in succession went out from this prolific mother, Oxford, Bayham, Walahide, Walsingham, Walpole, Middleton, and Second Charlotteville; they had all been branches of the parent stock.

Elders Simon Mabee, Jos. Merrill, Charles Stewart, and others, were raised up on this old baptist ground, or came to it from other parts in early times.

In 1818 mention is made of the Clinton B. Conference.

In 1829 this Asso. contained 18 churches and 964 members. Its elders were Jos. Merrill, Geo. J. Ryerse, Reuben Crandall, Chas. Stewart, Samuel Baker, Simon Mabee, Nicholas French, Wm. McDermant, John Harris, Abra. Sloat, and two others not named. The probationers were more numerous than the elders; their names were I. Elliot, R. Wolverton, Samuel Smith, L. Johnson, Z. Leach, Thos. Shippee, I. M. D. West, Sol. Smith, J. Baker, S. Vining, G. Harris, J. Crandall, and E. Powell.

My correspondent has given me the statistical accounts of the different associational communities in Western Canada at different periods of their existence, and also their divisions, subdivisions, and the various changes they have undergone, much more in detail than my limits or plan permit to insert. The substance of his narratives will be referred to when the affairs of those which are now in active operation are brought under review.

These communities, although spread over an extensive territory, with but few exceptions trace their pedigree to the parent stock which first formed the Thurlow Association. The little branch which was planted by elder Reuben Crandall and his feeble band of coadjutors on the shores of lake Ontario, a little more than fifty years ago, like Joseph's vine, has spread extensively over the land.¹

HALDIMAND ASSOCIATION.

This old fraternity bears date from 1803; and, as we have seen in Mr. Ryerse's narrative, is a continuation of the Thurlow community.²

¹ Elder Crandall was living in 1843, and supplied Mr. Ryerse with some of the important facts of his narratives. Elder Wynn and some of the other old pioneers were also alive at the date just named.

² Mr. Ryerse names 1802 or 3 as the year of its formation; to be within bounds, I have taken the latest date.

900 EASTERN, GRAND RIVER, AND LONG POINT ASSOCIATIONS

The **FIRST CHURCH, TORONTO, colored**, *Rev. W. Christian* pastor, is the largest in this body.³

HALDIMAND, *Rev. Wm. Lacy* do., is the next in size.

WHITBY, *Rev. J. Marsh*, holds the third rank.

EASTERN ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1819; it probably originated from the one last named, as some of the oldest churches in the region are within its bounds.

The **BEAMSVILLE CHURCH**, *Rev. George Silver* pastor, is the largest in this connection.⁴

TUSCARORA, *Rev. W. H. Landon* do., is the next in size.

The name of this community has been changed, as may be seen in the note below.⁵

GRAND RIVER ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1819. This fraternity also appears to be on old baptist ground, and contains some of the first churches which were gathered in this part of the western province.

The **SECOND CHARLOTTEVILLE CHURCH**, *Rev. Wm. McDermand* pastor, was the largest in this body in 1845—180.

FIRST TOWNSEND, *Rev. S. McConnell* do., was the next in size—165.

ST. GEORGE, *Rev. Wm. Smith*, holds the third rank—164.

FIRST CHARLOTTEVILLE, vacant, was the fourth in point of numerical strength—130.

Rev. George J. Ryerse, my correspondent, was one of the pastors of this Asso. at the date above named; at that time it was the most numerous associational community in both the Canadas. As a new interest has lately gone out from it, and I have not its latest Minutes, I am not able to state its present condition.⁶

LONG POINT ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1837; it began with ten churches and between six and seven hundred members. Elders Merrill, Baker, Mabee, and McDermand were the only ministers at first. This has been a growing body; in 1843 its additions by baptism were upward of three hundred and a half. Its numerical strength has arisen, at times, to about two thousand; it is less, however, at present, notwithstanding the Western Association fell in with it a few years since.⁷

³ In 1845 it reported 145; Haldimand, 144; Whitby, 106. Toronto was so called at first; it afterward assumed the name of York, but has since come back to its original cognomen; it is the capital of Upper or Western Canada, and is becoming a central place for baptist operations, as it has long been for Episcopalians and others.

There are three African churches in this Asso.

⁴ This was formerly called Clinton. This church is an old one for this part of the country; in 1845 it reported 174; Tuscarora, 91.

⁵ In the Minutes of 1845 I find the following entry:

"Whereas the Central Asso. has requested this one to drop the name of Grand River in their favor; therefore,

"Resolved, that this body comply with the request, and that we henceforth assume the name of Eastern Asso."

⁶ In the Minutes for 1844 I find the following entry: "The Committee for dividing the Asso. reported that the churches of Esqueving, Waterloo, First and Second Blenheim, St. George, First and Second Brantford, Windham, Simcoe, First and Second Townsend, Hartford, and Oakland, be set off from this body to go with certain churches set off from the Long Point Asso., and thus to form a new Asso."

These churches were to meet in June, 1845, at Blenheim, for the purpose of effecting the new organization. It is plain to be seen that preparations were made for a new interest of considerable strength. No name is given to this contemplated community, and I have not been able to find it anywhere on the ground. Two of the churches named above are in the young fraternity called Brock and Talbot; but that is too small to answer the description of this Grand River colony; so I must leave the thing in the same obscurity in which I found it.

⁷ "The Western Association, being weak, united with the Long Point in 1842."—*Ryser's His-*

Long Point, which gives name to this community, is on the northern shore of Lake Erie.

The WALSINGHAM CHURCH, pastor not named, is the largest in this connection.⁸

HOUGHTON, *Rev. Wm. McDermand* pastor, is the next in size.

GOSFIELD, *Rev. Charles Stewart*, holds the third rank.

BROCK AND TALBOT ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 18—; it is a very small interest, situated in London District, which is on the northern shore of Lake Erie, far to the west in this western province. Its churches are few and small; its pedigree I am not able to state.

JOHNSTOWN ASSOCIATION

Bears date from 1827; it is on the St. Lawrence river, about opposite the Co. of the same name in the State of New York. At its tenth session its membership was but two hundred and a half; it is something more than double that amount at present.

The AUGUSTA CHURCH, *Rev. J. Fay* pastor, is the largest in this body.⁹

These narratives have carried us over the whole of Western Canada, and brought us far down the great river St. Lawrence, toward Montreal.

SECTION III.

EASTERN DIVISION.

Second Company—Ottawa Association—Montreal—City of Montreal—Baptist College—Canada B. M. Society—Swiss Mission at Grande Ligne—Closing Remarks—Correspondents.

ALTHOUGH there are but two associational communities in this eastern division, and my aid from correspondents in it is very small, yet as I have lately been over some part of the field—as the great city of Montreal has become a central point of operations for our denomination in all the Canadas—and furthermore, as one of the most important missionary establishments in British America will come under review, this division will probably equal in the amount of matter the one we have just closed.

SECOND COMPANY.

Without any apparent acquaintance with each other, or concert of action, and a number of hundred miles apart, it so happened that the pioneers about to be described entered Lower Canada in the same year that their brethren made a beginning in what was then called the Upper Province. The story is too long for a full insertion; some brief abridgment of it is as follows:

A company of *refugees*, mostly from Connecticut, had long been settled in a place called *Caldwell's Manor*, which was near the upper end of the State of Vt.¹⁰

torical Papers. It is still reported in the B. Almanac as one of the large Canadian institutions; it does not appear, however, among the list of Associations in the Canada B. Union, which is my guide in statistical matters in this region. The Western Asso. is extinct.

⁸ In 1845 it reported 193; Houghton, 171; Gosfield, 140; Bayham, 96. In the Minutes of this body for 1843 mention is made of an Asso. of African churches, which they did not recognize as being in fellowship with them. No cause, however, is assigned for this decision.

⁹ In 1845 it reported 117; Kitley, H. Nichols, 96.

¹⁰ *Refugees* were those American citizens who espoused the British side in the war of the Revolution, and who for safety fled to the territories of the mother country—some to Canada, others to Nova Scotia, &c.

This settlement was first visited by Elders John Hebbard and Ariel Kendrick, in 1794. They went as missionaries under the patronage of the Woodstock Asso. of Vt. A signal blessing attended the labors of these devoted evangelists, and a reformation somewhat extensive for that age and country soon spread among these New England fugitives. Whether any of them were baptists before we are not informed, but from their readiness to adopt the principles of the order, we should infer that some of them at least were baptistically inclined.

Rev. *Elisha Andrews*, then settled in Fairfax, Vt., was the next minister who visited this Canadian settlement. He went at the urgent request of the converts, thirty of whom he baptized and soon after formed them into a baptist church. About two years after, this infant community removed in a body to a new township called Eaton, which was granted to them by the government.¹

The EATON CHURCH, A. *Gillies* pastor, I see, was a member of the Ottawa Asso. in 1845.

A number of other churches were subsequently organized in this part of Lower Canada, three of which, viz.: Sutton Hattey and Stanstead, and St. Armand, I see are named in my 2d vol., in 1812, as having formerly belonged to the Richmond Asso. in Vt. This portion of the Lower Canadian province was a favorite resort of baptist missionaries from the States about thirty years ago.

The old domestic missionary society of Mass., and others of N. E., paid much attention to their Canadian neighbors, in assigning fields of labor there to the strong men whom for many years they sent into the regions of moral and religious destitution in both the Canadas, and also western New York. Elders Jesse Hartwell, David Irish and Lemuel Covel were among the most active in these evangelical efforts almost half a century since, the last of whom died at Clinton, now Beamsville, in U. C., in 1806. The large and flourishing church now existing in this place was planted by the instrumentality of this laborious and successful pioneer in the baptist cause.²

OTTAWA ASSOCIATION

Was formed in 1835. A few of its churches formerly belonged to an association in Vermont; the others were probably unassociated previous to the organization of this institution, as they were too remote to conveniently meet with the kindred communities in other parts of the province.

The great river which flows into the St. Lawrence near Montreal gave name to this Association. I have its Minutes for 1837, and some of later dates, down to 1845, which are the latest I have seen. At that time the new institution next to be named was set off from the mother body.

The BREADALBANE CHURCH, 1817, Rev. *Wm. Frazer* pastor, is the largest in this connection.³

OSGOOD, Rev. *D. McPhail*, is the next in size.

CHATHAM, Rev. *J. King*, holds the third rank.

MONTREAL ASSOCIATION

Was formed from the Ottawa in 1845. Its Minutes I have not seen, but by comparing those of its maternal parent for the year before and after its formation, it appears to have taken off more than one-half of its numerical strength.

The MONTREAL CHURCH, Rev. *John Girdwood* pastor, is the largest in this new interest.⁴ This body occupies an important location, and seems destined to exert an extensive and salutary influence among the Canadian baptists.

¹ Eaton is in Buckingham Co., on the south of St. Lawrence, in the District of the Three Rivers.—*Morse*.

² Baptist M. Magazine, Vol. I., where reports of the missionary labors of a number of these men may be found. The account of the settlement at Caldwell's Manor, and of the early movements of the baptists in L. C. are taken from Allen's Register for 1836, pp. 289-291. The long and interesting details connected with this transaction I must of necessity omit. The narrative was prepared by the late Rev. E. Andrews, then a resident in Hinsdale, N. H.; it was sent at first to Heman Lincoln, Esq., late treasurer of the B. G. Convention, and by him forwarded to Mr. Allen.

³ In 1846 it reported 117; Osgood, 99; Chatham, 91.

⁴ In 1845 it reported 163. I believe that none of the other churches in this body come up to 100, but in the absence of late documents I cannot speak with certainty.

I have been disappointed in not receiving materials for the history of this church. When I was

Rev. Mr. Girdwood, their pastor, has filled this pastoral station for a few years past. He is a native of England, and, I believe, a student of the Baptist College of Bristol.

Rev. J. Gilmore, now of Petersboro', was his immediate predecessor; but the pastors from the beginning, nor the date of the church, am I able to state.

As the Canadian Assos. have been subject to a considerable number of changes in their names, I will recapitulate those which are now in existence and in active operation, in the order in which I have described them, viz. Haldimand, Eastern, Grand River, Long Point, Brock and Talbot, Johnstown, Ottawa and Montreal.

The remaining baptist institutions in these Anglo-American provinces, whose affairs I shall briefly represent, are the *Canada B. M. Society*, *C. B. Union*, *B. College at Montreal*, *Western C. B. M. Society*, and the *Grande Ligne Missionary Establishment*.

As my accounts thus far, from necessity, have been very brief, I shall in this case depart a little from the course I have hitherto pursued, and exhibit in a very summary manner the origin, progress and present condition of these different fraternities. Their full history will be reserved to my next volume, when all the institutions of every description, in all parts of the world, for missions, education &c. which I have been obliged to omit in this, will be fully described.

THE CANADA BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This body bears date from June, 1837. It was projected in the Ottawa Association in March previous. The circumstances which led to its formation were as follows:

Rev. J. Gilmore, then pastor of the church of Montreal, had lately returned from a mission to England on behalf of the Association just named. He made various representations relative to the disposition of the British baptists toward their Canada brethren, &c. This was on March 29, 1837. March 30—"Brother Bosworth, referring to the report made on the preceding day of the formation of the Baptist Canada Missionary Society in London, read a resolution recommending that a society be now formed in Canada for the purpose of co-operating with the same.

"Brother Gilmore stated, that the resolution was in exact, though undesigned, accordance with the suggestion of the friends in Britain. Passed unanimously.

"Brother Bosworth stated the plan and objects of the Society," &c.⁵

Such was the commencement of an institution which has already operated with great efficiency on the whole baptist interest in both the Canadas. Before the meeting broke up £20 10s. were subscribed towards carrying the designs of the Society into effect. Its ninth annual report, 1846, is before me, and exhibits most encouraging results of the active efforts of its patrons, officers and auxiliaries.⁶

THE CANADA BAPTIST UNION.

The origin of this confederacy is thus related in the Minutes of its first annual meeting, held in Toronto, July, 1844:

"In the latter part of the year 1842, several ministers and members of baptist churches, in their occasional or incidental interviews, frequently mentioned to each other the desirableness of uniting the different sections of our denomination more closely together, so as to secure more frequency of intercourse, and greater harmony of operation among the numerous bodies holding our sentiments. With the increase of communication, the conviction appeared not only to gather strength, but also to take possession of other minds. At length, early in the year 1843, a few friends met together to consider the matter more seriously, to

there, in the autumn of 1845, the venerable Deacon Muir gave me some verbal statements relative to its rise and progress; but as I expected the necessary details from Mr. Girdwood, I was not so careful to record them as I should otherwise have been. If I remember right, it was small in its commencement, and for some of the first years of its existence was not in a very prosperous condition.

⁵ The Canada currency is about one-fourth less than sterling; but with this deduction these Canadian brethren outdid the first efforts which were made at Kettering, England, at the commencement of the great B. Society which was established by our brethren in the mother country in 1792. That collection was £13 2s. 6d.

⁶ Minutes of the Ottawa B. Assn. for 1837.

discuss the propriety of attempting a general union, and to consult upon a plan for accomplishing this desirable purpose.

"The result of this small meeting was the appointment of another more numerous, which assembled in the neighborhood of Paris on the 19th of June last year, when the *Union* was formed, an Executive Committee appointed, and measures taken for the preparation and publication of the principles and rules. The first meeting of the Executive Committee was held at Brantford, on the 12th of September, when a draft of the Constitution was reported by the sub-committee appointed to prepare it; and, after discussion and amendment, agreed to and ordered to be printed."

This confederacy takes the place of conventions in the States. It was formed after the model of the English Baptist Union. Its anniversaries are held in different parts of the wide field which it aims to cultivate, and thus far a good degree of unanimity has attended its operations.

BAPTIST COLLEGE AT MONTREAL.

This now flourishing literary establishment grew out of the incipient movements of the B. M. Society, one of whose objects was the promotion of ministerial education. A private dwelling of good capacity and in a favorable location was first purchased by the Society, in which the rising seminary was conducted until the college building was prepared, to which it was removed a short time since. This substantial and well-finished edifice is located on an elevated site, and the whole establishment promises much for the future in favor of our Canadian brethren.

Rev. J. M. Cramp, M.A., from England, is President.

Rev. F. Bosworth, M.A., is one of the principal professors. The whole corps of officers I am unable to give.⁷

Rev. Dr. Davies was one of the principal managers in getting up this institution. He was called home to take charge of the Baptist College at Steptney, near London. I see by the papers that he is about to return to Canada to what station I am not informed.

THE WESTERN CANADA B. M. SOCIETY.

Was formed in 1841. The name of this institution indicates its locality. It seems designed to operate in domestic missions in the western end of the province.

Rev. Geo. J. Ryerse was President, and

Rev. Wm. Smith Cor. Sec. in 1842. No later report of its doings have I seen. Their collections and disbursements, at its first anniversary, indicated a good degree of active liberality for a young body, among a community who had been accustomed to receive rather than contribute missionary aid.

SWISS MISSION AT GRANDE LIGNE.

Materials in abundance are at hand for the history of this interesting community. They are found in the *Swiss Mission Register*, a small paper issued by the Canada B. M. Society; in the annual documents of the Society itself; also, in the various communications which the missionaries themselves and their friends have presented to the public. But neither my plan nor limits will permit me to give details to any considerable extent. The substance of the narrative is as follows:

⁷ When I was in Montreal, about two years since, the new building was not completed; in my journal at that point of my Canadian excursion, I find the following entry: "In Montreal I spent a good portion of my time in the Baptist College, whose internal affairs are managed mostly by Rev. Messrs. Cramp, its president, and Bosworth, one of its principal professors, both natives of England. Their library is probably more extensive and valuable than that of any baptist institution in America of no longer standing. Here I met with some important works on baptist history which I had not found elsewhere." Large additions I see have since been made to this collection, mostly from their baptist friends in England, who from the beginning have been the principal donors to this institution from abroad, both in pecuniary and biblical contributions.

In 1835 Mrs. Henrietta Feller and Rev. Louis Roussey, from Switzerland, commenced the mission in question for the express purpose of diffusing the principles of evangelical religion among the French Catholics in Canada. The pedobaptists at first were the principal patrons of the undertaking. For two years from 1837 the mission was carried on under the auspices of the Canada B. M. Society, when their connection with said Society was dissolved—"the missionaries being then of opinion, that they could labor more efficiently if they were independent of all religious parties." In this independent course they continued about seven years, when, at their own request, they were again united with the baptist Society.⁸

The views and feelings of the Grande Ligne missionaries, on entering into this re-union, were thus expressed:

"The missionaries at Grande Ligne wish it to be understood, that they have joined the Canada Baptist Missionary Society, not because they have changed their sentiments, but because, *being baptists*, it was evidently more suitable that they should be identified with a baptist institution. Neither is it to be supposed that there will be any alteration in their views or conduct with regard to their pedobaptist brethren, toward whom they cherish the same love which they have always felt."

Commodious buildings have been erected on the mission premises at Grande Ligne, and out-stations have been established at Henryville, Senington, St. Pie, Berea, Salem, and some other places, varying in distance from the central establishment from 15 to upward of 60 miles. Altogether, this has become a very important enterprise. A large corps of coadjutors, in the capacity of preachers, school teachers, male and female, colporteurs, &c., are connected with the mission. I know of no point of operations in this country or any other, where the Catholic population can be approached with so much ease, or with greater prospects of success. Very interesting accounts are given from time to time by these enterprising evangelists of the converts which they are constantly making among the French Catholics in Canada.

Closing Remarks.—The foregoing brief narratives exhibit a good degree of enterprise and success among our Canadian brethren. The increase of the denomination for the last fifteen years has been very great for such a wide-spread country, where so many impediments oppose its progress. Its prospects for the future are highly encouraging, as its institutions appear to be well organized, and a spirit of enterprise and activity is generally apparent in their transactions.

The baptists in the Canadas, as well as in Nova Scotia, find it needful to keep a constant watch on the movements of the dominant party, and by frequent appeals to the public authorities secure their equal share in the grants of former legislatures in favor of common schools.

The baptists in these Anglo-American provinces are about in the same condition that their brethren were in the times of Backus and his associates. They appear to be wide awake to their interests and rights, and by watchful vigilance and untiring assiduity will no doubt succeed in guarding them from encroachments or diminution.

In settling the localities of Associations in this country, but little is said of counties in my narratives. I would have done as I have in the States, but their Minutes are entirely deficient on this point.

⁸ Rev. Mr. Girdwood, the secretary of this society, read to me in his study the whole history of the transaction when this *re-union* was effected; all things appear to have been conducted openly and fairly. The important establishment was rolled into the hands of the Canadian baptists under such circumstances as left them no alternative but to accept it. Some of the pedobaptists, I understand, have fallen off from its support, while others, with noble magnanimity, continue to afford it their patronage as before.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Historical Sketches of various communities of Baptists who differ from the main body of the denomination, and also from each other.

SECTION I.

FREE WILL BAPTISTS.

I PLACE this community first on the list of the minor sects, because they are more closely allied to the great associated fraternity than any other, and are the nearest to them in point of numerical strength.

Early History. The first Free Will Baptist church in America was formed at New Durham, N. H., June 30, 1790, by Elder Benjamin Randal.

"Mr. Randal was formerly a member of the Calvinistic baptist church, but differing with them on the doctrine of Calvinism and close communion, he left that church and formed the one mentioned above, on a plan agreeing with his own views. Soon after this other churches were formed on the same plan, and these churches united together and formed the New Durham Quarterly Meeting. Soon after this separation and organization they were called, by way of reproach, "Free Willers," because they preached the doctrine of the freedom of man's will. Subsequently, the name "Free Will Baptists" was assumed as a name by which to be known as a denomination.

"*Extent of the denomination.* Our churches are now scattered all over the Eastern, Middle and Western States and Territories, and in the Canadas: but are most numerous in the Eastern States. We now number 26 yearly meetings, 113 quarterly meetings, 1,197 churches, 1,015 ministers, and 55,232 communicants."¹

My account in my second vol., pp. 410-412, agrees with this in the leading facts pertaining to the origin of this people. It is more full as to their first movements, but is, of course, deficient as to their progress and extension for upwards of thirty years past.²

The Free Will Baptist Register for 1846 will be my principal guide in the brief and summary statements which I shall give of this growing baptist interest. It contains a list of all the *Yearly and Quarterly Meetings*, statistical accounts of all their churches, and a list of their institutions for missions, education, &c. The names of all their ministers, *ordained* and *licensed*, are also inserted in their tables. These facts afford me essential aid. There is a deficiency, however, as to dates, not only of their churches, but also of their quarterly and yearly meetings; nor is it certain that the ministers put down against the churches sustain the office of pastors; they may be resident members merely, or temporary supplies. In the absence of these desirable items, I shall only give the names of the confederated bodies, and in foot-notes represent the numerical strength of the largest churches, in the same manner I

¹ Communication of Rev. Hiram Whitcher, of Rochester, N. Y., 1817. It is taken from the Ch. Messenger, of Indiana.

² From my account it appears that the Rev. Pelatiah Tingley, a graduate of Brown University, was the first baptist minister who united with Elder Randal in his new undertaking. Samuel Weeks and other ministers of the Regular Baptist order soon fell in with his views, and assisted in maturing the new organization.

have done with the associated baptists. In the collocation of the yearly meetings, I shall follow the order of the Register.

NEW HAMPSHIRE YEARLY MEETING. The Quarterly Meetings are New Durham,³ Sandwich,⁴ Weare,⁵ Wolfborough,⁶ Lisbon,⁷ Rockingham,⁸ Wentworth, Deerfield and Nottingham.⁹

PARSONSFIELD YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Parsonsfield,¹⁰ Gorham,¹¹ Otisfield,¹² Waterborough,¹³ Cumberland.¹⁴

KENEBECK YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Edgcombe,¹⁵ Farmington,¹⁶ Bowdoin,¹⁷ Anson,¹⁸ Waterville, Windsor, Kenebeck,¹⁹ Barrington.²⁰

PENOBSCOT YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Montville, Exeter, Prospect,²¹ Sebec,²² Springfield, Willington, Bangor.

VERMONT YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Strafford,²³ Huntington,²⁴ Wheelock, Stanstead,²⁵ St. Francis, Enosburgh, Corinth,²⁶ Rutland.

RHODE ISLAND AND MASSACHUSETTS YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Rhode Island,²⁷ Boston,²⁸ Western R. Island.²⁹

³ The churches which come up to 100 or more in this Q. M. are Canterbury, J. M. Harper, 334; First Dover, S. W. Perkins, 275; First Gilford, T. C. Partridge, 224; Pittsfield, J. E. Davis, 201; First Lebanon, Me., E. Blaisdell, 196; Third Barrington, M. Clark, 178; Northwood, M. Atwood, 170; New Durham, N. Berry, 150; First Strafford, E. Ham, 146; Second do., E. Place, 110; Third do., —, 117; Gilmantown, S. P. Fernato, 127; Up. do., P. Clark, 136; Second do., H. Beede, 112; Epsom, Jas. McCutcheon, 115; Second Meredith, S. J. Pitman, 113; Meredith Bridge, I. D. Stewart, 106; Rochester, J. Meader, 104; Second Barnstead, D. Garland, the same; Sanbernton, L. Mason, 96; Alton, J. Pinkham, 95.

⁴ Churches, &c. Alexandria, C. Paris, 205; Jackson, —, 199; First Holderness, H. Webber, 195; 2d Sandwich, N. Brooks, 191; 1st do., —, 136; 1st New Hampton, S. Dana, 171; 2d do., E. Flisk, 144; 1st Meredith, —, 127; 3d Eaton, —, 116; 1st do., —, 102; 1st Tamworth, J. Brooks, 110; M. & N. Hampton, D. Pettingill, 102.

⁵ Churches, &c. Contocookville, B. Dyer, 138; Canaan and Orange, H. Holmes, 126; Andover, E. Watson, 125.

⁶ Churches. 1st Alton, H. D. Buzzell, 125; Wolfborough, O. Butler, 114; 1st Effingham, A. W. Hobbs, 96; 2d Ossipee, J. Chick, 96.

⁷ Churches. Lisbon, N. Bowles, 200; Bethlehem, B. Bean, 149; Franconia, N. K. George, 139; Whitefield, R. Gaskill, 121.

⁸ Churches. Great Falls, H. Webber, 369; New Market, D. S. Frost, 236; Manchester, D. P. Cillely, 202; Central St., Dover, E. Hutchins, 146; Candia, K. R. Davis, 132; So. Berwick, E. Trua, 108; Hampton, M. D. Johnson, 102.

⁹ Churches. Deerfield, S. B. Dyer, 212; Nottingham, A. Tuttle, 92.
¹⁰ Churches. First Parsonsfield, J. Buzzell, 200; 2d do., Z. Jordan, 107; 2d Livingston, 185; 1st Brownfield, E. H. Hart, 149; Parr and Corinth, —, 110; 1st Wakefield, J. Spinney, 99.

¹¹ Churches. First Buxton, J. L. Sinclair, 151; 2d do., J. Clay, 99; Cape Elizabeth, A. Libby, 118; 2d Gorham, D. Clay, 103; 1st Portland, A. K. Moulton, 100.

¹² Churches. Harrison, S. Hutchinson, 154; Hebron, A. Wheeler, 110.
¹³ Churches. Saco Falls, J. Rand, 265; Kittery, S. J. Wetherby, 199; Sanford, —, 136; 1st Acton, J. Fullontion, 117; Shapleigh, 107.

¹⁴ Churches. Falmouth, L. Hersey, 204; 1st Poland, J. Sibley, 175; Gray, A. Redlin, 123; 1st Raymond, J. Keene, 121; Danville, S. Perry, 117.

¹⁵ Churches. Edgcombe, P. L. Beverly, 178; 1st Georgetown, H. S. Sleeper, 175; Woolwich, —, 167; Boothbay, S. P. Morrill, 136.

¹⁶ Churches. First Wilton, E. Scales, 151; Phillips, J. Dyer, 134; Vienna, J. Edgcomb, 116; 2d New Sharon, H. S. Sleeper, 113; Livermore, the same; Chesterville, S. Wheeler, 97.

¹⁷ Churches. First Brunswick, E. G. Eaton, 219; Topsham, D. Jackson, 202; 2d Lewiston, 117; Harpswell, S. T. Catlin, 98.

¹⁸ Churches. First New Portland, —, 103; 2d do., S. Stover, 90; 1st Madison, J. Wither, 96.
¹⁹ Churches. Second Gardiner, M. Getchel, 148; 1st Greene, —, 92.

²⁰ Churches. Cape Sable Island, Thos. Brady, 200. This Meeting is in Nova Scotia.

²¹ Churches. Eden, James Small, 117.

²² Churches. Sangerville, O. W. Bridges, 103; Corinth, —, 102.

The four Yearly Meetings thus far reported embrace a little more than half the whole F. W. B. interest in America. With but few exceptions they are located in the States of N. Hampshire and Maine.

²³ Strafford, J. Pettengill, 139. ²⁴ Huntington, J. Tucker, 128.

²⁵ E. Hatley, C. Hurd, 135; 1st Stanstead, A. Moulton, 106.

²⁶ 1st Orange, S. Cummings, 103.

²⁷ Churches. N. Scituate, R. Allen, 412; Olneyville, M. Cheney, 408; Roger Williams, Providence, J. A. McKenzie, 218; 1st Warwick, J. L. Phillips, 205; 1st Smithfield, —, 164; 2d do., J. S. Mowry, 97; 1st Boston, J. W. Holman, 151; Pawtucket, J. Whitmore, 135; Tiverton, —, 135; New Shoreham, E. R. Rose, 120; Rehoboth, J. W. Colwell, 101.

²⁸ Churches. First Lowell, S. Curtis, 835—this is probably the largest church in the F. W. connection; Charleston, D. Sweat, 106; Roxbury, J. B. Davis, 97.

²⁹ Churches. Mendon, M. W. Burlingame, 336; Foster and Killingly, D. Williams, 270; Burrillville, D. P. Harrisman, 184; Foster and Gloucester, C. Wade, 126; Gloucester, A. R. Bradbury, 112.

HOLLAND PURCHASE YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Cattaraugus,¹ Chautauque, Erie,² French Creek, Genesee,³ London, U. C.

GENESEE YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Monroe,⁴ Wayne,⁵ Union, Freedom.

SUSQUEHANNA YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Oswego,⁶ Gibson, Walton, Spafford.

NEW YORK AND PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Yates and Steuben,⁷ Troupsburgh, Bradford, Tioga.

ST. LAWRENCE YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Lawrence, Jefferson.

UNION YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., McDonnough, Chenango, Nelson.

CENTRAL N. YORK YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Whitestown,⁸ Oswego,⁹ Rensselaer, Otsego.¹⁰

Had I arranged this list, I should have taken this part of the State first; but as I have taken the collocation of the Register for my guide, I shall implicitly follow it.

OHIO AND PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Ashtabula,¹¹ Geauga,¹² Crawford,¹³ Washington, Erie, Pa.

OHIO YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Harmony, Miami.¹⁴

OHIO NORTHERN YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Huron, Medina, Licking, Lorain, Lake Erie.

OHIO RIVER YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Meigs,¹⁵ Little Scioto,¹⁶ Athens.

MARION YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Richland, Marion.

MICHIGAN YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Michigan Centre, Oakland, Bean Creek, Grand River, Oxford, Calhoun.

WESTERN MICHIGAN AND NORTHERN INDIANA YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Howard, Noble, Steuben.

ILLINOIS NORTHERN YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Fox River, Honey Creek, W. T., Walnut Creek, Rock River, Fulton, Quincy.

INDIANA YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Switzerland, Ripley, Dearborn.

PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING. Quarterly do., Westmoreland, Summerset.

The Dover Vt. Quarterly Meeting is not connected with any *Yearly Meeting*. The reason why is not named. The sum total of all the Yearly Meetings, and of course the aggregate of the whole connection, will be given in its proper place in my statistical tables.

Remarks on the Free Will Baptists in this Country. This community is nearly allied with the *general baptists* of England, with whom they co-operate in the foreign mission cause, and in evangelical efforts generally. I do not discover that there have ever been any splits or divisions among them on the subject of benevolent efforts. They probably have among them some of the O. Mission class of brethren, but none of their community, I believe, have ever come out on the anti-mission side. This people have three missionaries in India under their patronage. They have also a Home Mission Society, a Sabbath School Union, an Education Society for their rising ministry, &c.

¹ Churches. Freedom and Farmerville, N. A. Jackson, 139; Eagle, L. Kellogg, 101.

² Churches. Boston, A. W. Ensign, 116. ³ Middlebury, N. H. Plumb, 118.

⁴ Churches. Parma, F. Bathwick, 125.

⁵ Churches. Penfield, Thos. Parker, 161; Walworth, Wm. W. Young, 132.

⁶ Churches. Troy, S. Krum, 119. None of the other churches in this Y. M. come up to 100.

⁷ Churches. Veteran, O. S. Brown, 107. But few of the churches in any of these Meetings come up to 100.

⁸ Churches. Plainfield, J. Chaney, 160; Newport and Poland, D. W. McKoon, 101.

⁹ Churches. Schroepel and Palarmo, A. Griffith, 105. ¹⁰ Ames, A. Bullock, 148.

¹¹ Churches. Conneaut, F. W. Straight, 122.

¹² Churches. Chester, R. Dunn, 125; Auburn, A. Crafts, 99.

¹³ Churches. Greenwood, George Collins, 116. ¹⁴ Providence, P. Lansing, 118.

¹⁵ Churches. First Kyger, —, 114. ¹⁶ Greene, J. Rue, 103.

Literary Institutions. They have academies and high-schools in different places, and incipient movements have been made for getting up a college at Spring Arbor in Michigan.

The *Free Will Baptists* at present, in point of numerical strength, are about equal to the whole baptist interest in this country when *Elder Randal*, the founder of the society, first commenced his operations.

SECTION II.

SIX PRINCIPLE BAPTISTS.

This appellation is applied at the present time to a few churches in Rhode Island and a few other States, who, grounding their belief on Heb. vi. 1-3, make the imposition of hands on all newly baptized members an indispensable pre-requisite to church fellowship and communion. As the people of this sentiment were among the first settlers in the State, where most of them now reside, the *Old Baptists* is a term very commonly applied to them, to distinguish them from their brethren of less rigid views on the rite in question. For a long time after the settlement of Rhode Island, the baptist brotherhood who carry out to the letter the *six principles* laid down by the apostle Paul to the converted Hebrews, had a controlling influence in baptist affairs in the State;¹ but some of their churches have become extinct, and others have ceased to maintain on this point the sentiments of their progenitors, and the *Orthodox*, *Free Will*, and other classes of baptists, occupy a large portion of the ground where the *old order* formerly almost exclusively prevailed.

YEARLY MEETING OF SIX PRINCIPLE BAPTISTS.

This associational confederacy claims a high antiquity. It is unquestionably the oldest of the kind in this country, if we except the old Philadelphia community; and there is a strong probability that its years would outnumber that venerable body if its origin could be correctly ascertained. One of their own ministers, relative to its date, merely says, "the churches of Providence, Newport, Swansea, and North Kingstown, about the close of the 16th century, united in a *Yearly Meeting* composed of elders, messengers," &c.² The amiable and excellent Comer, who was a decided advocate for laying on of hands, gives a good account of this Association (so he names it), in 1729.³

The most I could learn of the early history of this community is contained in my old work;⁴ but neither then nor since have I been able to come to any certain conclusion in what year the *Six Principle Baptists* began to associate together in an organized manner.

The number of this order of baptists will be exhibited in my statistical tables.

This religious ceremony has prevailed much more extensively than has generally been supposed, among baptists of all classes and countries, from time immemorial. I have met with the practice, and with difficulties respecting it, very often in the history of the English Baptists, and also with evidences of its extensive prevalence among churches of a high order, for a number of centuries past. In old times ministers of the greatest talents and learning espoused the rite in question.⁵ Those who were for and against it, as a standing rule or ordi-

¹ These six principles are, 1, The foundation of repentance from dead works; 2, Faith toward God; 3, The doctrine of baptisms; 4, *The laying on of hands*; 5, The resurrection of the dead; 6, Eternal judgment.

² Knight's Hist. of the General or Six Principle Baptists in Europe and America, 1827, p. 322.

³ Comer's Diary, in MS.

⁴ Hist. of the Baptists, Vol. I., p. 507.

⁵ *Rev. Henry d'Anvers*, one of the ablest defenders of baptist sentiments, whose labors are conspicuously set forth in my account of the baptismal controversy, with an equal degree of zeal and learning entered into the defense of the *laying on of hands*. His Treatise of 60 pages 12mo, appended to his piece on Baptism, is before me. Its title is as follows:

"A Treatise of *Laying on of Hands*, with the History thereof, both from Scripture and Antiquity.

nance in the church, were intermixed together in churches and associations, and its adoption or omission was a matter of forbearance and mutual charity on both sides. It was not confined, as it is now in this country, to those who maintain the Arminian system of doctrine; neither was it peculiar to either the *particulars* or *generals* in England, nor to their counterparts in this country.

SECTION III.

MENNONITES IN EUROPE AND AMERICA.

Their early history—Emigration to America—Morgan Edwards' account of them—Division among them—New Connection formed—Present condition—Dr. Chase's remarks on them.

It was not until a late period that I could obtain a correspondent among this people, but finally succeeded, by the aid of Dr. Fahnestock, of Bordentown, N. J., in securing the co-operation of *Elder John Herr*, of Strasburg, Pa. He is the presiding Elder of a seceding party of Mennonites, whose history I shall in the end briefly relate. The time was too short for him to collect all the information I have solicited; his researches, however, will be continued, with a view of supplying me with more full details for my next volume. With this arrangement mutually entered into between us, I shall now give some brief sketches of the modern affairs of this ancient community.

Early history. The rise, progress, sufferings and martyrdoms of the ancient Mennonites are somewhat extensively related under the head of German Anabaptists.

The account of their emigration to this country, and settlement in Pennsylvania, may be found in pp. 598-99. This account, as there stated, was taken wholly from *Morgan Edwards' History of the Baptists in that State*. It is approved of by this people as substantially correct, both as to their general history and leading sentiments. From the date of that narrative, about 1770, to the present time, there is a wide chasm, which I have not sufficient materials to supply.

The Mennonites, in common with other communities, spread abroad in different directions. They formed settlements, and now have congregations and churches, in Virginia, Ohio, western New York, and the Canadas; but they are the most numerous in the State where they first planted their standard on the American soil. This remark holds true of both the old and new connection. Had I the information necessary, I would give a detailed account of the settlement of this people in each of the States to which they have emigrated—give the date of these settlements—the names of the leading ministers among them in their different locations—the rise of their churches—their present condition, &c.; but, in the absence of the needful facts, all must be deferred until a future time.

New Connection of Mennonites. This was formed by a seceding party from the old body, in 1811. Connected with it are about 700 members in Pennsylvania, from 150 to 200 in New York, about 200 in Upper Canada, and small detachments of them are found in Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, &c.

Cause of the separation. This, as set forth by my correspondent, was purely on the principles of experimental religion, which the new interest sought to inculcate and maintain, in the spirit as well as the letter, according to the pattern set them by Menno Simon and his associates. They complain that the old body "have deviated from time to time and fallen away, particularly in the spiritual part of religion—have become lukewarm and carnally-minded, seeking transitory things more than spiritual, holding more to the letter and outward form, than to the spirit and real substance of religion." * * *

Wherein an Account is given how it hath been practised in all Ages since *Christ*: the mistakes about it rectified, and the sense of Heb. vi. 2 cleared."

His motto is, *Take up the stumbling-block out of the way of my people.*

This author labors to show the various ways in which the imposition of hands was used in the primitive and in all after times, and how the rite of *confirmation*, which is now practised by all national and most pedobaptist churches, grew out of the very plain observance which the ancients employed in immediate connection with baptism and the Lord's Supper. This work is dated London, 1674.

"They received their communicants by baptism, without repentance, conversion or regeneration.

"Their ministers are chosen by the congregation in the first place; and if there are several persons chosen, say five or six, then they cast lots, and on whom the lot falls he must be their minister; though he be a stranger to the life of God in his own soul, yet he must preach."

The evangelical sentiments apparent in these quotations are uniformly displayed in the free and lengthy communications of my correspondent. He speaks of the inward principle of life, in opposition to a lukewarm and spiritless system of religion, and on the merit and mediation of Jesus Christ, I should judge, from his writings, that the views of the *Reformed* or *New Mennonites* are in full accordance with evangelical christians generally, and that they have none of the loose opinions in theology which the old Mennonites have been accused of maintaining.⁶

The Mennonites in the old world, for ages past, have, as a general thing, administered baptism by pouring and laying on of hands; and the same is true of them in this country, both of the old and new connection. On this account I should have left them out of my list of baptist communities altogether, were it not that their principles are entirely baptistical as to the subjects of the rite, and they are the decided opponents of infant baptism in all its forms. The grand primordial principle of the baptists they therefore still maintain. Their defection from the spirituality of their ancestors is a thing to be lamented, but it does not vitiate and nullify their claim to membership in the great baptist family, on my general principle and rules of classification.⁷

Some of the Mennonites in Germany, I see, have fallen in with Mr. Oncken, our successful pioneer in that country; and we hope the time is not far distant when they will turn again to the primitive and apostolical principles of the old Waldenses, from whom, it is clear in my mind, their progenitors, the old German Anabaptists, descended; reform the basin into the bath, and become entitled to a full identity with the great community with which they are very nearly allied.

⁶ The old Mennonites are generally supposed to favor the doctrine of universal salvation, or at least the restoration scheme; in my correspondence with elder Herr, I have made inquiries on this point—his answer is as follows: "I rather think that most of them are opposed to that doctrine; in short they make no profession of it, but many a one may protest against that doctrine, and yet at heart be of the same stamp, and in his life and conversation make it appear that he does not believe "that it is appointed unto men once to die, but after death cometh the judgment." He continues to remark, "had the Mennonites remained in their original purity, and had their teachers in our day been of the same spirit of truth with Menno Simon, and carried out their doctrine to the same extent, we would never have separated from them, for we perfectly agree with their original principles."

⁷ In all doubtful cases in historical matters of this kind, I have made it a business to consult a few learned brethren, among whom are Drs. Williams, Sears, and Chase. In this instance I sought some reasons why the Mennonites should still be recognized as a branch of the great Baptist family? The answer of Dr. Chase was as follows: "They seem to be entitled to this by their holding the fundamental principle in respect to the constitution of a Christian church, that *only penitent believers in Christ should be baptized*. This has been branded by orthodox and venerable theologians as the *Πρώτον ψεύδος*, the *primary falsehood* of the Baptist (or, as they were wont to denominate it, the Anabaptist) system."

"Notwithstanding, therefore, the diversities of opinion which have prevailed among them, and the errors into which many of them have fallen, I would be slow to reject them altogether from the great Baptist family. I would rather, for their benefit, avail myself of the great truths which they already hold, and beseech them, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, to let me teach them the way of God more perfectly in respect to some things, while, perhaps, I might be profited by listening to them in respect to some other things."

I do not know for a certainty, but suppose that the "some other things" referred to by Dr. Chase had respect to *war*, &c., as I remember he informed me of a conversation which he had with one of these brethren on this subject while among them, and of his embarrassment when answering the questions proposed to him relative to the conduct of British and American Baptists in this business.

"What the state of the Mennonites will be when another century shall have passed away, so far as I can see, must, under God, depend very much on the spirit and manner in which we, American Baptists, now perform our duties in America, in Europe, and other countries."

I shall avail myself of the remaining part of Dr. Chase's communication when the full history of the Mennonites is made out.

The total amount of membership of the Mennonites, of all countries, will be given by estimate in my statistical tables.

SECTION IV.

GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN, OR TUNKERS.

Their early history—Emigration to America—Increase—The Ephrata community—The Church of God.

The early history of this community has also been related, in part, under the Pa. head, p. 599. The society has since spread abroad into many other States, and its numerical strength has very considerably increased. The affairs of this people, a good deal in detail, have been represented to me by one of their bishops or elders, and to such an extent, that if my limits would permit it, I could furnish a more minute account of them than of almost any of the minor parties of baptists.⁸

As I found matters of fact very much at loose ends among this ancient people, in order to bring their history to some tangible points, after a free interchange of views with my industrious correspondent, I proposed to him a number of interrogatories for him to answer according to the best of his information. A few of them only will I repeat.

What is the number of your members, ministers and churches?

Answer. "As the German Baptist Brethren never considered it desirable or expedient to keep a regular or statistical account of their members, it is therefore the more difficult to obtain what might be considered a correct account of their communicants." * * * The writer goes on to exhibit the various arguments employed by his brethren for this deviation from the ordinary method of other societies, and then gives me an account of each State and section of the country, according to the best information he could obtain, as follows:

Pennsylvania. "In this State are about forty organized congregations, numbering, in the aggregate, about three thousand communicants. Glade's church, in Somerset county, is perhaps the largest in the State." (Number not stated.) * * * Most of the other churches are named, but no account of their numerical strength is given. Nine of them are west of the Alleghany mountains; the remainder are in the middle and eastern sections of the State. They extend to Germantown and Philadelphia.

Ohio. "In this State are forty-six regularly organized congregations. Those among the very largest are, Shanesville, Mohican, Owl Creek and Nimishillen. Bull Creek, Sandy Creek, Canton, Tuscarawas, Jonathan's Creek, Upper Mad River, Lower do., Head of Stillwater, and Union, are large congregations. Ashland, Seneca, Allen, Logan, New Lancaster, Dark Co., and Greenville, are congregations of middling size. The remaining congregations or churches in this State, are less than those above named."

The only ministers named are, Elders Flory, Maltzger, Pfautz and Bowman. "The G. B. Brethren are more numerous in Ohio than any other State, and there seems also to be more orthodoxy among them."

Virginia and Indiana have about twenty churches each. In the first-named State this people are the most numerous in the counties of Shenandoah, Rockingham, Augusta, Botetourt, Roanoke and Franklin; in the latter, the churches called Goshen, Southbend, White-water, and Nettle Creek, are of superior size. Goshen, in the north end of the State, is the largest in it.

In the other States, west of the mountains, we find a few congregations of these German baptists in Illinois, Kentucky and Tennessee, and a few scattered members in Iowa; east of them, the same may be said of N. Carolina, Maryland, New Jersey and New York.

Maryland, next to Pennsylvania, probably contains more of them than any other Atlantic State. They are found principally in the counties of Washington Frederick and Carroll. The congregations distinguished for size are those of Beaver Dam and Pipe Creek, which are the largest; next to these are those of Middletown Valley and Pleasant Valley.

⁸ Elder Philip Boyle, of New Windsor, Carroll Co., Maryland, is my correspondent for this fraternity. Dr. Fahnestock, lately named, also pointed him out to me for this purpose. Elder B. began his services as my condjutor at a late period; his efforts, however, have been assiduous, and in addition to a large number of letters previously sent, I received from him a few months since a MS. history of the Tunkers, comprising 15 pages folio, closely written, which I should be glad to publish without much abridgment, and intend to do so at a future period; but at present some extracts only can be inserted in my narrative. The term *Tunker* or *Dunker*, which literally signifies *dipper*, is admitted by this people to avoid circumlocution; their own chosen name is *German Baptist Brethren*. They, like the Mennonites, almost wholly neglect any records of their doings. They publish no statistical accounts, and are considerably opposed to anything of the kind. The sin of numbering the people, they, with the Mennonites, are anxious to avoid. This fact has thrown no small amount of embarrassment in the way of Elder Boyle's researches.

The next questions proposed to Elder Boyle were: Wherein do your bishops differ from other ministers? How are your ministers chosen, ordained and supported? Do your bishops have any more power or authority over the churches than other ministers? Do any of your ministers devote themselves wholly to the ministry?

To all these interrogatories very full answers are given in the document already referred to, which will be exhibited at a future time.

Doctrinal sentiments. My correspondent has entered into the views of his brethren, as to their theological creed, somewhat extensively. On the atonement, they hold to the literal exposition of the passage, that Christ *tasted death for every man.*

"The German B. Brethren have been charged with holding the sentiments of the *Universalists*, which they all deny, and often testify against them."

This statement, I suppose, refers to the no-future-punishment system, as he admits that by some of this community "the writings and reasonings of Elhanan Winchester have been well received." He also mentions a schism in this body in 1790, when a party of decided Universalists drew off under the ministry of one John Ham, a man of great talents and popular address. Some of his followers afterward moved into the Green river country, Ky., and caused great confusion among the brotherhood there as well as in North Carolina, where Ham himself lived at the time of the division. "Those who have imbibed his opinions are thought to be in union and fellowship with the German Baptist Brethren, which has not been the case since the Yearly Meeting which was held in Franklin county, Virginia, 50 years ago, or upwards."

This class of Tunkers, at present, reside in Kentucky, in the southern part of Illinois, in Missouri and Iowa.

Summary statement of the German Baptist Brethren.

Congregations and churches,	145 to 150
Ministers of all grades, about	300
Communicants, say	10,000 or upwards.

Question. Have any of your ministers had a liberal education?

Answer. "There are a few who have had what might be called a liberal education; but those who have undertaken to write and publish the sentiments of the church through the press, have but a very limited education, as you can perceive by the style of their writings."

A number of the works published by this people have been sent me; a portion of them are anonymous. Peter Nead appears to have written most of any among them. One of his works on Baptism, of 130 pages, will be added to my future list of baptist authors. They reason just like all baptists in defense of the baptismal rite and against pedobaptism.

The peculiar manner of administering baptism among these German Baptists has not come under discussion in my correspondence with Mr. Boyle. I learn, however, from M. Edwards and other sources, that they, in imitation of the Greeks, practice trine immersion with laying on of hands, while the person baptized is in the water; which may be easily done, as the party kneels down to be baptized, and continues in that posture till both prayer and imposition of hands are performed. They lay their candidates forward instead of backward, as baptists generally do; this, however, does not vitiate the validity of the administration.

Question. Do your people uniformly follow the primitive custom of wearing their beards?

Answer. "No, they do not uniformly, yet a considerable number of them do so; for instance, *all* the bishops, and *nearly* all the ministers, with a considerable number of deacons, and also of the lay brethren. It is optional with the latter to wear them or not; but the bishops being generally chosen from among the oldest teachers, it is rather looked for that they in their person and character should *all* be emblematic of the primitive fathers, hence they prefer the appearance of the 'Nazarine.'"

The remaining questions and answers will be omitted for the present.

Remarks on the ancient German Baptists. Although they generally, to all appearance, have lost much of the spiritual zeal and fervent devotion of their ancestors, yet they maintain a large portion of that primitive simplicity, in their language, dress, &c., for which they were peculiarly distinguished.*

* In very old times the plain language was as common among the Waldensian baptists as it is now with the Quakers or Friends. I am pleased to receive communications in the plain scripture style of *thee* and *thou*, and when used grammatically it is the most beautiful mode of speech that can be adopted.

The apparent decay of piety among this people, I learn from their own statements; my correspondents appear to be spiritually-minded men themselves, but they lament the want of it in their communities at large.

The title of bishop was not an after-thought among the Mennonites and Tunkers, as it has been with some other non-episcopal communities, but was adopted by them in very early times; but still I do not discover among them the ecclesiastical machinery of the episcopals properly so called.

The Mennonites and Tunkers although they do not appear to have much intercourse together, yet mutually agree in appealing to the ancient Confessions of Faith published in Holland more than two centuries ago. The Mennonites adopt them entire without any abatement; the Tunkers make some small exceptions to a few of the articles; the particulars will be more fully stated at another time.

THE EPHRATA SOCIETY OF SEVENTH DAY BAPTISTS

Arose out of a division of the Tunker community about 1730. This very interesting fraternity displayed an unusual amount of intellectuality and internal culture, though their outward appearance was very rustic and unrefined. They formed a settlement near Lancaster, Pa., much on the plan of the old Moravian communities, where they had a printing establishment of their own.¹ The history of this company which is full of interest to historical antiquarians must of necessity be deferred to my next volume.

WINEBRENNERIANS, OR CHURCH OF GOD.

This denominational cognomen is applied to a community which has arisen in Pennsylvania within a few years past. A brief account of the rise, progress, principles and present condition of this people, has been communicated by a correspondent who has some knowledge of their affairs; it is as follows:

"About 1820 Rev. John Winebrenner, then a minister among the Lutherans, commenced a series of meetings in and about Harrisburg, Pa., which resulted in a powerful revival of religion. He was soon complained of by his former associates as the promoter of *new measures*, and the result was that he and his friends separated from the old establishment and set up churches by themselves." This new interest they denominated the *Church of God*. The term *Winebrennerians* was applied to them by others from the name of their principal leader in their early movements.

This community has increased to about ten thousand communicants; it is located principally in Pennsylvania, but it has spread into Ohio, Maryland, and probably some other States. Some of their more prominent ministers in addition to the one already named, are *Thos. Mackay, John and Thos. Hichernell, G. U. Warn, and Emmanuel Logue*.

They are Baptists *de facto* of the Arminian creed, hold to open communion and feet washing as a gospel ordinance. Their form of church government is much like that of the Presbyterians.

Their ministry is almost exclusively itinerant, and in this respect they are similar to the Methodist traveling connection, and like that community, *Camp Meetings* are frequently held among them. They are also in favor of sabbath schools and other benevolent enterprises and operations. On the whole they are said to be much like the *Free Will Baptists*, and are thorough-going immersionists, are opposed to calvinism, and are zealous in the propagation of their peculiar opinions.²

¹ It may be found in *Allen's Register* for 1836, pp., 297—306. Dr. Fahnestock, who I believe has resided at the Ephrata village, and proposed to visit there again for historical ends, promised me additional information relative to this people, and especially some biographical sketches of Baisell, Miller, and other founders and fathers of the establishment which he regards as a regularly built Monastery, without the vows of the old monastic orders. The article published by Mr. Allen was from Dr. F.'s pen.

About the time I received the proofs of this part of my work from my publishers, two long communications came to hand from my industrious friend above named, containing additional accounts of the Ephrata people, who have suffered much persecution of late even in Penn. on account of their seventh-day principles. But as I am wedged in before and behind by my stereotypers, there is no alternative but these documents must be filed away with all others for future use.

² Rev. A. D. Williams, a young minister of the Free Will Baptist connection, is my principal informant of the history of this people a knowledge of whose affairs he has taken much pains to acquire. I have a number of times addressed Mr. Winebrenner, on the subject of the history of his community, but could never obtain any answer or documents of any kind.

Mr. Williams is a Pennsylvanian, is in correspondence with Mr. Winebrenner and his associates and so far as he has gone is confident that he has exhibited a correct view of the doctrine and discipline of the society; he promised, however, to make me farther communications, which have not come to hand. But a part of those received have been used in the brief sketches I have given above.

SECTION V.

CHRISTIAN SOCIETY.

THE following account of the community which passes under this name, I select from a work recently compiled by one of its ministers.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN CONNECTION.

"About fifty years ago, several Methodist preachers in the State of Virginia, and in the Carolinas, became dissatisfied with the discipline of that church, and withdrew. They then agreed to search the Scriptures for a rule of life; and to believe, preach, and walk as they should direct. The result was, they soon became agreed that Christian was the appropriate name for all the followers of Christ, as all true believers hold; and that while others go farther, and take some sectarian name, of human origin, they ought not and would not, receive or use among themselves any other. By thus searching the Scriptures for a rule, they became satisfied that as that book contained the whole of the rule of duty and faith, so no other was necessary, and all others, if authoritative, served to divide and lead astray. Here they settled down upon the broad plan of the name all believers take, Christian; and the rule they all acknowledge, *the Bible*.

"A few years after this, several ministers of the Presbyterian order, in the State of Kentucky, broke off from that body because of the government under which it acted; and several of their usages appeared to them both unscriptural and oppressive. This act threw them upon the Bible, as the like act had thrown the seceders from the Methodists in Virginia; and with the same result—for they soon agreed to be nothing but Christians, and to have no discipline or rule but the Bible.

"About the same time, a few ministers in New England, who had been connected with the Baptists, were led to see that human creeds were both useless and hurtful, and in relinquishing these, they too were thrown upon the Bible alone. As they found there none of their names but Christian, and none of the modern denominational titles, they also soon agreed on that name, and on the Bible as their only rule of faith and practice.

"Here, then, were three companies in the United States all agreeing in these two points. But they were strangers to each other, and even to the fact that such companies existed. But in a few years each learned that others existed, and by means of letters, and a periodical which was soon commenced among the New England Christians, a correspondence was opened, and a union created, so that the three became one, and have to this day been known as the Christian Connection in the United States of America.'

"The Christians in the several States were soon organized into Conferences; and for several years delegates from these met in a General Conference; but this was discontinued, and a closer organization of the several Annual Conferences, embracing the ministers and churches, was adopted.

"Thus having fought their way into existence, by using, not carnal weapons, but those that are mighty through God, they have spread abroad over the face of the country, and become many thousands."¹

The statistical account of this people I shall make out from the Christian Register and Almanac for 1842, the latest I have seen.

Conferences in this connection take the place of *Associations* and *Quarterly Meetings* with the Regular and Free Will Baptists. They are about forty in number; their names are as follows:

Vermont.—Eastern, Western. *Maine*.—Eastern, Western, Central. *N. H.*—Rockingham, Merrimack, Strafford. *R. I. & Mass.*—Mass., Rhode Island, and Connecticut. *N. J.*—West New Jersey. *N. Y.*—Eastern, Central, Western, Erie, Northern. *Penn.*—Philadelphia. *Ohio*.—Central, Anglaize, Miami, Southern, Deer Creek, Eastern, Union. *Ind.*—Central, Cole Creek, Bluffton. *N. Ill. & Wis.*—Eastport, Spoon River. *Mich.*—Eastern, Western. *Virginia*.—Norfolk, Valley. *N. C. & Va.*—Eastern. *U. Canada*.

The whole statistics will be reported in the tables.

Of the churches in the whole connection about 50 contained 100 or more members; these

¹ Sentiments of the Christians, by Elijah Shaw: 1847.

names may be seen in the note below.² In arranging them I shall follow the order of the document which is my guide in all statements of this kind.

On Baptism the Christian Society differ nothing from their baptist brethren in general.

Doctrinal Sentiments. They are very decided in their opposition to what is denominated the calvinistic creed; they are also anti-trinitarians in the common acceptation of that term.

I have before me a number of works giving expositions of their theological views, all of which come about to the same point, and confirm the report which is generally given of them as being *unitarians*, in opposition to the trinitarian creed, as expounded by orthodox divines.

So far as their leaders are concerned, this statement is no doubt true; but many of their members, with whom I have conversed, do not differ from evangelical christians generally. Their religious paper, the Christian Herald, appears as decidedly friendly to religious revivals and experimental religion as any publication of the kind, and seldom anything of a unitarian cast appears in its columns. They have also lately set agoing a missionary operation, with a good deal of spirit.

SECTION VI.

CAMPBELLITES OR REFORMERS.

I AM exceedingly embarrassed to know by what name to distinguish the community whose affairs I am about briefly to describe; they sometimes call themselves *Disciples*, and at others *Christians*. It is no part of my business to settle the cognomen of any religious party, or to challenge the correctness of the one it may assume; my great object is to ascertain how each prefer to be distinguished. As long names are inconvenient in historical relations, I have in all my narratives, when this people are referred to, styled them *Campbellites*, or *Reformers*, and so I shall at present.

Again, I have found objections on both sides against placing this society among the branches of the great baptist family; but as they hold to two great primordial principles of all baptists, viz., *immersion* on a *profession of faith*, and are thorough-going anti-pedobaptists, without any formal permission from either my own people, or my *quondam* or *quasi* brethren, on my own responsibility, as they are *baptists de facto*, I shall regard them as such in my statistical accounts.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY.

Rev. Alexander Campbell, who, I believe, is admitted on all hands to be the Corypheus of this very wide-spread community, is a native of Scotland, where he was educated among the pedobaptists. For some years after his conversion to baptist sentiments, he operated with the associated order in western Pennsylvania, where I find he was the clerk of the old Red Stone Association, some thirty years since.

* Woodstock,	Vt.	Haverhill,	Mass.	Barre,	N. Y.
W. Randolph,	do.	1st Lowell,	do.	Hunterland,	do.
Shrewsbury,	do.	Bradford,	do.	Charleston,	do.
Portland, 2,	Me.	Danbury,	do.	Greenville,	do.
Mt. Vernon,	do.	Walpole,	N. H.	New Baltimore,	do.
Albion,	do.	Springfield,	do.	Breadalbaine,	do.
1st Cornville,	do.	Franklin, 2,	do.	Galaway,	do.
Kittery,	do.	1st Wolfboro,	do.	Potsdam,	do.
Portsmouth, 2,	N. H.	Tuftsboro,	do.	Tulleytown,	Pa.
Exeter,	do.	1st Westport,	Mass.	Ridley,	do.
Rye,	do.	No. Dartmouth,	do.	Knob Prairie,	O.
Newton,	do.	Coventry,	R. I.	Union,	do.
Salisbury Point,	do.	Milford,	N. J.	Bethlehem,	do.
Boston, 2,	Mass.	Johnsonburg,	N. Y.	Sal-m,	do.
Newburyport,	do.	Carversville,	do.	Graham's Creek,	Ind.
Lynn,	do.	Milan,	do.		

1st Lowell was the largest in the connection—between 5 and 600.

I would give the names of the pastors of the churches and the number of communicants, but as it is about six years since they were heard from, it is probable a number of them have experienced material changes during that time.

With the causes of his dereliction from the baptist communion, and the circumstances under which he got up a new interest, which has been so mightily augmented, I am not informed, and of course shall not attempt to describe them. But so it fell out, that an increasing company gathered around his standard, and soon spread into most of the western, a portion of the southern, and a few of the northern States.

Of no community of religious professors of modern date have I found it so difficult to collect any suitable facts for my usual historical sketches; relative to almost every thing about them I have general, but vague ideas; so that when I cast around for some documents to guide me, I am utterly at a loss where to find them, except in Indiana. In this State some good correspondents have gone into details which I have no where else found. From these it appears that the whole number of communicants in Indiana is twenty-eight thousand.³ The number of their churches and of their elders or bishops is given but in part, and indeed their numerical strength here is made out, in part, by estimate.⁴

From no other State have I had any thing but sweeping statements, founded on conjecture.

From Mr. Campbell himself I have received some summary statements as to the number of his denominational friends in different States and sections of the country: they were not, however, sufficiently definite for the construction of my usual historical narratives. He estimates the whole number of communicants at two hundred thousand. This by many is thought to be an over-statement; if it is so, the fault is with the leaders of the community. I know of no good reason for challenging their statements, and if I should do so, I should not know what number to name as the amount of their numerical strength.

I do not discover that this people have any Associations, Conferences, or annual gatherings of any kind, or that they publish any statistical accounts of their community; and I doubt whether any of them can come within many thousands of the number of their communicants.

Church Discipline, Doctrinal Sentiments, &c. On all subjects of this nature I am also unable to give any definite statements; but this much I will say, that whatever theories have been projected by Mr. C. or any of his coadjutors of a peculiar character, as far as I can learn, there is an evident tendency in the whole party to settle down on the *credenda* and *modus operandi*—the belief and practice of the baptists in general.⁵

The reports of their evangelizing excursions, as to their converts, and the results of their labors in their fields of operation, are all much like those of the regular baptist order, with whom many of them were formerly connected.

Bethany College is, I believe, the principal literary institution of this community. It is located in Brooke Co., Va., at no great distance from the Ohio river.

Rev. A. Campbell is its president; it has a regular corps of officers, and is, I should judge, in a flourishing condition. Its full history must be deferred to my next volume.

Periodical publications. *The Bible Baptist* was one of Mr. Campbell's early works of a periodical nature. It was continued about seven years.

The Millennial Harbinger, in a pamphlet form, is now in its twentieth year; it is an 8vo. pamphlet, and is probably the principal organ of the denomination.⁶

³ Rev. J. M. Mathes, a minister of this State, computes the whole number in it at twenty-five thousand.

⁴ Four intelligent correspondents have made communications, relative to this people in Indiana. Their names are Nathaniel Field and — Jameson, of the Campbellites or Reformers; John Vawter and H. Bradley, baptists.

Mr. V. writes as follows: "Indiana, so far as these people are concerned, is divided into four districts, and there is an equal number of presiding bishops, teachers, or preachers for each. They are, and have been, a very laborious denomination of people in sustaining their peculiar tenets, and have done much in shedding light on the true mode of baptism. Many of them are highly respectable in point of moral worth, wealth, &c."

Inclosed was a letter from Mr. Bradley, from which the following extracts are made: "This denomination is increasing rapidly in many places; their number and influence in the state legislature is much greater than I supposed, until I began to operate among them. All seem to be engaged, and put forth every effort to promote the prosperity of their sect. Many of them are very bold in defense of their peculiar sentiments; and when met with equal boldness call it persecution. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that they are doing much to overthrow the popish tradition of infant baptism and sprinkling, instead of baptizing christians."

"I wish the baptist denomination was as active and willing to support the gospel as that people. It would be a great blessing to community, and the means of the salvation of thousands of souls."

⁵ Mr. C.'s *Christian System*, a 12mo. work of between 300 and 400 pages, is before me. It is similar to other epitomes of theology, and I see nothing peculiar in it, except a decided stand against all *creeds* and *confessions of faith*, which these reformers repudiate and condemn, whatever theological views they may inculcate.

⁶ Rev. Mr. Henshall, of Richmond, Va., a few years since, made me out a full list of the periodicals, which were then published by this society, some eight or ten in number; it is now mislaid, and probably some of them ere this have been placed on the bill of mortality for works of this kind.

Correspondents.—A. Campbell, H. Henshall, H. T. N. Benedict, N. Field and J. M. Mathes are the only names I have to report under this head. I am sorry to say I have found a disagreeable shyness and backwardness on the part of nearly all the members of this community, with whom I have sought acquaintance and correspondence.

SECTION VII.

SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS.

By my request, Rev. G. B. Utter, of New York city, publisher of the *Sabbath Recorder*, compiled in an abridged form a general history of the Sabbatarians in all ages and countries. The article was at first published at intervals in the paper just named, and was afterward taken out and properly arranged by the writer for my use, and I exceedingly regret my inability to insert it entire, as I at first intended. I have put it off to the last, with the hope that I should be able to do so, although on the score of antiquity its claims are very high, and the historical reminiscences connected with its principles and operations are numerous and interesting. I have greatly abridged the history of some of the minor parties of baptists which were also made ready to my hands, but after all, so much has the matter overrun my bounds, that I am able to publish it at present only in part. The article contains a considerable amount of biographical matter, which, according to my plan, if my space were ample, I should choose to reserve, as I have done in all other cases, for my work on this subject; the history of individual churches, both English and American, which are omitted now, will, of course, find a place in my next volume, where they, with those of other branches of the great baptist family, will receive more attention than I have been able to bestow upon them in this.

With these preliminary remarks, I shall proceed to make my selections from the sketches above referred to:

SABBATARIANS OR SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS.

“The terms Sabbatarian and Seventh-day Baptists are used to designate those christians who observe the seventh or last day of the week as the Sabbath. The former term was adopted in England soon after the Reformation, when the word Sabbath was applied exclusively to the seventh day, and when those who observed that day were regarded as the only true Sabbath-keepers or Sabbatarians. In the year 1818, this term was rejected by the General Conference in America, on account of its supposed indefiniteness, and the term Seventh-day Baptist was adopted in its stead, as more descriptive of the opinions and practices of the people.

“The Seventh-day Baptists are distinguished from baptists generally by the views which they entertain of the Sabbath. In respect to this, they believe, that the seventh day of the week was sanctified and blessed for the Sabbath in Paradise, and was designed for all mankind; that it forms a necessary part of the ten commandments, which are immutable in their nature, and universally binding; that no change as to the day of the Sabbath was made by divine authority at the introduction of christianity; that those passages in the new testament, which speak of the first day of the week, do not imply either the substitution of that day for the seventh as the Sabbath, or its appointment as a day of religious worship; that whatever respect the early christians paid to the first day of the week, on the supposition of its being the day of Christ's resurrection, yet they never regarded it as the Sabbath, but continued to observe the seventh day in that character until, by edicts of emperors and the decrees of councils, the first day was made gradually to supersede it.

“At what precise time the observers of the seventh day took a denominational form, it is not easy to say. According to Ross's ‘Picture of all Religions,’ they appeared in Germany late in the fifteenth or early in the sixteenth century. According to Dr. Chambers, they arose in England in the sixteenth century. Assuming the beginning of the sixteenth century as the true period of their origin, would carry them back as far as any of the modern denominations of Christians date. But whatever difficulty there may be in fixing the precise time of their origin as a denomination, the Seventh-day baptists think there is no difficulty in proving the antiquity of their sentiments. Indeed, they believe that there has been no period since the commencement of the Christian era, when there were not upon the earth more or less Christians observing the seventh day. That the apostles observed that day as the Sabbath, there can be but little doubt. In their writings they uniformly distinguish between *the Sabbath and the first day of the week*. In consistency with this distinction, it was their custom to rest from labor and engage in religious exercises upon the seventh day. The women who were present at the crucifixion, after preparing their spices, ‘rested the Sabbath day, according to the commandment.’ When Paul was at Antioch, he preached in the syna-

gogue on a certain Sabbath day, and so interested his Gentile hearers, that they requested him to preach the next Sabbath day, when nearly the whole city came together to hear him. At Corinth, he reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath day for nearly a year and a half. On one occasion, in addressing the Jews, Paul asserted that he had committed nothing against the customs of their fathers, who are known to have been strict observers of the seventh day. And though the Jews were ever on the watch to discover any discrepancy between the practices of the early Christians and the customs of their own people, they are not known in a single instance to have charged them with a neglect or violation of the Sabbath. This circumstance, in connection with the facts which have been stated, sufficiently establishes the position that it was the practice of the apostles to observe the seventh day.

"Passing from inspired history to that which is uninspired, we find frequent notices of Sabbath-keepers during the first six centuries of the church. Mosheim mentions persons of this class in the second century; and Robinson says that there were at Rome about that time a large number of churches observing the seventh day. Indeed, the notion that a change had been introduced as to the day on which the Sabbath should be observed, seems not then to have been entertained. In process of time, however, a custom arose of celebrating the resurrection of Christ by a religious meeting on the first day of the week. No historical record, sacred or profane, has informed us of the first celebration of this day; nor is there any certain evidence that it was at first observed weekly. It seems to have been introduced as a voluntary festival to commemorate the resurrection, just as the sixth day was observed to commemorate the crucifixion, and the fifth day to commemorate the ascension. Though not regarded as the Sabbath, it gradually grew in the estimation of Christians during the first three centuries. In the fourth century, the Emperor Constantine embraced Christianity; and in his zeal to magnify those institutions which were regarded as peculiarly Christian, and to bring into disrepute those which were in any way connected with the Jews, he set himself at work to give importance to the first day of the week. He required his armies, and the people generally, to spend the day in devotional exercises. No courts of judicature were to be held on this day, and no suits or trials in law prosecuted. Certain works of necessity or mercy, however, were declared lawful; such, for instance, as the emancipation of slaves, and the labor of the husbandman in pleasant weather. His decrees were subsequently confirmed and extended by Christian Emperors, and similar decrees were passed and enforced by the various ecclesiastical councils.

"While the civil and ecclesiastical powers were making such efforts to establish the first day, they were equally zealous to abolish the observance of the seventh day, which they endeavored to do by throwing odium upon those who persisted in it. Constantine, in his decree issued A. D. 321, speaks of the Sabbath as a Jewish institution, represents those who observe it as giving countenance to the Jews, and says, 'Let us have nothing in common with that most odious brood, the Jews.' The Council of Laodicea, about 350, passed a decree, saying, 'It is not proper for Christians to Judaize, and to cease from labor on the Sabbath; but they ought to work upon that day, and put especial honor upon the Lord's day; if any be found Judaizing, let him be anathematized.' Notwithstanding this opposition from the highest authorities, many Christians continued to observe the Sabbath. *Athanasius*, A. D. 340, says, 'We assemble on Saturday, not that we are infected with Judaism, but only to worship Christ, the Lord of the Sabbath.' *Sozomen*, A. D. 440, says, 'There are various customs concerning assembling; for though nearly all the churches throughout the world do celebrate the holy mysteries on the Sabbath day, yet they of Alexandria and Rome refuse to do this; the Egyptians, however, in the neighborhood of Alexandria, and the inhabitants of Thebes, have assemblies upon the Sabbath, but do not participate in the mysteries.' *Gregory of Nyssa*, about 390, speaking of the relation of the two institutions, says, 'How can you look upon the Lord's day, when you neglect the Sabbath? Do you not know that they are twin sisters, and that in slighting the one you affront the other?'

"Rev. L. Colman, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, in a 'Historical Sketch of the Christian Sabbath,' published in the *Theological Review*, sums up the facts in regard to the early observance of the Sabbath and the Lord's day, as follows:

"1. Both were observed in the Christian church down to the fifth century, with this difference, that in the Eastern churches both days were regarded as joyful occasions, but in the Western the Jewish Sabbath was kept as a fast.

"2. Both were solemnized by public religious assemblies for the instruction and spiritual edification of the hearers, and for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

"3. The Sabbath of the Jews was kept chiefly by converts from that people, and on their own account; who, though freed from the bondage of the law, adhered in this respect to the custom of their fathers. But, in time, after the Lord's day was fully established, the observance of the Sabbath of the Jews was gradually discontinued, and finally was denounced as heretical.

"It is somewhat difficult to trace the history of Sabbath-keepers—as it would be to trace the history of any unpopular sect or doctrine—through the darkness which intervened between the establishment of the Papal dominion and the dawning of the Reformation. There are, however, fragments of history scattered over that period, which have an important bearing upon this point, and deserve attention. Early in the seventh century, in the time of Pope Gregory I., the subject of the Sabbath attracted considerable attention. According to *Illyricus*, there arose a class of persons who declared that it was not lawful to do any manner of work upon the Saturday, or old Sabbath. Nearly five hundred years afterwards, in the

eleventh century, while Gregory VII. occupied the papal chair, the same doctrine was preached again. In both instances it was denounced as heretical, and opposed by severe papal censures. According to *Mosheim* there was a sect of Christians in Lombardy, in the twelfth century, called the Pasaginians, who kept the Jewish Sabbath. These facts are sufficient to prove the existence of Sabbath-keepers not only in the earlier and purer ages of the church, but through the period of papal ascendancy. Indeed, they render it quite probable, that wherever, in the early ages of the church, the subject of the Sabbath was made a topic of popular discussion, there the seventh day found advocates and observers."

Sabbatarians at and since the Reformation.

Mr. Utter's narrative goes on to exhibit the various expositions among the *Reformers* of the sabbatarian institutions, some of whom, in the ardor of their zeal against the multiplied festivals of the church of Rome, reasoned it away; while others advocated the morality of the fourth commandment, but interpreted it so as to require only one-seventh part of time, or a day of rest after any six days' labor.

This doctrine spread rapidly on the continent, and led to a controversy about the Sabbath, which soon became the principal one of the age.

"Early in the sixteenth century there are traces of sabbath-keepers in Germany. The old Dutch Martyrology gives an account of a baptist minister, named Stephen Benedict, somewhat famous for baptizing during a severe persecution in Holland, who is supposed, by good authorities, to have kept the seventh day. One of the persons baptized by him was Barbary von Thiers, wife of Hans Borzen, who was executed on the 16th of September, 1529. At her trial, she declared her rejection of the idolatrous sacrament of the priest, and also the mass. 'Relative to Sunday and the holy days, she said the Lord God had commanded to rest the *seventh* day; in this she acquiesced, and it was her desire, by the help and grace of God, to remain and die as she was, for it was the true faith and right way in Christ.'

Francis Davidis, first chaplain at the court of Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, and afterwards superintendent of the Transylvanian churches, is said to have adopted the sabbatarian creed.

Among the English writers, who are quoted as aiding in different ways the sabbatarian cause, Mr. U. names Dr. Bond and Messrs. Trask, Barbourne, Tandy, and Ockford. • •

"No church of the seventh-day order was established in Britain until about 1650. Within fifty years of that period, however, there were eleven sabbatarian churches, besides many scattered Sabbath-keepers in different parts of the kingdom. These churches were located at the following places: Braintree, in Essex; Chersey; Norweston; Salisbury, in Wiltshire; Sherbourne, in Buckinghamshire; Tewkesbury or Natton, in Gloucester; Wallingford, in Berkshire; Woodbridge, in Suffolk; and three in London, viz., the Mill-yard Church, the Cripplegate church, gathered by Francis Bampfield, and the Pinner's Hall church, under the care of Mr. Belcher. Eight of these churches have now become extinct, and hence a complete account of them cannot be obtained. Of the three which remain, the following is a brief historical sketch: • • • • •

The Mill-yard Church, in the eastern part of London, is named as one of the oldest of the seventh-day order in England.

Rev. John James, who suffered martyrdom under Charles II., is supposed to have been its first pastor. Among the succeeding pastors, or officiating ministers, with this people, have been Wm. Sellers, H. Soursby, two persons by the name of Slater, ——— Savage, J. Maulden, R. Cornthwaite, D. Noble, Wm. Slater, and *Rev. Wm. H. Black*, the present incumbent.

Cripplegate Church, gathered in the reign of Charles II., was the second body which was organized among the English sabbatarians.

Rev. Francis Bampfield, a man famous in his day for learning, suffering and success, was the first pastor of this people. Mr. B. was educated at Oxford, and for a number of years was a minister in the established church, previous to his embracing the sentiments of the seventh-day baptists. Successor to him was

Rev. Joseph Stennett, a famous writer on the baptismal controversy early in the eighteenth century. His work, in answer to David Russin's *Fundamentals without a Foundation, or a true Picture of the Anabaptists*, may be found among the list of baptist authors, p. 172.

The succeeding ministers of Cripplegate, as pastors or supplies, have been E. Townsend, Thos. Whitwood, Samuel Stennett, D.D., Robert Burnside, J. B. Shenstone, who died in 1841; since which time this ancient community has been without a pastor.

The Natton Church is the third and only one now remaining in England of the seventh-day baptists.

"It is located near Tewkesbury, in the west of England, about ninety miles from London, and fifteen from Gloucester. The exact time of its organization is not known. It is certain, however, that it existed as early as 1660; and it is quite probable that there were Sabbath-keepers in that region as early as 1640, who were prevented, by the unsettled state of the country, and their exposure to persecution, from forming a regular church.

Rev. John Purser is said to have been the first pastor of this church; he died 1720, having sustained the pastoral office about fifty years.

Rev. Philip Jones was the next in office here; his pastorship also extended to about half a century.

Rev. Thos. Hiller, a nephew of Mr. Jones, was the third and last pastor of the Nattou church. He died a few years ago, since which time the church, now dwindled to a mere handful, has been destitute of a pastor, but has enjoyed the assistance of a worthy baptist preacher from Tewkesbury.

"The foregoing is a brief sketch of the only three Sabbatarian churches now remaining in England, out of the eleven which existed there one hundred and fifty years ago. Their decline has been gradual, but certain and unchecked. Sufficient causes for it may be assigned, however, without supposing any unsoundness in their doctrines. There can be little doubt, that the observance of the Sabbath upon a different day from the one commonly observed, is connected with greater inconvenience than results from embracing the peculiar doctrines of any other christian denomination. It would not be very surprising, therefore, if in England, where the standard of piety, even among dissenters, has been gradually adjusting itself to the notions of the established church, the number of sabbath-keepers should as gradually diminish. But aside from this, there have been influences at work, in the churches themselves, exactly adapted to produce the results which are witnessed. From a very early period, it has been the practice of Sabbatarian preachers to accept the pastoral care of first-day churches—thus attempting to serve two masters at once, and practically proclaiming a low estimate of the doctrine by which they were distinguished. Closely connected with this, and perhaps a natural result of it, has been an almost total neglect, for a long period, to make any energetic efforts to promulgate their views. Take into account these two considerations, together with the fact that no missionary or associational organizations were ever formed, to promote acquaintance and brotherly feeling among the churches, and their existence at all seems more a matter of surprise than their gradual diminution."

THE SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS IN AMERICA.

First Church, in Newport, R. I.

"The Seventh-day Baptists in America date from about the same period that their brethren in England began to organize regular churches. Mr. STEPHEN MUMFORD was one of the earliest among them. He came from England to Newport, R. I., in 1665, and 'brought with him the opinion, that the Ten Commandments, as they were delivered from Mount Sinai, were moral and immutable, and that it was an anti-Christian power which changed the Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week.' He joined the First-day Baptist church in Newport, and soon won several members of that church to his views. They continued to walk with the church, however, for a time, until a difficulty arose in consequence of the hard things which were said of them by their brethren, such as, that the ten commandments, being given to the Jews, were not binding upon the Gentiles, and that those who observed the seventh day were gone from Christ to Moses. In November, 1671, they came to an open separation, when Stephen Mumford, William Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard, Roger Baster, and three sisters, entered into church covenant together, thus forming the first Seventh-day Baptist church in America. William Hiscox was chosen and ordained their pastor, which office he filled until his death, in 1704, in the 66th year of his age. He was succeeded by William Gibson, a minister from London, who continued to labor among them until he died, in 1717, at the age of 79 years. Joseph Crandall had been his colleague for two years, and was selected to succeed him. When he died, in 1737, Joseph Maxson was chosen pastor, and discharged the duties of the office until 1743. He was followed by William Bliss, who served the church as pastor until his death, in 1808, at the age of 81 years. Henry Burdick succeeded him in the pastoral office, and occupied that post until a few years ago, when he died. Besides the regular pastors, this church has ordained several ministers, from time to time, who have labored with great usefulness, both at home and abroad. It has also included among its members several distinguished characters, two of whom, Richard and Samuel Ward, Governors of the State of Rhode Island, are well known to history.

"For more than thirty years after its organization, the Newport Church included nearly all persons observing the seventh day in the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut; and its pastors were accustomed to hold stated meetings at several distant places, for the better accommodation of the widely-scattered members. But in 1708, the brethren living in what was then called Westerly, R. I. (comprehending all the south-western corner of the State), thought best to form another society. Accordingly they proceeded to organize the Hopkinton church, which had a succession of worthy pastors, became very numerous, and built three meeting-houses for the accommodation of the members in the different neighborhoods. At present there are seven churches in Rhode Island, and one in Connecticut."

First do. in New Jersey.

"The first Seventh-day Baptist Church in New Jersey, was formed at Piscataway, about thirty miles from the city of New York, in 1705. The circumstance from which it originated, is somewhat singular and note-worthy. 'About 1701, one Edmund Dunham, a member of the old first-day church in that town, admonished one Bonham, who was doing some servile work on Sunday. Bonham put him on proving that the first day of the week was holy by divine appointment. This set Dunham to examining the point, and the consequence

was, that he rejected the first day, and received the fourth commandment as moral, and therefore unchangeable.' In a short time seventeen of the church sided with Mr. Dunham, formed a church, chose him as their pastor, and sent him to Rhode Island to be ordained. He served the church until his death in 1734, and was succeeded by his son, Jonathan Dunham, who died in 1777, in the 86th year of his age. Since then the church has enjoyed the labors of several worthy pastors. From this church originated the one at Shiloh, about forty miles south-west of Philadelphia, which was organized in 1737, and now embraces more members than the mother church. There are four seventh-day baptist churches in New Jersey, located at Piscataway, Shiloh, Marlborough, and Plainfield.³

The Seventh-day Baptists in New York and other States.

"In the State of New York there are over thirty seventh-day baptist churches. A church was organized at Berlin, Rensselaer county, about twenty-five miles from Albany, in 1780, which has gradually increased in numbers, and has established a branch in Stepentown. It has also led to the formation of a church several miles north in the town of Petersburg. From this neighborhood, several families removed to Adams, Jefferson county, and organized a church, from which another has since sprung up in the adjoining town of Hounsfield. A church was organized at Brookfield, Madison Co., in 1797. As it increased in numbers, and gradually extended over a larger territory, two other churches were formed in the same town, which are now in a flourishing condition. Scattered around these churches in Central New York, are the churches at Newport, Herkimer Co., at Verona, Oneida Co., at Preston, Chenango Co., at De Ruyter, Madison Co., and at Scott, Cortland Co. Proceeding westward, there will be found ten churches in Allegany Co., one in Erie Co., one in Niagara Co., and one in Cattaraugus Co.

Other churches there are, many of them of recent origin, scattered over the south and west. There are four in Pennsylvania, four in Virginia, six in Ohio, two in Wisconsin, one in Indiana, and one in Iowa. Besides these, there are numerous little societies of Sabbath-keepers, who are accustomed to meet weekly for prayer and conference, but who have not yet been organized into regular churches."

The Seventh-day Baptists' General Conference.

This body was formed about 1800; for nearly a century previous, a *yearly meeting* had been kept up by this people.

Associations.—These began to be formed in this country in 1835; they are now four in number; their names and statistical affairs will be exhibited in the table which will soon be presented.

The nature, design, and general movements of these bodies, I believe, are similar in all respects to the convocations of baptists of the first-day order.

The people under consideration have institutions for missions (foreign and domestic), tracts, literature, and other objects of benevolence and moral reform.

The *De Ruyter Institute* and the *Alfred Academy* have been got up, and are under the control of the society under review. Their names indicate the towns in which they are located; the first is in Madison, the other in Allegany county, N. Y.

They have four missionaries in China, who sailed from New York in January, 1847, for that remote and populous region.

A religious paper has been published by the seventh-day baptists for the last sixteen years; it has borne different names; it is now styled the *Sabbath Recorder*.

Closing remarks by Mr. Utter.—"Few words will suffice to conclude this article. In the light of the foregoing it will be seen, that from the time, when seventh-day baptist principles were represented in this country by a single man at Newport, R. I., to the present time, their progress has been slow but sure. Many obstacles have stood in their way. Those who have embraced them have been subject to no small personal inconvenience, and often to opposition and reproach from persons bearing the Christian name, and professing better things. They have been oppressed by law, and shut out from not a few social and literary privileges, which they might otherwise have enjoyed. The consequence has been that thousands, who were trained up in the observance of the Sabbath, and who believed in heart that the practice was accordant with Scripture, have abandoned it; while thousands of others, who were convinced of its claims, have refused to embrace it. Only the few, who felt that duty was theirs, and consequences God's, have dared to adhere strictly to the divine commandment. Yet the number of such has gradually increased, and the prospect before them has gradually brightened. They believe the day is now dawning in which their principles will be examined with more candor, and allowed to work their natural effects upon the minds of men."

Do. by the author.—For a number of centuries past, the observers of the ancient Sabbath, as far as I have been able to discover, have been of the baptist persuasion, with scarcely any exception. Although this class of baptists differ from their first-day brethren on a point to them of vital importance, yet from time immemorial they have sustained very friendly relations towards each other both as ministers and christians. They often officiate in each other's pulpits, and in former times it was no uncommon thing for the ministers of both parties to sustain the pastoral office to

churches of each, which might be very conveniently done, as their worship came on different days.⁷

Not only have the ministers of the two sorts of baptists maintained this kind of courteous bearing toward each other, but the churches have done and still do the same, when for any cause they respectively need places to meet in for religious worship.

In some few instances, the people under consideration have met with unkind treatment from their *First-day* brethren, but most of the opposition they have encountered has come from the bigoted professors of other communions, or from those who are careless about all creeds, or days of worship, but who delight in mischief and revenge.

Since the two parties as baptists sympathize with each other on the baptismal question, and adopt precisely the same mode of reasoning in defense of baptist views;⁸ as they mutually reject all institutions of religion which are not expressly enjoined in the scriptures, and deny the validity of all arguments for them founded on tradition, human authority, inference and analogy, and require positive commands for all the ordinances of the gospel, the first-day baptists cannot with a good grace complain of their seventh-day brethren for the literality of their constructions as to the ancient sabbath, however well they may be satisfied with the expositions of the great mass of christian professors on the sabbatarial question. No serious troubles have come from the baptist side, but from people of other creeds or of none at all.

Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon, that in this land of freedom, any religious community, so distinguished as this has been for piety and good order, should be harassed and perplexed, fined, imprisoned and maltreated, as many of the observers of the ancient sabbath have been, both German and English, for a conscientious observance of their peculiar opinions. Tell it not in the Roman Vatican, in the Spanish Inquisition, or in any tribunal, civil or ecclesiastical, that any legislative body, in this free republic, should authorize one portion of citizens to insult and injure another, because they differ from them just twenty-four hours in the time, which, in their opinion, should be devoted to the worship of their Maker.⁹

Mr. Utter has referred to many facts in ancient history, in favor of the peculiar views of the sabbatarians. I have met with many others in the course of my historical inquiries, where it seemed as if the heretics, so-called, were unsound on the doctrine of the sabbath as established by law. It is not certain, however, that all whom the ancient inquisitors accused of being sabbath-breakers would come under the head of sabbatarians. Their accusations were leveled against all who dissented from the doctrines and customs of the established church. Many were said to have denied baptism altogether, because they repudiated the multitude of superstitious rites with which it was incumbered, its sacramental efficacy, and its application to infants. The same thing holds true of almost every other observance of the christian dispensation.

According to Mr. Utter's representations, while the seventh-day baptists have very much declined in their number and influence in the mother country, they have been greatly augmented in this. For these different results, he has assigned a number of causes which seem plausible and well founded. But, after all, I think that to the freedom here enjoyed may be ascribed much of the prosperity of this people. Again, they seem inclined to congregate together—to form settlements by themselves, where they can carry out their doctrines on the sabbath without molestation, and where the embarrassments, under which, in all other countries, they have labored, are in a measure avoided.

It is no part of my business to settle the question of right or wrong between the sabbatarians and their opponents; but as the uncompromising advocate of entire freedom of conscience, I wish them to have a fair chance and a full hearing.

⁷ I have often preached with these people with the same freedom as I would with my own.

⁸ To the Stennetts and some other ministers of the seventh-day order, we are indebted for some of our best works in defense of baptist sentiments.

⁹ Should a colony of Mahometans settle in this country (a thing not altogether improbable), and the mosque and the minaret invite them to their preaching and prayers, their day of worship would be neither the 7th nor the 1st day of the week; it would come on Friday, according to the law of the Koran.

The Chinese and Hindoos would have other days still for their devotions; but upon the free principles of our country, all have a right to choose not only their mode of religious worship, but when it shall be performed.

Statistical Account of the Seventh-day Baptists.

The following list of churches, &c., is taken from the minutes of the Seventh-day Baptist General Conference for 1846.¹

CHURCHES.	Communi- cants.	Date of formation	CHURCHES.	Communi- cants.	Date of formation
EASTERN ASSOCIATION.			WESTERN ASSOCIATION.		
Newport, R. I. - - - - -	35	1671	1st Alfred, Allegany Co., N. Y. - - -	445	1816
1st Hopkinton, R. I. - - - - -	448	1708	2d Alfred, " " - - -	181	1831
2d Hopkinton, R. I. - - - - -	154	1835	1st Genesee, " " - - -	166	1827
3d Hopkinton, R. I. - - - - -	105	1835	2d Genesee, " " - - -	66	1834
Westerly, R. I. - - - - -	71	1837	3d Genesee, " " - - -	27	1842
Pawcatuck, R. I. - - - - -	105	1840	Friendship, " " - - -	146	1824
Richmond, R. I. - - - - -	24	1843	Independence, " " - - -	133	1834
Green Hill, R. I. - - - - -	13	1843	Scio, " " - - -	42	1834
Waterford, Ct. - - - - -	99	1784	Wirt, " " - - -	47	1827
Piscataway, N. J. - - - - -	169	1707	Amity, " " - - -	24	1834
Shiloh, N. J. - - - - -	280	1737	Clarence, Erie Co., N. Y. - - -	216	1828
Marlborough, N. J. - - - - -	109	1811	Persia, Cattaraugus Co., N. Y. - - -	75	1832
Plainfield, N. J. - - - - -	86	1838	Pendleton, Niagara Co., N. Y. - - -	141	1844
New York City - - - - -	20	1845	Hayfield, Crawford Co., Pa. - - -	72	1829
Berlin, Rensselaer Co., N. Y. - - -	249	1784	Hebron, Potter Co., Pa. - - -	54	1833
Petersburg, Rensselaer Co., N. Y. - -	125	1829	Ulysses, " " - - -	16	1846
CENTRAL ASSOCIATION.			SOUTH-WESTERN ASSOCIATION.		
Adams, Jefferson Co., N. Y. - - -	250	1822	New Salem, Harrison Co., Va. - - -	71	1745
1st Brookfield, Madison Co., N. Y. - -	211	1757	Lost Creek, " " - - -	75	1805
2d Brookfield, " " - - -	137	1823	North Fork Hughes' River, Va. - - -	7	1833
3d Brookfield, " " - - -	132	1823	South Fork Hughes' River, Va. - - -	19	1842
De Ruyter, " " - - -	109	1816	North Hampton, Clark Co., Ohio - - -	26	1837
Diann, Lewis Co., N. Y. - - -	16	1846	Pike, " " - - -	30	- - -
Hounsfield, Jefferson Co., N. Y. - - -	56	1841	Port Jefferson, Shelby Co., Ohio - - -	56	1840
Lincklaen, Chenango Co., N. Y. - - -	143	1831	Stokes, Ohio - - -	28	1842
Otselic, " " - - -	55	1830	Scioto, Ohio - - -	19	1842
Preston, " " - - -	70	1834	Jackson, Ohio - - -	40	1840
Richland, Oswego Co., N. Y. - - -	10	1845	Woodbridgetown, Pa. - - -	10	- - -
Scott, Cortland Co., N. Y. - - -	189	1820	Madison, Ind. - - -	7	1843
Truxton, " " - - -	56	1824	Milton, Rock Co., Wis. - - -	106	1838
1st Verona, Oneida Co., N. Y. - - -	109	1820	Albion, Dane Co., Wis. - - -	30	1843
2d Verona, " " - - -	53	1837	Freedom, Iowa Ter. - - -	66	1843
Watson, Lewis Co., N. Y. - - -	73	1841			
Newport, Herkimer Co., N. Y. - - -	17	1838			
			Total - - -	6,060	

From the foregoing it will be seen, that there are sixty-four churches connected with the conference, and that the number of communicants is above six thousand. The number of ordained ministers is fifty-eight, and of licentiates twenty-four. The following table of the number of communicants from year to year, since 1807, may be interesting in this connection, as serving to show the gradual increase of the denomination:

Year.	Com.	Year.	Com.	Year.	Com.	Year.	Com.	Year.	Com.
1807	1,618	1813	1,893	1819	1,922	1825	2,878	1831	3,970
1808	1,744	1814	1,953	1820	2,330	1826	2,833	1832	4,170
1809	1,748	1815	2,066	1821	2,528	1827	2,832	1833	4,364
1810	1,738	1816	2,056	1822	2,605	1828	3,035	1834	4,355
1811	1,675	1817	2,063	1823	2,862	1829	3,587	1835	4,584
1812	1,804	1818	2,143	1824	2,824	1830	3,462	1838	4,746
								1846	6,092

¹ The Ephrata company of seventh-day German baptists is not referred to by Mr. Utter in his narrative of either the foreign or the American Sabbatarians. Some hints have already been given of this (to me) very interesting community, with a promise of its full history in my next volume.

A P P E N D I X.

SECTION I.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

Appendix to authors on the baptismal controversy—The Munster affair—Anabaptism—Anabaptists—Seven reasons vs. infant baptism—Confiscation of property of dissenters—Party faults exposed.

APPENDIX TO AUTHORS ON THE BAPTISMAL CONTROVERSY.

Under this head I had intended to add all the writings on this subject, on both sides, which came to hand, or of which I gained information at too late a period to enter them in their proper places. Among these works, the one by Henry Lawrence, Esq., commonly called Capt. Lawrence, of England, 1645,¹ and another by Elder Pardon Tillinghast, 1689, one of the early pastors of the first church, Providence, R. I., are somewhat distinguished.²

In the *Bibliotheca Britannica* I have found the names of a considerable number of authors on this subject, mostly on the pedobaptist side, which are not on my list, and I am frequently adding to the number in both departments

Authors vs. each other. I made out, in part, a list of the principal writers of this description, with a view of making it complete for this appendix.

Biographical sketches, &c. I had commenced an article of this kind, in which I intended, at least, to name the age and countries in which they lived; the literary and denominational character of all the most prominent men on the pedobaptist side, whether Catholics or Protestants, who are mentioned by Booth and all other baptist writers, as having made concessions in favor of our main positions, or else have made the strongest efforts against us.

A mere list of names, without any information as to their character and standing, adds but a small amount of weight to their testimony, with persons of limited reading.

But as I have already much overrun my bounds, all details of this kind must of necessity be deferred to my next volume.

Continuation of writers against the Anabaptists. After the Munster affair, *anabaptist* and *rebel* were everywhere used as synonymous terms, and authors in abundance put forth their strongest efforts to demonstrate this position. A full list of works of this kind I have been anxious to make out, but am conscious that after all my researches and the assistance that others have afforded me, the catalogue is as yet very incomplete. It may be found, in part, pp. 264-65. The remainder, so far as I have ascertained them, are as follows:

¹ This work is barely mentioned in my list; on examining the book I found it a quite learned and interesting one. Capt. Lawrence is said to have been at one time president of the privy council of O. Cromwell.

² This is a small work, principally against the Quakers. It is in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, located in Worcester, Mass.; a knowledge of this fact, and a summary of its contents were communicated to me by Samuel F. Haven, Esq., the Librarian of that institution.

B. Usingen, - - - - -	1529	J. Boisaccus, - - - - -	1651
J. Menius, - - - - -	1530-44-51	E. Veicius, - - - - -	1670
A. Daventria, - - - - -	1533	Wincklerius, - - - - -	1691
J. Cochläus, - - - - -	1582	D. S. Scultetus, - - - - -	1706
F. Agricola, - - - - -	1591	Chr. Masecovius, - - - - -	1717
Egidius Hunnius, - - - - -	1598	F. Spanheim, - - - - -	1748
H. Hammelmannus, - - - - -	1602	M. Bucer, - - - - -	---
P. Hinckelmannus, - - - - -	1603	P. Bontemps, - - - - -	---
B. Rulichius, - - - - -	1605	H. Faukelius, - - - - -	---
Jo. Mullerius, - - - - -	1645	J. Du Bois, - - - - -	1799
J. Edzardi, - - - - -	1636-51	L. Dickins, - - - - -	---
J. Cloppenburgius, - - - - -	1645	A. Storck, - - - - -	---
C. Heresbachius, - - - - -	1650	— Sleidan, - - - - -	---
M. Nicolai, - - - - -	1659		

For this continued list of writers against the Anabaptists, I am indebted entirely to Dr. Sears of Newton. In this and the one just referred to, we see some half a hundred authors enlisted against one feeble band of christians. "Not a Reformer of any eminence that did not take a part against the Anabaptists." Some of the works were large, and fraught with a world of learned lore to show, not only the arguments for infant baptism, but also for the union of Church and State, the lawfulness of war, &c., which these incorrigible heretics most strenuously opposed. I have no idea that the list is complete, of works expressly devoted to this subject, besides a multitude of others which are copiously interlarded with the same kind of anti-anabaptistical matter.³

Remarks on the whole subject of infant baptism. Among the milder and less tenacious class of pedobaptists, it is a common saying, that the rite will do no hurt, if it does no good. This is the language of gossip and spiritual quackery. In the first place, it is not true, as I shall show in my seven reasons for rejecting infant baptism; and if it were like some kinds of quack medicines, what honest inquirer after the plain commands of God would be satisfied with such an argument in defense of a rite which holds a rank among the positive institutions of the gospel.⁴

Baptism not a saving ordinance. Throughout the whole range of Christendom, no one party has been so often and vehemently accused of seeking salvation in the water, as the baptists. But with what an ill grace does this charge come from the advocates of baptismal regeneration; or who, indeed, plead for any hidden and mysterious benefit in the rite? *The answer of a good conscience toward God*, is the highest benefit which the baptists ascribe to this ordinance; and if some ultra men have assigned it a higher place, it is certain their sentiments are disowned by the great mass of the society.

Perversions of baptism. Was ever an institution of any kind so perverted and abused as the simple rite of baptism has been? In any of the religious ceremonies in any of the great religious systems of the world, Pagan, Jewish, or Mohammedan, was there ever so much account made of any ceremonial observance in the business of salvation, as of this uncostly and unpainful performance? What splendid and costly preparations were made for its administration in ancient times? What extravagant ideas were entertained of its efficacy, and how severe have been the penal statutes against all who should neglect it, or perform it in any manner different from that prescribed by law? And, finally, what multitudes have been literally baptized at the point of the sword, for the salvation of their souls?

The attractions which are usually thrown around the baptismal service. In the circles of royalty it is always a splendid affair, and becomes a pageantry of great attraction. The god-fathers and god-mothers, from among the kindred ranks of royalty; the costly donations, the splendid attire, the abundant feasting, and the streams of munificence which are directed to the whole corps of nurses, relatives and attendants, down to the lowest grades of menials, make royal christenings scenes of unusual attraction to the multitude who in any way participate in them.

Among all of the ranks of nobility, as well as those of untitled opulence, the same scenes are acted over with a magnificence but little inferior to those of royal households; and among all classes of pedobaptists, in national churches, *merry christenings* have peculiar attractions, and bind the whole population to the system by the strongest ties. Dr. Wall in his day, made bitter complaints of this perversion of the institution.

³ *A History of German Anabaptism*, by Rev. P. Cooke, of Mass., 1846, is a work of so recent a date, and is so little known in the world, that I had my doubts about adding it to the list of anti-anabaptist writers. I have not seen it reviewed on either side, but am informed that the baptists have concluded to let it go quietly down to the shades. Its spirit is exceedingly bitter against them; the old authors did not exceed this modern Puritan writer in vituperation and misrepresentation.

⁴ "They often to their minds recall
What Samuel said to prudent Saul,
And what in good Isaiah stands,
'Who hath required this at your hands?'"
JOHN OF EYON.

What baptists, as such, have had to contend against. In their efforts to restore the baptismal rite to its primitive purity, they find arrayed against them all the interests, pleasures, prejudices, fears, bigotry, contempt and ill-will of the great mass of mankind. Thousands who have been partially converted to their sentiments, have been held back by family alliances, veneration for ancestors, and the chains of a religious *caste*, which infant baptism, as far as possible, has riveted upon them.

With clergymen the case is much more embarrassing than with others; and Dr. Chapin's letter, in his introduction to his piece on baptism, p. 215, is, no doubt, a fair specimen of the strong convictions of many a minister's mind in favor of baptist sentiments, who finally settles down on the pedobaptist platform.

I fully believe that multitudes have been deterred from baptist views by the entire revolution which they would make in the church establishments now existing, and in their own personal affairs. These considerations have had more weight with them than any firm conviction on their minds of the scriptural character and beneficial nature of infant baptism.

TEN THEORIES OF INFANT BAPTISM. 1st. *The Catholic theory*, which is all summed up in baptismal regeneration. 2d. *Dr. Pusey's theory*, which agrees with the Catholic in every point, only it consists in a more distinct claim to the Spirit's presence in the ceremony. 3d. *Dr. Bushnell's theory*. This divine calls infant baptism "a rite which supposes the fact of an organic connection between the parent and the child." 4th. *The Unitarian theory*, which is in accordance with their general views of theology. *Drs. Griffin, Thright, Austin, Müller*, and other eminent writers among the presbyterians and congregationalists, in their various expositions of the grounds of infant baptism, make out the full decade of theories of this system. The sum and substance of all their conflicting views may be reduced to two heads:

1. That infants should be baptized because they are depraved, *to make them christians.*
2. That they should be admitted to this rite because they *are christians*; or, in their own language, the children of the covenant, who are, by their birth and spiritual inheritance, entitled to this seal.⁵

While all these defenders of the infant rite are advocating or disproving their respective positions, the baptists, with the Bible in their hands, have but one theory to present—*he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved—if thou believest with all thine heart thou mayest—of whatever age or nation.*

THE MUNSTER AFFAIR.

I had prepared an article of moderate length under this head, which I intended to insert at the close of the history of the German Anabaptists and Mennonites; but as I was then waiting for some additional information from Dr. Sears, it was laid by for that time; and so many items came up respecting it in my selections from the Dutch Martyrology; so clearly did it appear, from the disclaimers of the persecuted German brotherhood, that this old war story was altogether misapplied, that I felt less and less inclined to say much more on the subject. But for the sake of introducing some remarks from the old author whose work will soon be referred to, I have concluded, at this point, to give place to the few following paragraphs:

The *war of the peasants* in Germany is a perfect anomaly of its kind, in the use which has been made of it for sectarian purposes; and never was a denomination of christians, in any age or country, so harassed with an old war story as the baptists have been with this German insurrection, for more than three centuries past. Multitudes of them were butchered on the spot, in a most cruel and summary manner, without any discrimination between the innocent and the guilty,⁶ for no other reason than that some of the insurgents were said to have been of their religious creed; and, as a good writer has well observed, this Munster affair, like an evil genius, has followed them all over the world.⁷

That there was a tremendous outbreak in Germany, on the part of the oppressed tenants against their lordly oppressors, at the time referred to, is beyond dispute; and as the attempt at revolution was unsuccessful, somebody must bear the blame of it. Many of the Catholics at that time, and always after, have charged it on Luther and his associates, as they have all the long and bloody wars and civil commotions which for a long course of years were everywhere attendant on the movements of the German Reformers. The Lutherans, on the other hand, threw it on the Anabaptists, and magnified their number and their efforts beyond all the bounds of probability; and an interminable line of writers of every church, and sect, and party, have labored with untiring assiduity to demonstrate, beyond all dispute, that the bap-

⁵ The substance of these ten theories is taken from the *Mich. Christian Herald and Zion's Advocate*.

⁶ Mosheim, vol. iv., p. 439.

⁷ *Rob. Researches*.

tist denomination arose at this tumultuous period, and that their peculiar opinions led them to acts of insubordination and rebellion against the guardians of the church and the rulers of the State.

Very strong efforts were made, on account of this war, to excite a prejudice against the Anabaptists, as they were then called, not only on the Continent, but in England and elsewhere, by certain Dutch writers, something more than a century after it had happened. And this was done at the instance of some English divines of the Presbyterian order, with Robert Baillie at their head, for the purpose of checking their growth among the English dissenters in the time of the Commonwealth, while Presbyterianism was seeking, with much adroitness and assiduity, to gain the ascendancy in the British realm.⁸

It was about a hundred years later, or nearly two hundred years after the event, that Mosheim's account of the affair was published. And such was the spirit of the times, and the danger of perverted statements against a people whose distinguishing sentiments in all matters, civil and religious, were so different from the dominant party in Church and State, as to place them under circumstances of odium and distrust, that it is easy to conceive that their chance was very small for a fair representation.

As we have already seen, this learned Lutheran historian has done the baptists ample justice in conceding to their principles a remote and high antiquity, and a very general spread in almost all parts of Europe long before the rise of Luther and Calvin. He has also lamented the wide-spread and indiscriminate slaughter of such multitudes of persons, whose only crime consisted in maintaining opinions which the baptists in all ages and countries have nourished and revered. He has also admitted the extreme difficulty, at that late period, of coming at the real facts of the case.⁹

The work named below will be my guide in what more I shall say relative to this antiquated humbug, as far as our denomination is concerned.

That the baptists had not their origin from the sect of Munster, but existed during the whole time of the gospel, as has been fully shown; so that the desolating and wicked acts which took place A. D. 1534, at Munster, cannot be laid to the charge of the baptists, who had to conceal themselves, like the innocent dove, in the clefts of rocks and hollow trees, to be secure from the talons of the hawk; but this charge must be placed to the account of Lutheran preachers, who taught the doctrine of Anabaptists to one John von Leyden, and highly recommended it. This was done as follows, as we are informed by several ancient authentic authors.

"In the year A. D. 1532, one Bernhard Rotman, a Lutheran preacher, then called evangelical preacher, began to preach against the papistic doctrine at Munster, in St. Maurice church; but when the papists of Munster were apprised of this, they gave him money, so that he would desist preaching against them. But a few months afterward, when he repented, he turned back, and had such a concourse who followed him that he erected his pulpit before the door, because some of the most eminent of Munster stood before him, and he also was anxious that the other churches should be opened for him, in order to spread his doctrine more widely; and if that was not done, it should then be done with violence, &c. In the mean time came John von Leyden to Munster, the 14th February, 1533. He was a singular and conceited person, who, although he maintained that baptism should follow faith, was not agreed with the baptists in scarce any other article, and soon brought the matter so far, by much disputing, &c., that not only Bernhard Rotman, who first opposed him, but also his colleagues, H. Straprede, and others, began to preach against infant baptism; where John von Leyden learned, and especially from B. Rotman, that one might propagate and protect his religion by the sword and other weapons.

"In the mean time, the magistracy, when they saw the evils that would necessarily follow, commanded those to leave the city who were apparently the cause of all this; who indeed left the city, but who came into it again, through the instigation of B. Rotman. Finally, the thing was carried so far that the aforementioned, and other Lutheran preachers (perversely called evangelical), agreed with John von Leyden in the doctrine of baptism; and thus they united and determined to restore religion radically—and that one had a right, as it cannot be done quietly, to use the power of weapons, and that in Munster the beginning should be made.

"Here John von Leyden was made a leader, and through B. Rotman's writings many inexperienced, ignorant and base persons joined in with him, to promote the aforementioned restitution or reformation (which was made known to them from the beginning), with the promise that they should receive tenfold at Munster for their goods which they should leave behind. They soon began with the authority of the bishop; they began to raise fortifica-

⁸ See some account of this matter in a note under the head of the English baptists, p. 303.

⁹ In the document which I had prepared I describe.

1. The condition of the German peasants at the time this insurrection broke out.

2. Give some historical sketches of the rise and progress of the war.

3. Show the entire mistake in most writers in ascribing this war to baptist principles and fanatical zeal.

The article is an abridgment of what may be found in my 1st vol., pp. 246-265. Robinson's *Eccl. Res.* was my principal guide.

tions; they did not only seek to defend themselves, but made efforts to exterminate the Roman Catholics; but the issue of the thing was quite different from what they had anticipated, because they were defeated, and the bishop and those out of the town gained the victory. Rotman himself, and his colleagues, who were in similar conditions, despaired of his life, and went among the enemy to be slain by them, so that he would not be apprehended alive as John von Leyden, and die an ignominious death.

"This was the tragic scene at Munster; the rise, progress and end of which cannot be imputed to the baptists, but to the Lutherans who had recently risen up, and especially Rotman and his adherents. For the aforementioned Lutherans would have boasted much, had the attempt at reformation succeeded, and would not have been ashamed—they would not have ascribed the honor of it to the baptists. The following verse was composed in reference to it.

"Haette die herrliche Wiederbringung nur gekluecket,
Man vouerde die verachteten Wiedertaefuer nicht mit solcher Ehr
Sondern den Luther, oder jemand mehr
Durch Rotman's Gewehr, zum Herrn gekwenete sehr."
Had fortune crowned the glorious enterprise,
Scorned Anabaptists ne'er had won the prize
Of glory: Luther's mates had gained the meed,
Or Luther's self the praise of Rotman's deed.

"Compare the book *Unschulds-Pfeil, &c.*, printed at Harlem, 1631, appended to the *Marter Geschichte*, immediately before the introduction, with other testimonies of Bernhard Rotman, Godfrey Strabensis, Rollius, and other Lutheran teachers at Munster, whose writings of this transaction were shortly afterward published and came into our hands. Again, see the remarks of Melancthon, Guidon, Sleidan, and also in the great Atlas, the old edition."¹⁰

Although these views of the Munster affair have been exhibited in a summary manner by different baptist writers, yet no one that I have met with has spoken with such apparent knowledge of the facts of the case, and with so much confidence and decision. Similar quotations from other parts of this work might be made; one more, however, must suffice. The author was as decidedly opposed to war as he was to infant baptism, and retorted upon those who had made such a parade of this belligerent outbreak against the Anabaptists of all classes, in the following manner:

"Nevertheless, if one were disposed to mete with the same measure, we would say: *The Munsterites were fellow-members of those who sanction war and maintain that religion must be propagated and protected with the sword. For this is what they did; but we oppose these views with all our heart, soul, and mind.*"

The war-spirit of the Reformers generally was painfully notorious, while the Anabaptists held on to their peace-principles before and during all the belligerent movements of the Reformation.

ANABAPTISM—ANABAPTISTS.

The term "*ana*-baptism" comes from two Greek words which signify, to baptize *again*. It is an appellation which is always applied by opponents by way of censure and reproach. In process of time, however, to avoid circumlocution, it is adopted by the parties themselves, with "commonly called" appended.

The repetition of the baptismal rite always presupposes that there was some deficiency in the first administration, in the judgment of the *re*-baptizing party—that in the *modus operandi*, in the officiating minister, or in the construction or character of the repudiated church, there was something so essentially wrong and imperfect, as to render invalid the first performance.

¹⁰ Martyr's Mirror, p. 15, in a note.

¹ On the subject of *ana*-baptism, Robinson well observes that "there is something so very inoffensive in itself, and so perfectly indifferent to society in a man's being re-baptized, that if baptism were repeated every month, as the administration of the Lord's Supper is, no serious consequences, except to the person himself, could follow. It must, therefore, at first sight, appear as a singular phenomenon in the history of this people, that they should be described by many celebrated writers as a dangerous set of men, justly proscribed in one State, banished from another, burnt in a third, drowned in a fourth, and allowed to live in any only as a favor. There must be something more than baptism in this affair." * * * *History of Baptism, my edition, p. 417*

No party admits the correctness of the charge of *re*-baptizing, but all contend that *they* perform aright what was previously improperly or imperfectly done.

The business of *re*-baptizing commenced at a very early period of the christian dispensation. It has not been confined to any one church or party, great or small, baptist or pedobaptist, but all have practised it to a greater or less extent. The Donatists and Catholics *re*-baptized each other's members with all their might. The same may be said of the Arians and Trinitarians, the Greeks and Romans, and of the whole range of christian professors. The Reformers generally, though not always, admitted their converts from the Church of Rome without *re*-baptizing them; this, however, the Catholics would never do, from first to last. They uniformly practise *ana*-baptism on all accessions to their church from the heretics, whether they come of their own accord or are brought in by collusion between pliant nurses and the wily priesthood.

Many ages before the Reformation, the Church of Rome decided that the *re*-baptizing of her members by the Waldenses and other classes of ancient dissenters, was an unpardonable sin; or, as Mosheim expresses it, "a most flagitious and intolerable heresy."² The Protestant Reformers very early sounded the alarm on this subject, and were not far behind the church which they all had renounced and abjured, in the severity of their laws and the rigor of their enforcements against all who should in any case practise *re*-baptization.

In my foreign department much has already been said on this subject. My present limits will not allow any extended remarks, if I were disposed to make them. The point which I wish to come at is this—

These same Protestants, or a portion, at least, of their descendants and successors, are coming over to the business of *ana*-baptism themselves. The custom they *must* adopt, or do much worse, as I shall attempt to show.

Their missionaries abroad and their evangelists at home are laboring, with commendable zeal and no small degree of success, to make proselytes to their faith from the Roman Catholics, and from the Greek and all the Oriental churches. These have all been baptized in some form or other; about half of them, according to Dr. Wall, by dipping. These baptisms must all be recognized as valid and sufficient, or they must be rejected, and their converts must be baptized anew.

In the first case, they tacitly admit the whole corps of the priesthood in all these churches to be genuine ministers of the gospel, and well qualified to perform all the functions of the sacred office, their ignorance, profligacy and corruptions to the contrary notwithstanding.

If, in the second place, they find this too great a stretch of charity, and begin the business of *re*-baptizing, whether infants or adults, it is plain to be seen they come at once, *quoad hoc*, so far as this thing is concerned, on to baptist ground; and *ana*-baptism, that weather-worn bugbear, that box of Pandora, that three-headed monster, that category of every abomination, which the party for more than three centuries past have been fighting with all the combined powers of Church and State, may be justly laid to their charge.³

ANABAPTISTS. *Baptist* and *Anabaptist*, from time immemorial, have been by most writers regarded as synonymous and convertible terms. This, though generally true, is not necessarily so. Pedobaptists, as well as baptists, may come under this head. If they *re*-baptize their subjects, for whatever cause, whether infants or adults, whether by dipping or other modes, they become *de facto* *Ana*-baptists, according to the true and proper meaning of the word.

The *Ana*-baptists in Germany were no doubt generally baptistically inclined, and a good portion of them were of the genuine baptist order; but the term *anabaptist* there, as in England in the time of the Commonwealth, was very loosely applied to a promiscuous multitude, who differed widely

² Eccl. Hist. Vol. IV., p. 436.

³ This question is beginning to be discussed in earnest among some classes of protestants; the Church of England, I believe uniformly, and without scruple, recognize the validity of the baptisms of the Catholics, Greeks, &c., but the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and others entertain different views among themselves: this I learn not only from their public documents and debates, but also from private correspondence with a number of their leading men on the subject.

Not long since, in a public conveyance, I fell in conversation with an aged and eminent divine of the Congregational order on this subject, among others. His remarks, in substance, were as follows: "I have not very fully investigated this matter, but my first impressions are decidedly adverse to the course which some of my brethren recommend.

"We denounce the Church of Rome as the mother of harlots; and it appears to me to be very inconsistent at the same time to say that her children are legitimately born.

"We have no fellowship with her priesthood, how then can we with propriety sanction her administrations?

"We pronounce the doctrine of apostolic succession a fable—purgatory a fiction—and transubstantiation as the climax of absurdity—and can we, after all this, treat this church as a sister community, and receive her members as from a spiritual fold?"

from each other. All, however, dissented from the established religion, and were the advocates for freedom, civil and religious.

Infant baptism they generally condemned. Some of them, however, continued in the practice after the name of *Anabaptist* was applied to them; and as to the mode of baptism, it is certain that the *Anabaptists* were not all *dippers*, as the following quotations will show:

"The first recorded instance of *re-baptism* took place at Zwickau, near Zurich, in 1525, and then (says the person in whose house the ceremony was performed) they were all baptized with a *dipper*.

"Another *re-baptism* took place in *Grebel's house*. Hubmeyer, on the occasion of *re-baptizing* his church, at Waldshut, directed water to be brought in a milk-pail, and baptized about three hundred."⁴

SEVEN REASONS WHY WE, AS BAPTISTS, OPPOSE AND REJECT INFANT BAPTISM.

1. We firmly believe it was not instituted by Christ or his apostles—that it is radically opposed to the principles of the gospel, and may properly be placed among the traditions of men.

It is a practice that never was and never can be found in the Bible, and for the observance of which there is not in the sacred volume either precept, example or command; and no arguments drawn from analogy between the old and new dispensation, from Hebrew covenants, from remote antiquity, or from any constructive theories whatever, can, in our judgment, counterbalance the dead and total silence of the Scriptures on the point.

On no one subject have all anti-pedobaptists, of all ages and countries, however much they may differ in other matters, been so perfectly agreed as on the unscriptural character of infant baptism.

2. We maintain that the natural and unavoidable tendency of the system is to produce an entire change in the christian dispensation, as to the character of its subjects and their freedom of choice and action.

Instead of leaving mankind, as free and intelligent beings, to choose and act for themselves, so far as their adroit management can go, it binds them to a church and party in their most helpless and unconscious years.⁵

3. We object against the infant system, that it does away, when carried out to its full extent, all distinctions between the church and the world.

This statement is made on a broad scale, with reference to national churches, and is not meant to apply to those minor parties of evangelical pedobaptists, with whom infant membership is a point no-point affair.⁶

⁴ These extracts are made from a very interesting historical paper, which at my request was sent me by Dr. Sears, president of Newton Theo. Institution. I intended to have published the article entire in this Vol., but for the want of space it must be deferred till my next. Dr. S. represents the Anabaptists under three heads, as to their localities: 1, Saxony, 2, Switzerland, 3, the Netherlands. He also distinguishes between those of a sober and virtuous character, and the mere political speculators and adventurers, and shows that under the very generic name of *anabaptist* the greatest imaginable variety of characters passed.

This learned correspondent is still pursuing his inquiries in this wide and interesting field, with a view of presenting to the public a work on the *German Anabaptists*.

⁵ This objection may be rebutted by the assertion that they may join any other church when they see fit to abandon the covenant in which they have been placed. Multitudes, to be sure, have done so, but this change has generally been performed amidst embarrassments and hindrances growing out of the unwarrantable incumbrances which an injurious policy has thrown around them. They must, of necessity, become covenant-breakers, according to the discipline of the mildest class of pedobaptists, and lose their membership, real or hypothetical, in the churches where their parents or guardians have placed them.

⁶ I have shown in the review of pedobaptist authors, that men of great eminence on that side, and among the evangelical party, differ widely among themselves as to the kind of membership which infant baptism confers, whether it is partial or complete; but with the great mass of this community there is no question on this point—to all intents and purposes this initiatory rite makes them *ipso facto* members of the ecclesiastical establishment by whose authority it is conferred; and as far as possible every individual of the nation is brought into their spiritual folds, which, however, soon become worldly sanctuaries, where all church discipline is neglected, and the few spiritual members among them are overwhelmed by the infidelity, profligacy, and corruptions of the preponderating secular party.

This I believe is a true picture of all the great national establishments in Europe.

Dr. Wall considers it a good argument in favor of infant baptism, that all national churches have

4. We contend that infant baptism places its subjects in a false position, and leads them to false estimates of their religious character and standing.

This is true especially of all who maintain the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, which is done by far the greatest part of what is called the christian world; and the sacramental efficacy ascribed to the mysterious rite becomes a substitute for personal religion.

"The father of lies," says Dr. Owen, "could not well devise a more effectual plan to lead mankind blindfold to perdition."

5. Infant baptism not only changes the order of the gospel, but from time immemorial it has inspired multitudes of its zealous advocates with the worst of principles and passions, and has led them to treat those who have denied and rejected it in a most abusive and outrageous manner.

It is difficult to find language to describe the disposition which for ages was shown toward the old Waldenses, Anabaptists, and all kindred communities, under whatever names they passed, who were made to suffer from the men in question, and feel the rigor of the laws which were continually enacted against them by all classes of rulers, civil and ecclesiastical.

The full vials of their wrath, with awful regurgitations, were poured upon their devoted heads.

The concentrated rays of their scorching indignation, with focal intensity, were made to fall on a defenseless people, who had neither the means nor disposition to defend themselves.

Century after century the Christian world, so called, were mad against them; Catholics and Protestants went hand in hand in their efforts to protect the infant system, and by fire and sword to drive every vestige of anti-pedobaptism from the earth.

Whether dipping or sprinkling prevailed, was of little importance. They well understood that the principles of these people, when fully carried out, would undermine their worldly churches. This was the grand secret with the leaders; but the mass of the people regarded them as spiritual infanticides, whose reputed cruel hostility would doom the whole infant race, as far as their influence extended, to perdition and despair.

If the old Anabaptists had deprived every child in Christendom of its legal inheritance, the vengeance of their persecutors would not have been more ferocious and exterminating.

6. We object against this system, that it subverts *some* of the most obvious rules of philology, opposes *all* the facts of history, superinduces a reliance on *tradition* instead of the *Bible*, altogether incompatible with protestant principles, and leads to a dependence on inferences, analogies and far-fetched arguments, which the same men who employ them would treat with neglect or contempt, where their prejudices are not enlisted.

The main positions, as laid down by the principal pedobaptist writers, I have examined with much attention. I have read them, not in partial quotations made by others, but from the works themselves, and freely admit, that I have often been astonished beyond measure that men of superior talents and information could risk their reputation as learned men and sound critics in so far departing from those canons of philology and literature, by which all who assume the rank of scholars are governed, when infant sprinkling is to be defended. When this practice is to be guarded, gentlemen of the greatest candor and intelligence are transformed at once into another set of men, and all the established laws of language are set aside, and the universal testimony of historians is either doubted or denied. In all other inquiries they labor to obtain real facts and definite ideas; but the moment the baptismal controversy appears in view, either as to its subjects or mode, their great object seems to be, to throw around it the mist of obscurity and make everything pertaining to it as uncertain and ambiguous as possible.

But let these same men give up their prejudices and predilections so far as to follow truth wherever it shall lead them, how entirely different are their conclusions and pursuits? They come now to the true principles of scholarship—the beautiful science of philology they can follow without the fear of having their prejudices undermined, and the facts of history they are willing to admit in their plain and obvious sense.

The men in question I respect for their learning and all their good qualities; but, in all candor, I

practised it. "Very true (says Mr. Robinson), infant baptism, as it was intended, created national churches, and gives them continuance, as it gave them being. Let what will be said in praise of such churches, it can never be affirmed that they were either formed or continued by the free consent of their members. It was for this reason the learned Dr. Gill called infant baptism the main ground and pillar of popery; and a great number of baptists are of the same opinion."

⁷ What but an overweening attachment to the infant cause could have led such men as Baxter, Burket, Bailie, and others, to treat their baptist brethren with the scurrility and contempt which they copiously heaped upon them?

What but an over-estimate of the spiritual and mysterious efficacy of the rite could have led so many writers of eminent talents to have so belittled themselves as they have done in their childish arguments in its defense?

am compelled to assert, that many of their arguments in defense of modern pedobaptism are as weak, and puerile, and disingenuous as can well be found among any set of men of any church or religious party, the followers of Loyola not excepted.

7. We denounce infant baptism as a system of proselytism unfair and selfish in its construction, and unworthy of high-minded and honest men, whose object is truth, irrespective of their prejudices, predilections, or denominational biases, and who mean to be governed by the principles of equity, freedom and fair-dealing.

There can be no question that proselytism was at the bottom of infant baptism among its founders and early promoters, and has been the main-spring of the system for more than fifteen centuries past. It was not for any spiritual benefit to the children that led the dexterous managers of old to conduct them early and still earlier to the baptismal font, but to secure their own selfish ends. It was a strife and scramble to increase their party, and a spirit of rivalry among churches of different creeds, and not unfrequently of the same. Catechumens were hurried through their preparatory studies; the requisitions were continually diminished, until sponsors were admitted to make the needful answers for candidates for baptism, and then children of any age could be introduced to membership.

And now the great mass of pedobaptist churches make their main dependence on their infant members for filling up their ranks. This peculiar kind of ecclesiastical adroitness enables them to have a constant supply in reserve. Those who join them from a conviction of their sentiments, or on a profession of their own faith, would not be sufficient to keep their churches alive. The leaders would not dare to risk their standing without the disingenuous policy in question, which gives them a peculiar advantage in the business of making proselytes to their party, over all who reject the infant system.

The multitude, it is true, really believe in the popular notions of the saving benefits of the infant rite; but it is very difficult to suppose this of men of intelligence and information. But all can see its available character as a proselyting system; and this selfish policy, after all that is said, is at the bottom of the whole fabric of infant baptism.

CONFISCATION OF THE PROPERTY OF DISSENTERS.

Religious bigotry and superstition have done much toward carrying forward the business of persecution, but I am inclined to think that the great mass of persecutors, both among priests and laymen, have been influenced more by the prospects of gain than by any other motive.

By a law of Charles V., passed 1535, one-third of the property of all condemned heretics went to informers; and, in addition to temporal advantages, the heretic-hunters were sure of future bliss, as a reward for their zeal for the church and the punishment of its enemies. By some laws the informers had one-half of all property thus acquired. Although most of the sufferers were poor, yet they all had something to tempt the cupidity of unprincipled men. Some, however, were wealthy, and in all such cases the persecutors displayed an increase of zeal to secure their prey. The business of persecution was, for ages, one continued and thoroughly digested system of personal pillage, of ecclesiastical privateering, and legalized robbery. The priests dictated, the rulers legislated and settled the tariff on heresy, which consisted in nothing more nor less than the slightest deviation from the faith and forms of the established church. When the evidence of this vague and variable offence was admitted by the bigoted and interested judges to be sufficient, the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, and all the direful consequences were immediately experienced by the helpless victims of a cruel and rapacious system of legislation.

Church and State. Some comments have already been made on the unnatural and always hurtful union of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, and I did intend to go more fully into the subject than my present limits will permit me to do. For the present, I must pass over these matters, with the following remarks:

Mankind, of all ages and countries, and of all religions, have ever shown a disposition to promote and perpetuate the union in question. As the honors, emoluments and controlling influence of the chief offices of religion rise in importance, temporal princes become anxious to blend the spiritual with their secular functions.

The famous Montezuma was a priest, as well as a king. The same may be said of many others of royal rank. The Patriarchs of the Greek church, from time immemorial, have united the office of the magistrate to their episcopal duties.

In the Catholic church the pope himself is a secular, as well as a spiritual prince; and in former ages it was a thing of very common occurrence, in that sacro-secular establishment, for men in the highest ranks of nobility to be placed among the prelates of the church.³

³ The Prince of Condé, in France, was also a bishop; as his grace was notoriously profane, one of his familiars suggested to him that it did not look well for a bishop to swear. "Oh!" said he, "I do not swear as a bishop, but as a prince." "But," said his reprover, "when the prince goes to the d—l, what will become of the bishop?"

The union of Church and State, in addition to its crushing power over all who dissent from the dominant party, is always oppressive and overbearing in its influence on all classes of the community in inferior ranks, even of the friends of the system.

It was a good remark of Gibbon, that "so intimate is the connection between the throne and the altar, that the banner of the church has seldom been on the side of the people."⁹

It is a singular fact, that, generally speaking, the more infidel or heterodox are the civil rulers, the more fully are the rights of conscience enjoyed.

The Donatists of old suffered less oppression under the Vandals, and other semi-barbarian rulers of the Arian faith, than while under the orthodox Catholics.

Worldly sovereigns are always anxious to secure the influence of the clergy on their side, and they in turn find it for their interest to espouse the cause of their rulers.

"*I must tune the pulpit,*" was a maxim of Queen Elizabeth of England, when she wished to carry any measure by the aid of the priesthood.

PARTY FAULTS EXPOSED.

In this age of disclosures and renunciations, all denominational sins will come out, without the aid of confessors. Catholics and Protestants, Churchmen and Anabaptists, Presbyterians and Puritans, Kirkmen and Covenanters, all find something to do to ward off the attacks which are made on their progenitors. Ages ago the Anabaptists and their relatives had to stem the torrent alone. All other parties were combined against them, and when all other arguments failed, the old and everlasting *Munster affair* would bring up the rear.

On the score of persecutions most writers omit those of all other hierarchies, and fix altogether on the bloody deeds of the Catholics; whereas, all rules of fair-dealing should lead us to an impartial review of all churches which have participated in the business of torture and death for conscience-sake, and exhibit the bill of fare which each church presented to all who had the temerity to dissent from their faith and forms, which I will here make out in a very summary manner:

With the Catholics it was, the *mass*, or the *musket*.¹⁰

The full sacraments of the church, or tortures, gibbets and flames.
Conformity, or death.

With the Church of England it was, the *prayer book*, or the *prison*.

The whole service of her rubric, or the severest penalties of her laws.
Submission, or Smithfield.

With the Puritans it was, the meeting-house worship, or the custody of the jailor.¹

Parish rates, or stakes, stripes and confiscations.

The *scal of the covenant*, or the *statute of exile*.

This is a brief detail of the doom which awaited dissenters from all national churches in former years; and as the denial of infant baptism, for many centuries, "was accounted one of the most flagitious and intolerable heresies," and subjected all who were guilty of such an enormous crime to the contempt of the multitude, and the hottest indignation of all rulers, civil and ecclesiastical, the baptists, of consequence, have always been the most distinguished sufferers in persecuting times. Such, in the estimation of rulers, was the atrocity of their misdeeds, that they were generally excepted when any ameliorating laws were passed.²

⁹ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

¹⁰ For this very expressive and felicitous antithesis I am indebted to Dr. Coit's Hist. of the Puritans; whether it was original with him or selected, does not appear; the others are of my own construction, and are made out from what is plain on the face of history.

¹ The intelligent reader will understand that the fathers of New England are here intended. The Puritans at home were such an *omnium gatherum* company of different creeds and parties, that, as a whole, no persecutions can be laid to their charge.

In all my accounts of New England affairs I have made no comments on the doings of its early Puritan settlers, any farther than the sufferings of the baptists required; and although I have often been extremely disgusted with the men, and many of their principles and measures, yet as a community I feel very different towards them from Dr. Coit and others, who have made strictures on them, although it must be admitted that there is more truth than poetry in most of their severest remarks. It was a good remark of Backus, that the better the men were, the worse the principles which led them so far astray. Some of them were certainly men of talents, but such syllogisms as they sometimes used to prove the correctness of their persecuting measures! Upon all other subjects they appeared like other men; but whenever they took up the defense of the politico-religious method of managing their persecuting measures, it seemed as if their absurd principles had dwarfed and babied all the powers of their minds.

As to their high-toned ecclesiastical aristocracy, it was well said by the famous Mr. Blackstone, that he fled from England to escape the lord-bishops, but that he came from Boston to R. I. to get away from the lord-brethren.

² So late as the reign of queen Elizabeth of England, a little short of two centuries since, while all others were released from their prisons, the baptists were kept in confinement.

SECTION II.

Old School, Primitive or Anti-Mission Baptists—Minutes of Associations and Conventions—The monthly system—Pastoral duties—Ministerial education—Church discipline—Wherein the old Waldenses differ from modern Baptists—Religious newspapers—Ministerial support—Three great evils among the Baptists—On the terms, Dipping and Immersion—Prospective views—Re-baptizing—Re-ordaining—Houses of worship—Deacon's office—Doctrinal sentiments—Gain and loss, &c.—Baptist missions—Bible societies—Periodical publications, &c.

OLD SCHOOL, PRIMITIVE OR ANTI-MISSION BAPTISTS.

These people generally claim the first two of these appellations as descriptive of their peculiar views, in opposition to those of the friends of benevolent efforts; the last is applied to them by their opponents. Most of them disown the name; while D. Parker and a few others freely admit it as the proper cognomen of their party.

It is one thing to complain of the *modus operandi* in the collection of funds and the management of missionary affairs at home and abroad, and another to take a dead stand against what is properly denominated the effort system; which, as I understand the matter, is done by the great mass of our denomination who are implicated in these remarks.

It will be seen, by those who follow my narrations through the States where all these communities exist, that I make no distinction between them and what are called the effort baptists in my historical details. If I have been less full in my descriptions of their affairs, it is on account of the backwardness of the people, and because their history could not be obtained.

Again: I have in no case made any reference to the character of Associations, as to the subject of missions, &c., unless some facts in their history required it; and my aim, through all my narratives, has been to say as little as possible relative to the disputes in different sections of the country on this subject. My reasons for this course are as follows:

1. It is a family difficulty, about which cool observers at a distance feel very different from those who have been immediately identified with it; and I am fully satisfied, that my readers generally will derive no pleasure nor profit from any lengthy details respecting it.

2. It has been my settled opinion, for a long time past, that the cause of missions has had but little to do in this business, so very slender is its hold on the minds of the great mass of our community in most parts of the country, however they are distinguished. This is shown by their doings for benevolent objects. The fact is, that personal altercations, rivalships, and jealousies, and local contests for influence and control, have done much to set brethren at variance with each other. The mission question is the ostensible, rather than the real cause of the trouble, in many places. New men and new measures have run faster than the old travelers were accustomed to go, and they have been disturbed at being left behind. A long catalogue of things of this kind might be mentioned.

But doctrinal matters have been at the bottom of all the troubles, and predestination has been the bone of contention. The anti-mission party, as near as I can learn, without any exception, are high or hyper-Calvinists, and are so tenacious of the old theory of *particular atonement*, and have so far run the system up to seed, as to persuade themselves that the efforts of modern times are wholly needless, and Arminianism is the bugbear which they profess to fear.

3. The anti-mission movement must, of necessity, be a short-lived one. It has within itself the elements of its dissolution; and before my stereotyped pages could reach the different parts of the country, to say nothing of remoter regions, it will be among the things that are past and forgotten. Whole churches and associational confederacies are either sinking into oblivion or coming over to the side of evangelical efforts.

4. I am mortified that any baptists should assume an opposing attitude as to missionary operations and the kindred objects of benevolence; so much so, that the fact would not have been named in my work, had I not been compelled to do it, as a matter of historical veracity.

5. *Old School and Primitive Baptists* are appellations so entirely out of place, that I cannot, even as a matter of courtesy, use them without adding, *so called*, or some such expression. I have seen so much of the missionary spirit among the old Anabaptists, Waldenses and other ancient sects;—so vigorous and perpetual were the efforts of those christians, whom we claim

as baptists, in the early, middle and later ages, to spread the gospel in all parts of the world, among all nations and languages where they could gain access, that it is plain that those who merely preach up predestination, and do nothing, have no claim to be called by their name.

The farther down I go into the regions of antiquity, the more fully is the missionary character of all whom we denominate our sentimental brethren developed. *Propagandism* was their motto and their watch-word. They seldom went alone, but two and two was the order of their going out; and such was the ardor of their zeal in their hazardous vocations, that no ordinary obstacles could alarm their fears or impede their progress. As nothing of this kind appears among the opponents of the missionary enterprise, I cannot, with my views of duty as an honest historian, apply to them the terms in question, as I fully believe they misapprehend their own character in this matter. And, furthermore, as I do not wish for any controversy with them on this subject, I prefer to say but little about it.

6. I have ascertained, for a certainty, that in most of the associational communities which are ranked on the anti-mission side, there are members not a few who are entirely dissatisfied with the restrictions which are imposed upon them by a few of their zealous leaders. Their sympathies are with their effort brethren; they would be glad to have matters otherwise in the churches in which they are located, and from which they are not prepared to separate, and are sorry that so much is said and written about a difficulty which time only can heal.

7. So illiberal, anti-republican and anti-baptist; so frightfully oppressive; so tyrannical and overbearing, are the principles and measures of many of the anti-mission party, relative to all the objects of benevolence, as exhibited in their public documents; and finally, such a stretch of power have they assumed over the members of churches where they have majorities, that, for the honor of the baptist name, I could wish to place what little I say on this part of their discipline in some obscure corner, where but few of my readers would see it. I would prefer to wrap the whole story in obscurity, rather than emblazon it to the world.³

With these brief remarks, and those which are added in the note below, I shall dismiss the *Old School, Primitive* or anti-mission party.

MINUTES OF ASSOCIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS.

My only object in this short article is to point out some defects in the arrangements of these documents in many parts of the country, and to suggest the needful remedies.

The oldest and largest associational fraternities in the old States are very uniform in the plan of their Minutes. They adopt the octavo size; put the names of ordained ministers in SMALL CAPITALS, the licensed do. in *italics*, and insert the names of all the ministers belonging to each church in addition to their pastors. By this means the whole clerical fraternity in each body is easily ascertained. This plan is adopted, with very few exceptions, in the Northern, Middle, and a part of the Southern and Western States; but the deviations from it, mostly in the new and remote regions, amount to about a hundred and one. All sorts of contrivances are resorted to, which often makes confusion worse confounded, and renders it next to impossible for those who have not a personal knowledge of the regions where they are located, to make out correct accounts of them. The principal difficulties I have had to encounter have arisen—

³ A large amount of their documents are before me, which contain the *resolutions* and *declarations* of their churches and Assos., referred to above; from these it appears that if any of their members shall *ipso facto*, be expelled from their fellowship and communion; the missionary, bible tract, Sunday school, and temperance societies are specially named; and generally a sweeping clause is added, embracing all the "so-called" benevolent institutions of the day! These prohibitions extend not only to actual membership in these bodies, but to any contributions of *their own* personal funds for their support! No collections for any of these objects can be made in any of the churches where they have the control, nor are their members allowed to cast in their mites when they go round in any neighboring congregation in which they may be present.

This I believe is a true picture of what are called the *Non-fellowshipping Resolutions* of the anti-mission party.

This is a yoke we may well suppose could not set easy on the necks of the independent baptist; many for peace' sake submit to it for a while, but it will not be long endured by any but those who have thoroughly imbibed, *esprit du corps*, the spirit of the party.

1. From the want of any distinction between ordained ministers and other delegates. This omission runs through a great range of associational communities.

2. The absence of names of counties, as well as ministers, I have often found a serious difficulty.

3. I will make a sweeping clause of the remaining defects: No ministers are named on the Minutes if they are not sent as delegates; and if they appear in that capacity, through nearly all the South and West, very often it is difficult to tell, from the Minutes, of what churches they are pastors, or whether they sustain that relation to any of them. In the best regulated Associations, if churches fail to represent themselves they are placed on the Minutes as they stood when last heard from; but in the institutions now under consideration, they are left out altogether. Again: When things are done right, the tables are footed, and the number of churches, ministers and members, the additions, diminutions, &c., are all made out by the clerks. This course, in most cases, is pursued; but in by far too many it is wholly neglected.

And what is somewhat singular, those clerks who do their business in the most unskilful and imperfect manner are paid for their services, while those who do the thing as it ought to be done perform the office gratuitously.⁴

Minutes of the State Conventions. These documents are generally got up, both as to their clerical and mechanical labor, by men who understand the business, in all the States north of the Potomac, as far as Michigan, and even in the Canadas they give you at once a full view of all the associations, churches, ministers and members; but in the Southern, Western and South-western States, you must look still farther for this information. Mr. Malcom, some five years since, did up the thing well for Kentucky, in their State Minutes; Messrs. Stevens in Ohio, Mell in Georgia, and Wheeler in N. Carolina, have made vigorous efforts for their respective States, and soon, with the assistance of others, I hope they will be able to make their State Minutes what they ought to be as to statistical returns.

The other States are somewhat behind those already named, in this business.

THE MONTHLY SYSTEM.

Amid the scarcity of ministers in the early operations of the baptists, and the feebleness of their first churches, settled pastors and stated preaching, in but few cases, could be enjoyed. As their communion seasons came monthly they secured, as far as possible, the services of a minister for these occasions, and all the intervening time they were either destitute of ministerial aid, or depended on their own local preachers or such transient and itinerant supplies as they could obtain.

In this manner commenced the monthly system, which at first was adopted from necessity, but is now continued from choice, or perhaps, to speak more properly, from covetousness and neglect.

Many of my correspondents have complained to me of the badness of the system, and have expressed their strong desires for settled pastors and stated supplies, but complain that the churches are too willing to remain without a change. They name it a *wretched system*, and I have been surprised, while among them, that they can sustain themselves as well as they do under it. The only salve for them, as some ministers in the regions where it prevails have informed me, is, that other denominations are generally in the same predicament. In all the Northern States, it would be difficult to keep a congregation together under such an economy; many of the sheep would be drawn into other folds, first as occasional hearers and in the end as settled members.⁵

⁴ I have said nothing in the text as to the very unskilful manner in which many of the Minutes are printed; if they were sent to the offices where the religious papers are published, they might be done in a much better style, and probably at a cheaper rate. And if the Assos. continue to employ clerks to prepare the MSS. who do not understand how the managers of these offices would set them right, and bring out the documents fit to be seen.

As all my Minutes are bound into volumes, I often find it difficult to make them submit to my rule, so various and clumsy are their shapes; there is some satisfaction in putting together those pamphlets which are of the form I have described, in the octavo size.

⁵ A lay brother on the Miss., in informing me of the settlement of a regular pastor among them, speaks with great satisfaction on the change in their affairs. "He preaches to us every Sabbath—pays regular pastoral visits to the families composing his church—and it has already had a great influence in imparting more life and zeal among the members. I have always been much surprised at our ministers for not performing this part of their duties—and at the churches for letting them neglect it." * * *

Sunday schools and Bible classes do not flourish well at all where these compound pastorships prevail. These institutions need the constant presence and assiduity of pastors *de facto*, who are always on the ground to foster and direct them, and to cultivate that personal acquaintance and familiarity with the youthful members of their flocks which is utterly impossible for *monthly* pastors to do.*

PASTORAL DUTIES BUT IMPERFECTLY PERFORMED.

I am inclined to think, that under the most favorable circumstances, and where the greatest facilities are enjoyed by ministers for the performance of pastoral functions, that no one part of their clerical duty is so imperfectly done. But few appear to well understand it, or to realize of how much importance it is for the success of their ministry or the spiritual welfare of their flocks.

But under the *monthly system* it is out of the question for clergymen of the greatest piety and zeal to execute the pastoral office in all its parts as it ought to be done. They may make good episcopal visitations, and inspect the standing of their flocks as a whole, but with most men the ubiquity of character is wanting to carry out in detail the duties of this important office.

The ministers of some other churches, of whom we think but little on the score of their personal piety or religious creeds, go far before many of ours, so far as skill and assiduity are concerned, in the performance of pastoral duties.

MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.

From time immemorial there has been a very strong aversion, on the part of our denomination, to what are denominated *men-made preachers*, and this prejudice has been strengthened by the abuse of learning among many who have sustained the clerical office in other communities. And although a multitude of our ministers, of very limited acquirements in literature, have succeeded very well as pastors and teachers, yet our leading men in very early times found that they were losing ground without more men of learning among them, and also, that it was indispensable for them to have institutions of their own where it should be acquired. The Bristol Academy was the first seminary of the kind among the English Baptists; R. I. College with the Americans. These nurseries of education have now become somewhat numerous, and are rapidly increasing.

With respect to the absolute necessity of what is called a liberal education for all our ministers, I will quote the sentiments of one who confessedly stands high as a literary man.

* The plea of poverty and inability, I believe, is always made as an apology for this compound motion; it is not, however, always well founded.

The late Dr. Mercer, of Georgia, when I first visited him, in 1810, had the pastoral care of four large churches, which he visited once a month; and from them all he received but a partial support. For the rest of his living he was obliged to have the oversight of a somewhat extensive range of secular concerns. Each of these four churches, with suitable efforts, might have supported a pastor of their own. This is a fair specimen of the monthly system in all those parts of the country where it prevails; four churches is the usual complement for ministers of any degree of popularity. If he visits each of his churches twelve Sabbaths in a year, this is all he is in duty bound to do. The four spare Sabbaths are frequently spent with some poor church which does not aspire to have a pastor even on the monthly plan. It is not considered a member of the quadruple alliance which has secured the monthly visits of the itinerating elder. This close figuring is employed where the No. 1 preachers officiate; their names appear on the Minutes of their Associations as pastors of as many churches as they serve. This fact I have found exceedingly embarrassing in making out my accounts of the churches where this custom prevails.

The practice of having a pastoral supply twice a month is on the gain, but it is a rare thing in any country location at the south and west, to have preaching every Sabbath.

As near as I can ascertain the facts of the case, full half the baptist churches in the U. S. are on the monthly system; but we must not understand that the people are destitute of all religious services three-fourths of the time; traveling and local preachers or exhorters among themselves in some measure supply the deficiency; and again, churches in most parts of the country are so contiguous to each other, that a considerable portion of the members follow their spiritual shepherds in their circle of pastoral visitations.

Thirty-day baptists is a name which has been applied to those who follow the *monthly system*.

"We would not undervalue education; but if the day should ever come in the history of our churches, when a regular scholastic training shall be required as indispensable in all our ministry, it needs not a prophet, or the son of a prophet, to predict that the day of our prosperity will be far spent, and already have begun to decline toward its close. Such rules, as to ministerial qualification, would have robbed the church of Bunyan, whose genius yet throws into the shade the lettered mediocrity of half the mitred dignitaries of his age. Such a rule would have robbed us of a Fuller, at whose feet so many educated theologians of Britain and America have delighted to sit—the Shamgar of our churches, who, with his ox goad did more execution in the cause of truth than most of the scholars who move into the field, harnessed with all the armor of the schools. Such a rule, too, would have thrown us out of our conformity with the churches of the second and third centuries, who had tanners and charcoal-burners among their bishops; and it would leave us no longer in the line of direct succession to the apostles, whom their Master thrust into the field with hands yet wet from the fisherman's net, or as they had recently come from the tax-gatherer's booth. And if there be any disposed to sneer at the handicraft pastors of the church, we are content to refer them to a certain tent-maker, once of some influence in the christian church, who was found working in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, because they were of the same occupation. We rejoice in the talents and graces of our young brethren, who come forth thoroughly furnished and trained from our theological seminaries; but we could vindicate the sacrifices and the usefulness of their not less holy, not less devoted, and not less useful forefathers in the ministerial office. And we trust that the day will never come when these, the alumni of our seminaries, shall learn to think or to talk slightly of the labors of those strong-handed, large-hearted men, their predecessors in the ministry; or feel that they can even now supplant such men in the affections of the churches, or dispense with their aid."⁷

With these sentiments, as near as I understand the views of our most learned divines, they heartily concur, but still they are helping forward ministerial education with great assiduity and zeal. Its desirableness and benefit, when rightly employed, is one thing, and its indispensable importance to all our preachers and pastors, is quite another.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE. This is so very simple an affair among the baptists who follow no synodical or conventional rules, but the plain dictates of the bible and common sense, that there is not much room for any disagreement among them—yet some slight shades of difference exist; these, however, are found among those communities which have become wealthy and popular, and exhibit a disposition to copy after the churches around them.

Ordinances, Customs, Rules, &c. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are regarded by all kinds of baptists as standing ordinances in the church; and as a general rule they contend that no other ceremony or observance is entitled to this appellation.

We have seen, p. 686, that the old *New Light Separate Baptists*, under Shubael Stearns and his associates, outnumbered the catholic sacraments in the list of religious rites which they prescribed for their followers; but this was not a fair specimen of the sentiments of the denomination at large, as it was a local and temporary affair.

Candid men will be very mild in their comments on things of this kind; it shows that the people meant to carry out to the letter all the suggestions of the New Testament as to the rules, orders, and observances which Christians should maintain. A portion of the list of rites which the community in question adopted have been more extensively practised than many suppose; this remark will hold true especially of *washing feet, laying on of hands, kiss of charity, and love feasts*: the last-named custom, which now, I believe, extensively prevails among the Methodists, was no doubt learned by Wesley while he resided among the Moravians; and to them it was unquestionably handed down from the old Waldenses, from whom this very worthy community descended.⁸

⁷ A Discourse delivered by Rev. W. R. Williams, D.D., before the Hudson River Association, 1842.

⁸ It was my intention to collect all the different treatises on church discipline which have been published by Fuller, Johnson, Walker, Crowell, and others, and see how near they agree; also to exhibit the principal arguments in favor of the Congregational form of church government in preference to the Episcopal or Presbyterian. On the last-named subject, I have corresponded with Drs. Murdock, Pond, and others divines of the Congregational order. The whole discussion, however, is literally crowded out of this volume, but I intend to enter upon it *in extenso* in my next.

For a long time I have been anxious to satisfy myself as to the real nature of the Christian church, and especially the officers which, in it, ought to be sustained. I am not satisfied that all that are named in 1 Corinth. xii., 28, and Eph. iv. 11, are found in our churches, after deducting those which were peculiar to the apostolic age. My impression is very strong that they would outnumber the threefold system of the Episcopalians; but my mind is not fully made up on this subject.

Officers of the Church. Ministers of the gospel and deacons are the only officers recognized among the baptists; and their deacons, instead of being probationers in the ministry, are merely servants of individual churches, who have no authority to officiate in ministerial functions in consequence of their appointment to the deacon's office.

This brief statement relative to church officers applies to the denomination in England and this country. Among the foreign baptists of Waldensian relation and descent the ancient order of *deaconesses* was evidently frequently in use; the term *bishop* was also more frequently applied to their elders, than it has ever been by any of the denomination of Anglo-Saxon pedigree.⁹

Again, it appears from Allix's account of the Waldenses in Bohemia, that they had *superintendents*, who exercised something like a *bona fide* episcopal supervision of the affairs of the churches, something like the *Ruling Elders* among the Methodists. A portion of these Bohemian brethren were accused by the Catholics of denying infant baptism; I am inclined to think, however, that this community as a whole was of a compound character, a great mixed communion fraternity, as the early seceders from established churches have generally been.

This subject is explained somewhat *in extenso*, pp. 76—78.

The Old *General Baptists* in England had messengers or apostles of a higher grade than the pastors of their churches; the descendants of the Separate Baptists in Va. attempted to introduce a similar system in that state; but all efforts of the kind soon gave way to the very simple plan now adopted by the denomination at large both at home and abroad.

Wherein the Old Waldenses differed from most modern baptists. The principal items to be mentioned under this head, are *War, Capital punishment, law-suits, Oaths, and sustaining civil offices.*

These points of disagreement have been briefly touched upon in the course of my narratives in the department of *Foreign Baptists*; I had made preparations for illustrating the facts of the history of these ancient witnesses for the truth, relative to these matters somewhat extensively, but find that all must be deferred for the present.

In the freedom which the female members of their churches enjoyed in their social religious meetings, the difference was not great, so far as the majority of the American Baptists are concerned.¹⁰

Religious Newspapers.—These publications have increased with great rapidity within a few years past; in this country for the most part they have taken the place of Magazines; in England it is otherwise, as the *stamp tax* on papers makes them come too high for general circulation.

The general tendency of these weekly sheets is decidedly good as they supply organs of communication at a very cheap rate, and send information to all parts of the country in a very rapid manner.

⁹ Among the Mennonites and Tinkers, or German Baptist brethren, the expression *bishops or elders* is their usual mode of distinguishing their ministers who are ordained and have a pastoral care of one or more of their churches or congregations. The American Baptists, of late years, have attempted to reinstate the title of bishop in the New Testament sense of the term, as the overseers of single churches; but it does not work well at all, and some of the Associations who had voted to adopt it on their Minutes, I see have rescinded their votes. So long has the term and title been employed as descriptive of an order of clergymen who have diocesan jurisdiction, that it is probably best to give it up to those churches who have, by general consent, monopolized it. It makes confusion in ecclesiastical annals and in post-office directions. Our ministers may outdo the bishops of Episcopal churches in preaching and all good works; but the revolution as to their cognomen, in this late age of the world, would be attended with so many difficulties, that there is danger that it will cost more than it is worth; and after all, the great mass of the American Baptists are so attached to the term *elder*, that they altogether prefer it to any other that could be adopted. The revolution could not generally prevail, unless by some conventional rule, and such a rule it would be difficult to adopt among a people where each church claims the entire control of its own affairs.

In my part of the country where the Baptists were the first settlers, and are still numerous, it is very common for old members to say *Elder A, B, C, &c.*, when speaking of ministers of other denominations.

¹⁰ The Baptists very generally in this country in former times decidedly approved of females taking a part in social religious meetings, which, as I understand the matter, our British brethren have not done; by far the greatest part of the American Baptists, are much like the Methodists in this business. Another portion of them who are found chiefly in cities and populous places, are as decidedly opposed to anything of the kind, as any of the pedobaptist churches. This restraint on the freedom of females, and the same may be said of the lay brotherhood, right or wrong, is evidently on the increase.

The principal evils to be feared from them are,

1. The superabundance of their secular matter, much of which is often *mal-apropos* for a religious paper.
2. Their strong propensities to favor one side or the other in political campaigns, and in political affairs in general.
3. Their frequent and unpleasant contests with each other.

The few remarks I shall make on these points may be found in the note below.¹

Ministerial support. This subject among the baptists in this country as a general thing has received but little attention until of late years. Some of the old churches in cities and populous places, and most of those founded by the Welsh brethren, ought in general to be exempted from the charge of inattention to the support of their pastors. But notwithstanding the almost entire neglect of the people as to any systematic or sufficient efforts for the supply of their temporal wants, our old class of preachers were abundant in their labors, while their industrious and economical wives and other members of their families performed the part which belonged to the people to do; and it is perhaps not too much to say that no set of ministers were more assiduous or successful in their ministerial work than ours.²

But a new state of things has arrived; most of these old self-denying ministers have ceased from their labors, a new set of men are coming on the stage without the secular means and talents of their predecessors, but generally with more acquired abilities, and, moreover, with a fixed determination that they *will* devote all their time and powers to the work of the ministry in all its various departments; and the churches must make up their minds on this subject, and make their election of one of two things, viz.: either to give their pastors a competent support, or remain in a pastorless condition.

I should be glad to discuss this subject, and show that the present state of society requires a different kind of management among both ministers and people from that which was tolerable, and tolerably successful in former years.³

THREE GREAT EVILS AMONG THE BAPTISTS.

1. *Want of information, and especially in the ministry.*

This is a delicate subject to handle, both as it respects ourselves and the communities with which we are surrounded: the fact, however, must be admitted, and we must dispose of it the best way we can. It is not that our ministers are not liberally educated; our sentiments on this point have already been expressed on p. 937; but the difficulty lies with those whose capacities and acquirements are utterly insufficient for the responsibilities of the sacred

¹ Baptist Religious Newspapers, for a number of years past, have constituted a considerable portion of my Sunday reading, as I take them all for my historical purposes; and it is a fact, that I very often turn them over to look at the head to see if the one in hand is on religion, or politics and business.

In former years I was identified with some small papers of the kind under consideration, and know from experience that it is often and I believe generally difficult to make them support themselves, even where the editorial labor is gratuitously performed, which in very few cases can be long and efficiently continued. This fact affords an apology for the insertion of advertisements under pay.

If our people generally, who can well afford it, would become subscribers, the secular department might be much curtailed. It is so very desirable to have these organs of communication that most of our community consider it preferable to have them as they are, with the trinity of evils named above, than to be without them. The calls of the patrons of these periodicals will no doubt lead their conductors to bring them back as fast and far as possible to their appropriate spheres.

On the other two heads I will make no comments at present, as there is danger that the *Religious press*, so called, would not well receive all I should say by way of reprehension and complaint. *They multiply too fast!* is a very common remark; but on this point I do not think it advisable to give an opinion. Each one will say, *Is it I?*—What Solomon says of men, will apply to these productions. Their gifts will make way for them—if not, the bill of mortality of religious periodicals will announce the fact of their non-longevity, as it has of no small number of their predecessors.

² In the history of these old preachers, it is a case made out, and the question is settled, that ministers may live without salaries, and yet perform a large amount of ministerial service; but this neglect of their flocks imposes on them a tax unreasonably severe. Again, it needs no argument to prove that their studies must be neglected, and their pastoral duties can be but imperfectly performed.

³ At the present time throughout New England, when a church invites a minister to settle with them as pastor, they offer him a salary sufficient for his support; but the way they did this thing in old times, even here, may be illustrated by the following statement:

office. But the churches are becoming more careful in their appointments, the people in their requirements of their spiritual guides, and this evil bids fair soon to be done away.

2. *Hyper-Calvinism*, or what Robert Hall denominated *thick-skinned Antinomianism*. This has been the bane of the denomination for about two centuries past; but from present appearances there is no small danger of the reformers of this abuse of the orthodox system going over to the opposite side, so difficult is it for mankind to pursue a medium course betwixt two extremes.

There is such a thing as our making a merit of the soundness of our faith as well as the goodness of our works. The farther discussion of this subject must be deferred for the present.

3. *Covetousness*, in the Bible sense of the term. No one sin is more frequently and pointedly condemned in the scriptures, and yet none is more prevalent among religious professors; as its principle is inherent in depraved humanity, there is no doubt a spice of it in other churches, but my principal business is to describe the peculiarities of our own.

Among the old Waldensian baptists, I am inclined to think, there was not so much ground of complaint on this point as in those of later date; they seemed to possess more of the primitive character of christians in their indifference to the world than those of more modern times.

The Anglo-Saxon race, if I am not mistaken, have generally been distinguished not only for their enterprise, but also for their cool, calculating economy in religious donations. With them *saving* is the rule, *giving* the exception. In our community there is among many a prodigious discrepancy between their pious professions and their close-fisted tenacity of worldly things; and our British brethren find this unamiable principle operates as strongly with them as with us. They complain of some among them of ample means, who dole out their scanty pittances with an exceedingly parsimonious hand.⁴

ON THE USE OF THE TERMS, DIPPING AND IMMERSION.

The reader will discover that I have throughout my narratives made a more free use of the former than modern writers are accustomed to do. Both terms are amply sufficient for our purpose. *Immersion* is of Latin origin; *dipping* is from the Greek; the former has more euphony in its sound; the latter more specifically denotes putting into—which old writers, generally, on both sides, assert is the proper meaning of the original word, to baptize. *Immersion* may be performed by the acts of pouring or sprinkling, if they are sufficiently profuse, and are long enough continued;⁵ and I am inclined to think that the *Cleaves* of old were pretty thoroughly wet as they lay on their beds,⁶ but to speak of *dipping* in this manner would be grossly improper.

Dipping is more frequently used by old writers than *immersion*: this remark holds true of authors on both sides of the baptismal controversy.

In old translations of the scriptures words signifying to *dip* are very commonly used, especially in the German, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch. The authors of these versions did not *transfer* the original term, as was done in the English, French, Spanish, Italian, also in other languages of Celtic and Saxon pedigree; but they brought out its full and explicit sense. Instead of *John the Baptist*, it is in plain, not English, but Dutch, *John the Dipper*; and so of all the words which pertain to the baptismal rite.

Many suppose that if there had been no king James to dictate to the authors of our present English version and it had been properly made; that if all the words pertaining to baptism had been *translated* instead of being *transferred*, then the question would have been settled,

⁴ In 1774, the church in Attleborough, about thirty miles from Boston, extended a call to Rev. Job Samans to become their pastor, and as an inducement for him to accept the call, they informed him that there was a farm belonging to a sister of the church which he might obtain to work to the *hulres!* Such was the kind of salaries which were offered to our ministers three-fourths of a century ago, by many churches which now supply their pastors with all that is needful for their temporal support." *The anecdote about Mr. Samans' salary is extracted from a MS. sermon on the History of the Church, by Rev. Mr. Mourey, its late pastor.*

⁵ The late John Leland, in his fugitive writings, gives a palpable hit at these covetous christians: "They love the preachers, and pay them with their blessings; but the sound of money drives all the good feelings from their hearts!"—*Budget of Scraps, in Miss Green's edition of his works*, p. 335.

⁶ Dr. Baldwin, in some of his writings on the baptismal controversy, well observes, that, although immersion in totality might be thus performed, yet no man would prefer it, but would choose to be dipped at once, rather than submit to such a tedious drenching.

⁷ In this way Novatus himself was baptized; but whether the element was applied to him sparingly or in a copious manner, historians do not tell us. It is certain, however, that his baptism was considered imperfect, and caused him much trouble in his after life. All parties then (about 250) were for a thorough dipping. Whether he afterwards received it, history does not inform us.

and the advocates of sprinkling, pouring, &c. in baptism would have set up no arguments in defense of their perverted administrations. But this, I think, is an entire mistake. The force of custom in the dogmas and rites of religion overleaps all the rules of syntax, all the laws of philology, and all the syllogisms of logic. Habits long established, and creeds from time immemorial held sacred, however erroneous, puerile, or absurd, have a paramount influence on the minds of mankind. People who have decided in favor of the traditions of their fathers, will find pretexts for their support, of some kind or other.⁷

PROSPECTIVE VIEWS—MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES CONTINUED.

In addition to all the foregoing topics, I have made preparations for the discussion of a considerable number of other matters and things, relative to which our denomination believe and practise in somewhat different ways; among them I will enumerate a few of the following:

Re-baptizing those candidates for membership in our churches who have been regularly baptized by other ministers besides our own, so far as the mode of baptism is concerned.

Re-ordaining such ministers as come over to us from other communities, whom we recognize as evangelical christians.⁸

On these portions of our discipline I propose to exhibit the arguments pro and con, and then balance the accounts the best way I can. I also intend to say something

On Houses of Worship, and give historical accounts and pictorial descriptions of some of the most distinguished edifices of the kind—make some remarks on the badness of the policy of leaving them in debt—on their location—size—disposition of pews—as whether they should be sold, subject to a tax or not, or be wholly free⁹—on basements for lecture-rooms—on the best method of raising funds for the support of ministers and other expenses of churches—the propriety or impropriety of building and owning houses of worship in common with other people—on the terms, church, chapel, meeting-house—on organs—singing by choirs or otherwise—psalmody, &c., &c.

On the deacon's office, whether the appointments of those officers should be as at present practised, or for a limited period—the proper number for full-grown churches—their ordination—and in general their proper employment.¹⁰

On the use of *Amen* and the practice of *kneeling* in religious devotions.

With most of the American baptists these customs prevail; I propose to show how it was with the primitive christians, and as far as we can ascertain the facts, what course was pursued by all whom we claim as baptists in all ages and countries, as to these forms in religious worship.

On the doctrinal sentiments of baptists of all classes; whether they have been the most inclined to what are now denominated the Calvinistic or Arminian creed, as we can trace them back many centuries before Calvin or Arminius was born. Both parties have been very numerous—which side preponderates, I shall not now attempt to decide.

On gain and loss as a denomination. The first we have experienced largely from all churches, great and small, national and dissenting, and there is danger of our having a greater share of the other at no distant period than many anticipate. This whole subject,

⁷ No people in Europe are greater sticklers for infant sprinkling than the Dutch, notwithstanding their translation of the Scriptures reads precisely as ours would if the baptismal words had been properly rendered. Their every day reading of the Scriptures reminds them of dipping; but the blindness of custom makes them insensible to the discrepancy between the language of their bibles and what they continually witness when the baptismal rite is performed.

A baptist minister, while visiting a Dutch family, among other things fell into conversation on the subject of baptism. The result was, he asked for the family bible, where he read to his host one passage after another where dipping is as plainly expressed as it is in the English Prayer-book; when all at once the honest Dutchman called to his wife, "Katarine, our Dominie lies!" His better part was astonished at the charge. "Yes," says he, with emphasis, "he says he *doops* the child, when he only *sprinkles* it!"

⁸ I have ascertained by my extensive correspondence, that by far the greatest part of our denomination both re-baptize and re-ordain all who join them, from whatever churches they come. A minority omit re-baptism in favor of those candidates who come from the Free-Will Baptists, the Methodists, and Campbellites, or Reformers. It seems very desirable that there should be more agreement and uniformity among us as a whole than now exists. I have heard of one of our ministers who has literally received a *trine immersion*, not, however, at the same time. He first united with the Christian Society, next with the Free-Will Baptists, and finally with the Regular one. If this same man were to go over to the O. S. or Anti M. people, they would give him another dipping.

⁹ A paper came to hand too late for insertion in its proper place, from Dea. Wm. Colgate, of the Tabernacle Church, New York, strongly recommending the *free pew* system, which has been successfully practised by that great and flourishing community for a number of years past.

¹⁰ If it is to serve tables, viz., those of the church, the minister and the poor, should they be left empty handed, as most of them are? The old anabaptists managed matters of this kind better than most of ours at present do, with respect to funds. See p. 114.

however, I must dismiss for the present with one single remark: while Babylon is taken at one end, a new race of Babylonians may be coming in at the other.

On the proper mode of treatment of all classes of protestants. "Friendship to all—entangling alliances with none"—was the advice of the father of his country with respect to other nations. It will well apply to us as a religious community. It is difficult to prescribe the boundaries of intimacy, friendship, and christian and clerical intercourse with all classes of evangelical pedobaptists; but as sure as we attempt to build together in churches, or in almost any effort or enterprise where the primordial principles of the parties can possibly come in conflict, we shall suffer injury and loss. An overweening attachment to the infant system will be working secretly, or will show itself openly to our discredit and disprofit.¹

On a proper treatment of the catholics. Shall we dwell principally on the numerous and dangerous errors of their creed and the bloody deeds of their ancestors, or shall we attempt to win them over to evangelical principles by a mild and pacific course of conduct toward them?

On the errors and cruelties of this church in former centuries, it is difficult to be extravagant, but whether their continual exposure will be as effectual for their conversion from their deeply-rooted prejudices to the mild principles of the gospel, presented to them in the language of kindness and good-will, is a serious and important question.

If resentment of former injuries were justifiable, no denomination has more occasion to exercise it than the baptists.

It is my settled conviction that the catholics as a body have more to fear from loss of their own members, than to hope for from their gain of new converts.²

THINGS WHICH HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO IN MY NARRATIVES, BUT WHICH I PROPOSE HEREAFTER MORE FULLY TO DISCUSS AND DESCRIBE.

Baptist Missions. Under this head I shall describe all the Societies and Conventions which have been organized in all parts of the world for the promotion of missions, foreign and domestic, whether they are now in operation, or have ceased to exist.³

The *Agency* system for the support of missions and all benevolent operations, will naturally come under review.⁴

Bible Societies. All institutions of this kind among the baptists, which have attained any degree of maturity or efficiency in this or any other country, will be briefly described; also the various translating operations which have been carried on principally by our denomination.

Literary Institutions. Colleges, Theological Seminaries; also, Academies and High Schools, with all Institutes, male or female, of a high order, which have become distinguished nurseries of education, will be placed on my list.

Our colleges in this country have generally been named, but my ulterior plan is to give brief sketches of their history, with pictorial views of their edifices, as far as they can be obtained.

Periodical publications. Magazines, religious papers, tract operations, indeed all periodicals published by baptists of all classes, however short were their lives, or long they have been dead.

Baptist authors in general, not only on the baptismal controversy, but on all other subjects, I am preparing to name, with all their works of a prominent character.

¹ The history of bible operations for a number of years past affords too full a confirmation of this position. For about a quarter of a century I operated with the old Bible Society, and felt secure against sectarian interference, and I have full confidence that all would have gone on well but for the bigotry of certain clerical members.

As one Greek captive was the means of involving all Greece in a ten years' war; so one Greek verb has occasioned a war of words in all parts of three continents where the two parties have come in contact; and the terms *translate* and *transfer* have been seconds in the contest.

A full account of what scenes are here referred to will be given at a future time.

² Rev. James McDonald, who was formerly a Catholic, but is now a successful baptist minister in Florida, at my request has written me freely on this subject. He very decidedly takes the mild side of the question—is utterly opposed to the exclusive principles of the *Native American* party, and on the whole recommends that we should exhibit to his quondam brethren such a disposition and course of conduct toward them as shall afford them convincing proof that *our* religion is preferable to *theirs*.

³ A number of our old missionary societies, which existed anterior to the formation of our general and State conventions, and which in the end were absorbed by them, were in their day distinguished pioneers in the mission cause, and deserve a respectful remembrance.

⁴ In describing this modern machinery, I shall attempt to show that it is the fault of our churches which has called it into action; and furthermore, that it will be difficult to dispense with it until they so far come up out of the wilderness, that they shall have learnt to do their own work within themselves and go alone. In what year of our Lord this desirable state of things will be witnessed it is difficult to foresee, but until then, I see no way, but that *agents* must go their rounds, whatever grumbling there may be about them; or, operations of any considerable importance must cease. At present, I would be glad to believe that one in ten of our many thousand churches has ever come up to the standard I have described.

I have thus far named but a part of the subjects on which I proposed to extend my observations, in my closing remarks on my whole work ; also a large amount of selections from old writers, whose statements have a favorable bearing on baptist history, have not been used ; and furthermore, my collation of the persecuting laws of this country, and my comments on them, *cum multis aliis*, with many other things, must of necessity be passed by for the present, and I must proceed to the final chapter on the general statistical accounts of the denomination of all classes and in all lands.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS
OF THE
BAPTIST DENOMINATION
IN ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

SECTION I.

BAPTISTS IN THE UNITED STATES, TERRITORIES, AND BRITISH AMERICAN PROVINCES.

With great labor I made out the account of the American Baptists, on a more extended plan than the one I have finally adopted; in that I named all the preachers of the Assos., recorded their texts, the names of all the assistant clerks, the treasurers, and all the ministers in each body, as far as they could be ascertained. But the want of room compelled me to reconstruct the table in a more economical manner.

In order to exhibit our present numerical strength, I have taken much pains to obtain the latest returns of all associational fraternities.

The Baptist Almanac and Register,¹ in the absence of late minutes, has afforded me essential aid in this business, as have also the baptist papers in all parts of the country.

N. B. The officers and statistics of associations are not always for the same year; for the first I have often been obliged to go back one or more years, as the names of the moderators, the most important officer of these institutions, have not been reported by our statistical compilers, in general. In all cases where their names could be ascertained, I have reported them of the latest date that could be obtained. The station is responsible, and the office deserves respect.

N. B. 2. So many Minutes have been received since this table went into the printer's hands, and so loudly do they call for the corrected proofs, that I find the labor and derangement would be too great to make all the alterations needful for a full conformity with them. In all cases where there is a material variation, I have made the totals, the most important item in the table, conform to the latest returns, whether a loss or gain was the result. For slight changes in numbers I have not broken up the figures. If the brethren who officiated at their last associational sessions do not find their names here recorded, those of an earlier meeting will; my apology for the omission has already been made.

N. B. 3. It will be seen that I have omitted altogether naming corresponding clerks; it is a new, and for the most part a nominal appointment, which I think will not be long continued. The clerks ought to be able and willing to perform all the duties pertaining to their station.

¹ This valuable document is published by the A. B. Publication Society, 31 North Sixth street, Philadelphia. Its price is 6 cents single, or \$3 per hundred. They may be had at the baptist book stores, and of their agents and colporteurs.

The statistics are arranged in eight columns, containing—1. The names of the associations; 2. The dates; 3. The number of churches; 4. Do. of Ministers; 5. The names of the moderators; 6. Do. of the clerks; 7. The date when heard from; 8. Total of members.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Nova Scotia.....	1798	100	70	C. Tupper.....	Wm. Chipman.....	1846	9,265
New Brunswick ² ...	1822	71	57	S. Robinson.....	C. Spurden.....	1846	4,906
Total..... ²		171	127				14,171
<i>Maine.</i>							
York.....	1785	15	16	J. Richardson.....	J. M. Wedgewood..	1845	1,054
Saco River.....	1841	18	13	E. Robbins.....	L. S. Tripp.....	1847	1,093
Cumberland.....	1810	15	10	H. G. Nott.....	J. Ricker.....	1846	1,803
Bowdoinham.....	1787	29	29	W. O. Grant.....	F. Merriam.....	1846	2,081
Oxford.....	1829	24	24	J. Haynes.....	C. B. Davies.....	1845	1,696
Lincoln.....	1804	19	16	L. B. Allen.....	J. Washburn.....	1847	2,174
Kennebec.....	1830	26	20	N. W. Williams... ³	J. C. Stockbridge..	1846	1,535
Waldo.....	1828	23	16	A. Dunbar.....	E. D. Very.....	1845	1,535
Piscataquis.....	1839	23	13	R. Jones.....	S. Adlam.....	1846	1,196
Damariscotta.....	1842	17	18	S. Chisam.....	L. C. Stevens.....	1846	1,973
Penobscot.....	1825	31	19	T. B. Robinson... ³	E. Trask.....	1847	1,353
Hancock.....	1835	32	21	D. Nutter.....	J. Gilpatrick.....	1845	2,437
Washington.....	1835	28	12	J. Billings.....	A. Barrows.....	1847	1,578
O. S. or A. M. ³	18--	6	4				178
Total..... ¹⁴		306	231				21,686
<i>New Hampshire.</i>							
Salisbury.....	1818	15	15		R. S. Hal.....	1847	1,203
Dublin.....	1809	16	13	J. Peacock.....	C. Sawyer.....	1845	1,292
Milford.....	1828	19	20	H. Tonkin.....	A. T. Foss.....	1846	1,959
Portsmouth.....	1828	14	15	S. Ilsley.....	O. Ayer.....	1846	1,459
Meredith.....	1789	21	14	G. W. Cutting.....	J. Upham.....	1846	1,658
Newport.....	1828	11	7		J. Freeman.....		1,370
W. Mountain.....	1842	7	5		E. Vedel.....		247
Unassociated.....		4	2				132
Total..... ⁷		107	91				9,320
<i>Vermont.</i>							
Shaftsbury.....	1780	5	5	C. W. Hodges.....	E. Dutcher.....	1847	653
Woodstock.....	1783	19	19	E. Hutchinson... ³	L. Hayden.....	1845	2,541
Vermont.....	1785	11	8	C. A. Thomas.....	J. M. Rockwood... ³	1845	1,101
Windham County..	1793	14	10	M. D. Miller.....	J. C. Foster.....	1845	1,092
Addison County..	1833	8	8	A. Angier.....	C. E. Miles.....	1845	1,716
Barre.....	1807	17	8		J. F. Crowley.....	1845	551
Onion River.....	1834	14	11	J. P. Hall.....	M. G. Hodge.....	1845	1,010
Fairfield.....	1796	11	10	J. D. Farnsworth..	J. M. Beeman.....	1845	727
Danville.....	1809	13	10	J. Ide.....	R. Godding.....	1845	790
Total..... ⁹		112	89				10,181

MAINE.—The contributions for benevolent objects, as reported in the minutes, were York, about \$260; Saco River, \$520; Cumberland, \$1,300; Bowdoinham, \$531; Oxford, \$200; Lincoln, \$982; Kennebec, \$700; Waldo, \$232; Piscataquis, \$650; Damariscotta, for foreign missions, \$531—for other objects it is difficult to ascertain the amount; Penobscot, \$564; Hancock and Washington, no definite reports.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—For benevolent objects the contributions were—Salisbury, \$; Dublin, \$1,200; Milford, \$1,275; Portsmouth, \$872; Meredith, \$415.

VERMONT.—Woodstock, \$866; Windham County, \$266; Fairfield, \$453.

² Both bodies are large contributors to benevolent objects.

³ When the history of this State was made out I did not know of the existence of this body.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Date.	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from	Total.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>							
Boston	1811	49	39	D. Sharp	W. H. Shailer	1847	8 577
Salem	1827	30	41	A. S. Train	J. G. Richardson	1847	5,995
Taunton	1837	14	16	J. C. Welsh	R. Morey	1846	1,919
Old Colony	1822	20	19	G. W. Patch	T. E. Keely	1847	1,711
Barnstable	1832	16	19	A. Pollard	S. Richards	1845	1,508
Sturbridge	1802	12	16	M. M. Curtis	J. Woodbury	1845	1,229
Worcester	1819	25	24	S. Bailey	A. S. Lyon	1846	2,773
Wachusett	1842	10	11	L. Tracy	G. W. Cate	1847	1,338
Westfield	1811	19	19	F. Bestor	R. C. Miles	1846	1,790
Wendall	1824	13	11	A. Merriam	B. Newton	1845	1,172
Franklin	1831	11	9	M. Frary	W. Norris	1845	829
Berkshire	1827	17	23	B. Minor	J. T. Smith	1847	1,448
Total	12	236	247				30,389
<i>Rhode Island.</i>							
Warren	1767	36	35	J. N. Granger	J. P. Tustin	1847	5 719
Providence	1843	11	15	F. Smith	H. G. Stewart	1847	1,416
Total	2	47	50				7,128
<i>Connecticut.</i>							
Stonington	1772	19	25	B. Cook	E. Denison	1847	3 534
New London	1817	26	28		L. G. Leonard		4,622
Ashford	1825	17	19	N. Branch	S. Barrows	1846	1,900
Hartford	1790	15	13	E. Cushman	A. M. Smith	1846	2 134
New Haven	1825	14	18	E. Cushman	S. D. Phelps	1847	2,058
Fairfield	1838	12	14	J. J. Woolsey	W. Denison	1847	1,150
Litchfield	1846	8	9	S. S. Wheeler	C. Watrous	1847	500
Total	7	111	126				16,278
<i>New York.</i>							
New York	1791	26	46	J. Dowling	S. White	1846	4,273
Hudson River	1815	59	73	J. L. Hodge	D. Belamy	1846	12,161
Warwick	1791	8	8	P. Hartwell	W. L. Benedict	1847	368
Union	1810	10	16	N. A. Read	J. Cole	1846	1,555
Dutchess	1835	15	17	J. B. Breed	G. W. Houghton	1846	1,233
Stephentown	1831	14	16	S. Jones	L. Palmer	1846	1 679
Rensselaerville	1796	13	13	R. Winegar	E. C. Lord	1845	1,333
Saratoga	1806	29	24	J. Fletcher	J. Goadby	1846	3 166
Washington Union	1827	24	26	J. O. Mason	L. Parmely	1846	3 420
Lake George	1817	11	9	J. H. Barker	S. Tarbuck	1846	892
Essex & Champlain	1802	16	18	H. B. Dodge	C. R. Nichols	1846	1,328
Otsego	1795	18	15	F. Prescott	J. N. Adams	1846	1,676
Madison	1808	21	38	C. Hartshorn	W. Clark	1846	2,513
Cortland	1827	20	19	E. Bright	W. Walker	1846	2,307
Chenango	1832	32	31			1846	3,075
Broome and Tioga	1824	21	20	W. Gates	L. Salisbury	1846	1,861
Franklin	1811	28	17	J. Smith	L. C. Pettengill	1847	2,217
Lexington	1825	13	6	H. Pettit	T. Faulkner	1847	804
Worcester	1830	14	16	G. F. Post	L. J. Rice	1846	1 164
Mohawk	1840	11	7	N. Boughton	J. W. Crumb	1846	1,038
Oneida	1824	28	32	J. D. Cole	J. H. Morrison	1846	2 134
Onondago	1824	19	22	J. W. Taggart	C. B. Crumb	1846	2,182
Cayuga	1801	18	20	H. J. Eddy	J. S. Ladd	1846	2,312
Oswego	1832	15	17	P. Woodin	D. Foot	1846	1,182

MASSACHUSETTS.—Boston; the large doings of this body are not reported; Salem, \$; Taunton, \$204; Old Colony, \$253; Barnstable, \$276; Sturbridge, \$262; Worcester, \$3,761; Wachusett, \$222; Westfield, \$100; Wendall, \$364; Franklin, \$633; Berkshire, \$968.

RHODE ISLAND.—Warren; the benevolent doings in this body are reported but in part—the old Providence church, last year, contributed over \$4,000; Providence association, \$1,127.

CONNECTICUT.—New London and Hartford—the minutes do not give the returns, New Haven—the same of this.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Date.	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Black River.....	1808	32	27	C. Clark.....	E. Sawyer.....	1846	3,266
St. Lawrence.....	1812	26	15	H. Rice.....	L. T. Ford.....	1846	2,090
Wayne.....	1835	16	19	W. R. Webb.....	T. G. Wright.....	1846	1,694
Ontario.....	1813	20	19	E. Blakesly.....	J. G. Stearns.....	1846	1,706
Seneca.....	1832	15	17	A. Jackson.....	H. West.....	1847	1,815
Yates.....	1843	11	12	R. P. Lamb.....	A. S. Kneeland.....	1846	829
Steuben.....	1817	18	20	A. C. Mallory.....	H. Spencer.....	1846	1,738
Chemung River.....	1842	15	12	Z. Grenell.....	A. B. Stowell.....	1846	1,189
Canisteo.....	1834	13	12	J. B. Chase.....	P. Colegrove.....	1846	700
Cattaraugus.....	1836	21	15	V. Bemis.....	E. L. Harris.....	1846	1,485
Chautauque.....	1823	7	4	S. P. Way.....	H. Crissey.....	1846	588
Chautauque, No. 2.....	1823	6	7	J. C. Allison.....	J. F. Bliss.....	1845	481
Harmony.....	1839	22	12	P. Cross.....	E. R. Swain.....	1846	1,746
Livingston.....	1830	13	13	H. Bowen.....	S. M. Bainbridge.....	1846	973
Genesee River.....	1829	16	17	J. Read.....	E. S. Palmer.....	1846	1,701
Genesee.....	1818	17	17	H. B. Ewell.....	C. N. Chandler.....	1846	1,923
Monroe.....	1827	21	25	V. R. Hotchkiss.....	H. Stanwood.....	1846	3,050
Orleans.....	1843	11	11	S. Marshall.....	J. Smitzer.....	1846	1,070
Buffalo.....	1815	20	23	E. Going.....	J. Saxton.....	1846	2,266
Niagara.....	1822	14	19	A. Irons.....	S. B. Webster.....	1846	1,320
Welsh.....	18—	8	10	.....	..... estimated	.....	500
Total.....	45	825	852	.....	.....	.....	86,615
<i>New Jersey.</i>							
New Jersey.....	1811	32	42	C. E. Wilson.....	J. M. Carpenter.....	1847	4,748
Central N. Jersey.....	1828	16	18	S. Spraul.....	G. Young.....	1846	2,008
Sussex.....	1833	13	13	W. H. Spencer.....	J. Teasdale.....	1846	1,402
Delaware River.....	1835	9	4	C. Suydam.....	J. T. Risler.....	1845	548
East N. Jersey.....	1842	25	33	D. B. Stout.....	W. Leach.....	1845	3,356
Total.....	5	95	110	.....	.....	.....	12,068
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>							
Philadelphia.....	1707	54	78	W. Shadrach.....	A. D. Gillette.....	1846	9,288
Central Union.....	1832	16	20	G. B. Ide.....	A. H. Taylor.....	1846	2,680
Chemung.....	1796	8	5	E. Gitchel.....	J. Bryan.....	1842	240
Abington.....	1804	18	12	H. Curtis.....	E. K. Norton.....	1847	1,533
Susquehanna.....	1808	3	3	.....	.....	.....	150
Bridgewater.....	1826	14	10	J. B. Worden.....	A. L. Post.....	1847	1,189
Bradford.....	1835	14	10	J. W. Parker.....	L. Morse.....	1847	760
Wyoming.....	1842	11	9	D. Dimock.....	E. Sturdevant.....	1845	1,059
Juniata.....	18—	5	3	.....	.....	.....	158
Northumberland.....	1821	20	12	W. H. Ludwig.....	J. E. Bradley.....	1846	1,560
Centre.....	1831	17	10	D. Hensly.....	A. M. Lloyd.....	1846	1,094
Tioga.....	1842	11	10	Geo. Spratt.....	S. Bullock.....	1846	447
Redstone.....	1776	13	9	.....	.....	1841	382

NEW YORK.—New York reported but in part—the amount, however, must have been large; Hudson River contributed, in 1845, about \$26,000; Union made large contributions for a meeting-house for one of their churches, in 1845; Dutchess, \$639, for the Bible cause, in 1846; Stephentown, \$300; Rensselaerville, \$470; Saratoga, \$1,772; Washington Union, \$1,234; Essex and Champlain, \$295; Otsego, \$358; Madison, \$1,945; Cortland, \$834; Broome and Tioga, \$400; Worrester, \$380; Mohawk, \$265; Oneida, \$1,255; Onondago, \$1,156; Cayuga, \$811; Oswego, \$237; Black River, \$823; Wayne, \$422; Ontario, \$1,184; Seneca, \$1,015; Yates, \$126; Steuben, \$477; Chemung River, about \$500; Canisteo, \$165; Cattaraugus, \$321; Harmony, \$387; Livingston, \$697; Genesee River, \$495; Genesee, about \$1,000; Monroe, \$4,000, for 1847; Orleans, \$783; Buffalo, \$797; Niagara, \$490.

These accounts are taken, for the most part, from the minutes for 1845; the fractions are not counted. In many cases I have had to make the footings myself, and have often found it difficult to put the scattered items together in an accurate manner. The totals for benevolent objects should always be made out by the clerks. In a few cases no late minutes have been received.

NEW JERSEY.—New Jersey, no report, only for widow's fund; Central New Jersey, \$239; Sussex, \$1,368; East New Jersey, no report on the minutes.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Clearfield	1846	7	3		S. Miles	1847	204
Monongahela	1834	39	23	W. Penny	J. W. B. Tisdale	1847	3,379
Pittsburgh	1840	15	18	J. Estep	F. C. Flanagan	1847	1,534
Beaver	1809	18	10	R. Davis	B. Williams	1847	917
Clarion	1838	25	11	T. Wilson	J. Sollida	1845	1,005
French Creek	1823	18	12	T. Kidder	E. M. Alden	1847	1,000
Connemaugh	1844	7	5		G. T. Dinsmore	1846	204
Delaware	1798	9	3	T. Barton	J. Hughes	1847	205
Total	20	342	276				29,188
<i>Maryland.</i>							
Salisbury	1782	12	6		J. Round	1846	336
Baltimore	1792	5	2			1845	200
Do. No. 2	1792	9	4	R. C. Leachman	J. G. Danne	1847	200
Maryland Union	1836	17	13	G. T. Adams	J. A. McKean	1846	1,710
Total	4	43	25				2,496
<i>Virginia.</i>							
Dover	1783	41	39	J. B. Taylor	M. T. Sumner	1847	13,059
Rappahannock	1843	36	27	A. Hall	J. W. Allen	1847	13,735
Portsmouth	1790	40	24	J. C. Jordan	T. Hume	1847	8,009
Middle District	1783	16	14	J. H. Steger	B. C. Hancock	1847	2,721
Appomattox	1804	28	9	D. Witte	E. W. Roach	1847	3,720
Concord	1833	18	6	J. B. Smith	W. H. Maddox	1847	2,140
Roanoke	1788	19	9	J. Hubbard	G. Dickenson	1845	1,958
Dan River	1838	14	8	J. G. Mills	F. A. Chappell	1846	1,116
Staunton River	1842	11	6	J. F. Adams	H. Smith	1843	399
Goshen	1792	34	15	S. Harris	A. Frazer	1845	8,485
Albemarle	1792	24	16	S. B. Rice	A. P. Abell	1847	4,310
Shiloh	1792	23	20	A. P. Hill	W. Slaughter	1846	3,107
Rappahannock Co.	1835	5	4			1845	252
Ketockton	1766	12	9	T. Buck	P. A. Klipstine	1846	596
Corresponding	18—	9	4	J. Clark	F. Leynn	1846	600
Salem Union	1833	21	20	J. E. Massey	G. Love	1846	1,390
Columbia	1819	15	6	O. B. Brown	A. H. Bennett	1846	1,510
Accomack	1809	7	7	W. Laws	G. G. Exall	1846	785
James River	1834	15	12	T. N. Johnson	M. B. Shepard	1847	2,720
Strawberry	1776	22	12	W. Harris	J. S. Lee	1844	1,762
Pig River	1825	15	7			1842	503
Old Fashioned	18—	7	4				250
Patterson's Creek	1827	9	4				200
Ebenezer	1828	11	6	J. Duval	G. T. Barbee	1845	535
Valley	1841	18	7	A. C. Dempsey	J. N. Johnston	1846	1,737
Greenbrier	1807	17	9	M. Ellison	L. A. Alderson	1846	1,254
New River	1793	16	10	J. Jones	J. Joyce	1844	743
Washington	1811	18	8	J. Wallace	A. Patterson	1845	1,050
Lebanon	1846	11	5	D. Jesse	N. C. Baldwin	1846	537
Union	1804	23	13	J. Gawgrop	D. S. Morris	1846	1,277
Broad River	1835	41	17	C. Bailey	J. A. Robey	1846	1,489
Parkersburg	1821	16	6	G. C. Sedwick	W. F. Coffey	1847	730
Teays Valley	1812	24	25	J. Mitchell	A. W. Wood	1846	1,456
Pocatalico	1835	11	5	W. Martin	E. R. Fife	1847	549
Tygarts Valley	1838	10	6	H. Cool	P. Phillips	1847	235
Indian Creek	1843	7	4	J. Keaton			150
Total	36	664	403				85,279

PENNSYLVANIA.—Philadelphia reported for benevolent objects, \$13,869; Central Union, \$5 507—most of this sum came from the 1st Church, Philadelphia; Abington, \$145; Boonewater, \$222; Wyoming, \$106; Northumberland, \$405; Monongahela, no general report— one church about \$1,300; Pittsburg, \$

MARYLAND.—Maryland Union about \$700.

VIRGINIA.—Dover—not reported on the Minutes; Rappahannock, about \$1,000; Portsmouth, \$405; Dan River, \$157; Goshen, \$430; Salem Union, about \$300.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
<i>North Carolina.</i>							
Sandy Creek	1758	23	14	.....	N. Richardson	1845	1,760
Kehukee.....	1765	40	16	W. Hyman	J. D. Biggs.....	1846	1,154
Cape Fear.....	1805	47	27	S. Mims	H. Lennon	1845	3,355
Chowan	1806	43	41	G. C. Moore.....	S. J. Wheeler.....	1847	6,430
Tar River.....	1831	18	12	H. S. Spivey	W. D. Webb.....	1846	1,977
Contentnea	1833	17	5	B. Bynum	I. Moore	1844	551
Advisory Council ..	1840	4	3	P. Mewboorn	A. Whitfield.....	1844	155
White Oak.....	1829	16	8	J. Smith	R. Aman	1842	387
Raleigh	1805	27	29	J. Dennis	S. P. Norris	1846	2,926
Little River	1826	20	12	.....	J. H. Kennedy	1844	400
Flat River.....	1794	18	9	W. Jones	T. D. Barnett.....	1846	2,203
Country Line.....	1806	21	19	J. Stradler	S. J. Chandler.....	1844	1,313
Beulah.....	1834	13	8	S. Pleasant	N. J. Palmer	1846	1,039
Union	1844	41	21	J. McDaniel.....	A. J. Battle	1846	3,138
Pedee	1812	16	11	J. Moore	H. N. Nicholson.....	1845	1,121
Abbots Creek.....	1825	11	4	N. Swaim	J. Davis	1845	284
Liberty	1832	12	10	E. Carroll	A. Williams	1845	589
Catawba River	1836	15	8	.....	T. Carleton	1843	306
Green River.....	1842	25	16	J. C. Grayson.....	S. McCurry	1845	1,093
Yadkin	1790	14	12	.....	A. W. Martin	1845	678
Mountain	1799	24	9	.....	A. B. McMillen.....	1845	1,134
Mayo	1827	10	6	H. Taunm	W. Fewel	1845	486
Brier Creek.....	1821	16	22	J. Adams	J. Martin	1845	686
Three Fork	1840	13	11	B. McBride	R. Gentrey	1845	648
Bear Creek.....	1833	10	4	.....	C. Tolson	1845	261
Lewis Fork	1836	18	9	.....	R. L. Steele	1845	763
Fishers River.....	1832	13	5	.....	H. Steele	1845	264
French Broad.....	1807	17	10	R. Patterson	L. L. Branson	1845	929
Big Ivy.....	1826	19	21	J. Bryan	L. Palmer	1846	640
Tuckasege.....	1829	19	10	T. Henson	W. Haynes	1845	607
Salem	1838	19	10	M. Rickman.....	J. Brevard	1845	759
Notley River	1839	9	6	B. Styles	J. Whitaker.....	1846	313
Valley River.....	1846	12	6	.....	.....	.....	379
Total.....	33	640	414	.....	.....	.....	38,771
<i>South Carolina.</i>							
Charleston	1751	36	20	D. Sheppard.....	T. W. Haynes.....	1846	6,457
Welsh Neck.....	1832	38	15	S. Furman	T. P. Lide	1846	3,238
Savannah River.....	1802	41	29	H. D. Duncan.....	J. A. Lawton.....	1845	8,453
Bethel	1789	35	15	E. Fant	J. Greer	1845	2,987
Broad River.....	1800	29	15	D. Scruggs.....	M. C. Barnett.....	1846	2,074
Saluda	1803	30	26	W. Magee	A. Clinkscales.....	1846	2,685
Moriah	1815	24	14	W. F. Brasington.....	P. T. Hammond	1845	1,661
Reedy River.....	1825	33	19	T. Robertson	J. W. H. Johnson.....	1817	2,831
Tiger River.....	1833	31	17	J. G. Landrum.....	J. M. Roberts	1817	2,416
Edgefield	1808	38	16	W. B. Johnson.....	B. M. Talbert	1817	4,623
Edisto	1835	30	13	W. Brooker	W. Fort	1845	1,568
Twelve Mile River.....	1829	11	6	B. Burrows	J. Chandler.....	1845	787
West Union.....	1845	9	6	B. Chambers	N. Sullivan	1846	338
Primitive	1840	12	8	M. McGraw.....	J. L. Simpson.....	1845	272
Lexington	1841	8	5	.....	.....	1846	261
Salem.....	1846	15	10	J. C. Furman.....	E. Ray	1846	1,454
Total.....	16	420	234	.....	.....	.....	42,104
<i>Georgia.</i>							
Georgia	1784	48	56	B. M. Saunders.....	P. H. Mell.....	1817	6,736
Hepzibah.....	1794	25	20	J. Huff.....	J. Polhill.....	1846	2,632

NORTH CAROLINA.—Sandy Creek reported for benevolent objects, \$; Chowan, about \$1,000; Beulah, about \$300; Union, \$1523; Pedee, \$.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Charleston, about \$1,000, reported but in part; Welsh Neck, about \$2,000; Savannah River, about \$1,000, reported but in part; Moriah, about \$125; Edgefield, about \$200; Salem, about \$100. The annual doings are so intermixed with permanent funds, that it is often difficult to make proper distinctions.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderator.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Serepta	1799	26	13	A. Chandler	J. W. Johnson	1846	2,631
Ocmulgee	1810	23	9	J. Henderson	C. Blandford	1846	828
Do., No. 2	1839	8	5	T. D. Oxford	M. D. Gaar	1846	394
Ebenezer	1814	33	19	C. A. Tharpe	J. Williamson	1846	2,343
Do., No 2.	1836	13	8		A. Jones	1846	485
Washington	1828	18	13		A. Williams	1846	1,278
Central	1834	19	19	T. J. Burney	W. Byars	1846	1,622
Flint River	1824	30	16	J. S. Calloway	W. Jarell	1846	2,153
Echaonna	1829	21	13		S. B. Burnett	1846	1,933
Rehoboth	1838	22	14	J. King	A. T. Holmes	1846	1,736
Houston	1830	20	14	J. Ross	C. H. Higdon	1846	894
Pulaski	1839	10	5		M. Pipkin	1841	205
Bethel	1833	39	30	J. Davis	S. Rowe	1846	2,439
Columbus	1828	41	18	J. Perryman	C. H. Stillwell	1847	3,329
Sunbury	1818	21	13	J. S. Law	A. Williams	1846	4,283
Canoochee	1828	36	19	J. Norris	J. G. Williams	1846	1,086
Middle	18—	9	6		G. L. Jackson	1846	614
Piedmont	1817	10	6		A. T. Horn	1846	276
Suwannee River	18—	14	4		O. Smith	1844	783
Ocklockonee	1827	31	10	P. Lewis	M. P. Cooper	1846	897
Harmony	1839	34	13	S. Parker	J. P. Ellis	1846	999
United Baptist	1831	10	9		W. H. C. Dodson	1846	364
Chattahoochee U. B.	1836	14	5	J. N. Martin	W. T. Park	1846	571
Salem U. B.	1843	19	18	A. Combie	T. J. Bowen	1846	798
Western	1829	38	28	J. W. Cooper	U. B. Wilkinson	1846	3,013
Western No. 2	1837	18	7	C. Caldwell	C. H. Webb	1846	658
Yellow River	1824	45	20	J. Colley	J. W. Walker	1846	1,928
Rock Mountain	1839	17	13	L. Robinson	E. Henderson	1846	1,160
Appalachee	1835	18	10	J. Hendricks	W. A. Mercer	1846	1,324
Oconee	1837	10	8		D. W. Patman	1846	470
Chattahoochee	1826	16	10	A. M. Spalding	S. Roberts	1845	806
Tugalo	1817	29	18			1845	1,261
Mountain	1832	15	15	J. C. Jarrard	S. Sisk	1847	537
Chastatee	1835	16	11	W. Christopher	T. M. Kimzey	1846	525
Elijah	1840	18	17	W. Kimzey	J. D. Chastain	1846	588
Hightower	1835	29	16	A. Webb	A. G. Hutchins	1846	1,498
Uharley	1839	14	9	J. Bowdoin	B. Pace	1845	307
Tallapoosa	1838	20	9	T. Burk	P. M. Rice	1845	912
Upatoie	1837	26	11	J. J. Battle	J. W. Turner	1846	782
Towalagee	1838	28	16	M. Lowrey	S. W. Bloodworth	1846	1,109
Little River	1841	15	10	P. Kuydendall	W. W. Worley	1845	334
Coosa	1836	44	21	H. Quin	T. A. Sullivan	1846	2,093
Alapha	18—	16	3	D. Patterson	O. K. Mizell	1846	377
Total	46	925	517				62,387
<i>Alabama.</i>							
Cahawba	1818	31	24	A. G. McGraw	A. W. Jackson	1847	4,190
Alabama	1819	33	14	D. Lee	A. T. M. Handy	1847	3,573
Bethlehem	1816	51	21	A. Travis	P. Stout	1847	3,600
Ebenezer	1838	25	14			1846	1,179
Bethel	1820	25	17	S. Wright	W. Hill	1846	1,900
Mulberry	1828	31	18	J. Bankston	A. D. Blackwood	1846	1,548
Buttahatcha	1826	15	8			1843	624
Union	1835	25	18	J. H. Taylor	A. M. Hanks	1847	1,674
Pilgrim's Rest	1827	12	6			1840	557
Liberty South	1838	20	15	N. Slay	W. J. Parker	1847	1,085
Conecuh River	1827	20	10			1844	1,023
Salem	1839	33	15	U. H. Parker	B. M. Calloway	1847	1,872
Wetumpka	1842	15	12	L. Haynie	B. Lloyd	1846	418
Tuskegee	1845	21	18	R. Thornton	C. Aldridge	1846	1,319
Liberty East	1836	31	18	F. Calloway	T. Stamps	1846	2,090
Beulah	1830	30	18	J. Blackstone	Wm. Mitchell	1845	1,009

GEORGIA.—Georgia reported for benevolent objects, \$1,469; Hepzibah, about \$500; Serepta, about \$550; Ebenezer, \$250; Central, about \$250, for 1846; Rehoboth, about \$700; Bethel, about \$400; Columbus, about \$900; Sunbury, \$800; Western, \$260; Rock Mountain, about \$100; Appalachee, \$300; Coosa, about \$100.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Coosa River.....	1833	31	18	O. Welch.....	S. G. Jenkins.....	1847	1,840
Mt. Zion.....	1823	17	9	B. Roden.....	W. Dowdy.....	1843	474
Canaan.....	1833	16	8	J. Tate.....	A. J. Waldrop.....	1846	806
Wills Creek.....	1836	15	8	.....	.....	1844	288
Cherokee.....	1841	12	10	W. C. Mynat.....	T. Holland.....	1846	568
Tallassehatchee.....	1834	23	15	R. Pace.....	S. Kelley.....	1845	1,075
Flint River.....	1814	21	10	.....	.....	1838	940
Muscle Shoals.....	1820	36	17	S. Gibson.....	A. L. Stovall.....	1846	2,958
Mud Creek.....	1825	19	8	.....	.....	1846	527
Liberty North.....	1838	9	6	.....	G. L. Sandridge.....	1844	661
Shoal Creek.....	1825	7	5	.....	.....	1838	280
North River.....	1835	19	9	D. A. Andrews.....	T. M. Gabbert.....	1845	666
Tuscaloosa.....	1833	33	16	W. S. Meek.....	M. D. J. Slade.....	1847	2,158
Macedonia.....	18—	17	8	.....	.....	1844	389
Lost River.....	18—	7	3	.....	.....	.....	250
Antioch.....	18—	10	5	.....	.....	1844	208
Total.....	31	710	301				41,779
<i>Florida.</i>							
Florida.....	1842	34	18	R. J. Mays.....	S. C. Crafts.....	1844	1,200
Id do.....	1847	12	5	J. McDonald.....	T. J. Prevatt.....	1847	500
Total.....	2	46	23				1,706
<i>Mississippi.</i>							
Mississippi.....	1807	26	12	Z. Reeves.....	G. P. Claughton.....	1846	1,051
Pearl River.....	1820	31	11	J. Murray.....	S. B. Mullen.....	1847	1,307
Leaf River.....	1829	12	7	.....	J. G. Collins.....	1841	357
Ebenezer.....	1846	9	6	J. P. Martin.....	N. Robertson.....	1846	322
Union.....	1820	15	8	W. Mullen.....	W. W. Miller.....	1846	1,528
Primitive.....	1839	18	7	N. Morris.....	S. Canterbury.....	1846	523
Mt. Pisgah.....	18—	32	17	W. Denson.....	J. M. Chambers.....	1846	1,106
Choctaw.....	1837	26	16	J. Micou.....	M. Ross.....	1846	2,566
Noxubee.....	1838	13	4	.....	E. Pace.....	1846	460
Louisville.....	1838	15	10	.....	J. R. Bozeman.....	1846	596
Columbus.....	1838	21	11	J. C. Keeny.....	I. Harrison.....	1846	1,657
Zion.....	1835	23	9	W. Harrod.....	A. S. Bailey.....	1846	1,666
Yallahusha.....	1836	20	10	T. N. Waul.....	H. Talbert.....	1847	1,526
Chickasaw.....	1838	31	16	A. McCain.....	B. Collins.....	1847	1,551
New Hope.....	1842	10	5	.....	.....	.....	387
Lusascoona.....	1838	10	5	.....	.....	.....	150
Tallahatchee.....	18—	15	11	A. M. Meaders.....	T. K. Young.....	1846	452
Aberdeen.....	1844	28	13	W. H. Halcombe.....	J. E. Harrison.....	1846	1,561
Panola.....	1843	12	4	J. Lane.....	J. Middleton.....	1847	692
Liberty.....	1837	25	18	.....	F. A. Martin.....	1847	947
Zion's Rest.....	1838	18	4	.....	E. Pau.....	1841	585
Bear Creek.....	18—	10	6	.....	.....	.....	300
Central.....	1845	23	19	D. B. Crawford.....	J. Denson.....	1847	2,211
Coldwater.....	1841	15	12	J. Tucker.....	R. T. Sanders.....	1846	946
Total.....	24	458	241				24,447
<i>Louisiana.</i>							
Louisiana.....	1820	12	13	L. Tanner.....	P. Tanner.....	1845	774
Concord.....	1832	18	11	S. J. Larkin.....	G. W. Baines.....	1845	763
Occuchita.....	1843	16	8	A. S. Mercer.....	A. D. Ratcliff.....	1846	384
Shady Grove.....	18—	10	5	.....	.....	.....	200

ALABAMA.—Cahawba, about \$200 reported but in part; Alabama, about \$600; Bethlehem, about \$500; Bethel, about \$400; Union, about \$550; Tuskegee, about \$100; Liberty East, about \$125; Salem, about \$300.

MISSISSIPPI.—Mississippi reported for benevolent objects about \$100; Pearl River, about \$100; Union Association, about \$200; Mount Pisgah, about \$300; Choctaw, about \$700; Columbus, \$500; Zion, about \$200; Yallahusha, \$728; Aberdeen, \$283; Central, \$550; Coldwater, \$178.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Mississippi River...	1843	9	8	W. B. Wall.....	A. G. Norwood.....	1846	800
Eastern.....	1842	23	14	W. B. Allen.....	W. L. Sibley.....	1846	688
Total.....	6	88	59				3,609
<i>Arkansas.</i>							
White River.....	1840	5	4	B. Hawkins.....	G. W. Wolf.....	1847	207
Rocky Bayou.....	1840	11	8	W. B. Karr.....	J. Snider.....	1847	452
Saline.....	1836	26	13	I. C. Perkins.....	E. W. Russell.....	1845	917
Washington.....	1837	10	6			1847	350
Salem.....	1846	4	4	J. H. R. G. Gardner	P. S. G. Watson.....	1846	85
Liberty.....	1845	14	6	S. D. Worthington.	G. H. Cobb.....	1847	394
St. Francis.....	1844	10	5				250
Total.....	7	80	46				2,655
<i>Texas.</i>							
Union A. M.....	1838	8	4	D. Parker.....	A. Biggs.....	1843	169
Union.....	1840	20	17	W. M. Tryon.....	J. G. Thomas.....	1847	761
Sabine.....	1843	9	7				258
Northern.....	18—	10	5				200
Total.....	4	57	33				1,388
<i>Tennessee.</i>							
Holston.....	1786	33	33	R. Bayless.....	J. Edwards.....	1847	2,473
Tennessee.....	1803	27	13	W. Billue.....	T. Smith.....	1846	2,998
Do., No. 2.....	18—	9	5	S. Pate.....		1842	201
Nolachucky.....	1828	18	23	H. W. Taylor.....	T. J. Lane.....	1846	1,631
Do., No. 2.....	1839	10	8				300
East Tennessee.....	1839	10	8	E. Moore.....	W. C. Newell.....	1847	841
Powell's Valley.....	1817	27	8	W. Williams.....	W. McBee.....	1846	901
Mulberry Gap.....	1835	20	7	J. Gilbert.....	W. McNeil.....	1846	1,365
Northern.....	1839	20	7	C. H. Bootright.....	W. Hickle.....	1846	1,605
Highwassee.....	1823	27	18	J. J. Monger.....	W. Wan.....	1846	1,368
Do., No. 2.....	1836	20	15			1843	1,100
Sweetwater.....	1830	18	10	J. Simmons.....	Z. Rose.....	1846	779
Do., No. 2.....	1837	21	19	R. Gregory.....	C. Sanders.....	1842	738
Ocoee.....	1841	13	11	A. King.....	M. Gotcher.....	1842	300
Sequatchee Valley.....	1833	14	8	S. McBee.....	M. Burkhalter.....	1846	333
Cumberland.....	1803	17	8	J. Cox.....	J. Pugh.....	1847	973
Concord.....	1810	21	6	R. B. C. Howell.....	J. R. Graves.....	1846	2,543
Stones River.....	1837	13	9	J. Pitt.....	S. Sneed.....	1847	706
Red River.....	1806	12	5	J. Bobbit.....	J. H. Gammon.....	1847	337
Salem.....	1822	33	21	E. W. Haile.....	H. Fite.....	1847	3,183
Round Lick.....	1836	12	5	B. L. H. Walker.....	S. Bass.....	1845	632
Caney Fork.....	18—	17	5	O. Denton.....	W. Cantrell.....	1845	587
Elk River.....	1806	24	10	J. P. Walker.....	W. Boon.....	1845	932
Duck River.....	1834	30	10	J. Rushing.....	L. Holt.....	1846	2,125
Richland Creek.....	18—	27	15			1846	1,150
Liberty.....	1837	18	8	J. Scale.....	G. L. Sandridge.....	1846	1,080
Three Forks.....	18—	10	5				303
Buffalo.....	1828	17	6	J. Lancaster.....	P. Whitwell.....	1845	412
West Tennessee.....	1817	15	10	J. Fuqua.....	S. Adams.....	1845	335
Forked Deer.....	1834	10	6	J. C. Bradford.....	R. Atchison.....	1844	213
Big Hatchee.....	1828	43	51	L. H. Milikin.....	R. D. Casy.....	1846	3,458
Central.....	1836	30	20	E. Collins.....	W. M. Lea.....	1847	1,507
Western District.....	1822	28	11	M. T. Spann.....	J. H. D. Carlin.....	1845	1,257
South-western.....	1846	14	8	E. Autry.....	J. P. Arnold.....	1847	887
Obion.....	1827	23	12	J. Conyers.....	T. Scarce.....	1841	792
Mississippi River.....	1833	5	3	S. T. Coneray.....	M. L. Roy.....	1846	186
Mt. Moriah.....	1838	12	6	C. Cain.....	K. Ross.....	1845	567
Bush River.....	18—	10	8			1840	400
Seven others.....		70	50				1,500
Total.....	45	798	491				43,157

LOUISIANA.—Louisiana, \$150; Mississippi River, \$238.

TENNESSEE.—Concord, about \$100—not generally reported on the Minutes; Liberty, \$100; Big Hatchee—not reported on the Minutes.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
<i>Kentucky.</i>							
Elkhorn	1785	24	23	W. Rodes	F. C. McCalla	1847	5 852
Licking	1809	27	12	T. P. Dudley	J. S. Peak	1847	1,159
Long Run	1803	28	21	W. C. Buck	A. D. Sears	1846	4 566
Middle District	1836	10	9		G. Bristoe	1845	1,249
Franklin	1814	15	8	J. Ford	H. Wingate	1846	2,444
Sulphur Fork	1826	13	7	E. G. Berry	J. A. McGuire	1847	2,028
Mt. Pleasant	1840	7	5			1842	345
Boone's Creek	1823	10	6		S. Tredway	1847	872
Baptist	1826	12	5	J. Leak	J. M. Bell	1847	707
Concord	1820	18	10	E. Trelkeld	E. Trelkeld	1847	2,339
Ten Mile	1830	15	18	D. Lillard	E. B. Bartlett	1845	1,194
North Bend	1802	8	14	R. Kirtley	L. Webb	1846	871
Campbell Co.	1826	13	17		J. Vickers	1847	927
Union	1812	8	5		T. Waggoner	1844	408
Bracken	1798	16	8	J. Summers	J. L. Kirk	1846	1,723
Greenup	1841	9	10	T. Abrams	T. Reynolds	1846	401
Burning Spring	1817	15	17		W. Lykins	1845	550
North District	1802	10	3		J. Edmonson	1842	481
South Kentucky	1785	9	5	J. C. Portman	J. G. Pond	1846	711
South District	1802	20	11	B. Kemper	J. H. Kemper	1847	2,206
Tate's Creek	1793	15	8		M. Foley	1847	1,403
Do. No. 2	18—	6	3	A. Embry	T. Burnham	1845	221
Nolynn	1819	18	7		S. Gupton	1844	1,152
Green River	1799	19	8			1846	609
Russell's Creek	1804	25	22		W. H. Thomas	1845	2,101
Liberty	1839	26	17	J. M. Pendleton	R. Garnett	1846	1,628
Stockton's Valley	1804	15	7			1846	603
Cumberland River	1799	19	10		J. G. Lair	1846	1,526
S. Cumberland	1842	11	5	M. Floyd	M. Castillo	1846	525
Freedom	1842	11	9	R. Maxy	S. Long	1846	447
Barren River	1830	14	8		W. F. Spillman	1847	1,141
So. Concord	1824	11	7		W. A. Cooper	1845	579
So. Union	18—	16	4		J. G. Eve	1844	722
Laurel River	18—	15	8		A. Baugh	1846	806
New Salem	18—	14	4		W. Salisbury	1844	758
Salem	1785	32	11		R. L. Thurman	1845	3,315
Goshen	1816	24	19	J. H. Brown	J. E. Stone	1846	1,415
Davies Co.	1844	13	12		A. Taylor	1845	1,257
Otter Creek	1838	21	4		J. Gontreman	1843	750
Highland	1819	16	6			1845	366
Little Bethel	1835	20	9	J. Bord	W. H. Cunningham	1846	1,381
Little River	1813	31	14	J. W. Mansfield	J. E. Grace	1846	2,117
Gasper River	1811	21	19		J. Ticknor	1846	1,339
Drake's Creek	1820	6	3		Y. Weatherspoon	1844	519
Do. No. 2	1820	16	9	E. Briant	M. Hodges	1846	760
Bethel	1824	46	27	R. Ross	R. T. Anderson	1845	5,201
West Union	1832	28	16	J. B. Clark	S. Ray	1845	1,202
Clark River	1831	10	5		A. W. Backus	1843	377
Soldier's Creek	1842	10	6			1846	231
Point Union	18—	14	13		W. Wheeler	1843	632
Bethel Regular	18—	9				1846	507
Red Bird	18—	9	4		L. B. Hunt	1843	288
Six others ¹		65	41				1,400
Total	5^a	904	562				68,811
<i>Missouri.</i>							
Missouri	1817	9	7	S. W. Lynd	W. F. Nelson	1847	1,059
Franklin	1832	17	13	H. M. Smith	W. Duval	1846	594

KENTUCKY.—Bracken contributed for benevolent objects about \$100; Bethel Regular, about \$484. Many of the strong bodies in this State do not report on their Minutes the doings of this kind.

¹ Their names are South Fork, Little River, Panthers Creek, Salem North, Bethel-bern, and Barren River, No. 2. Some of them numbered between three and four hundred when last heard from, others were much smaller; my estimate for them all is probably safe and sufficient.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	W. heard from.	Total.
Union	1839	9	7	.....	J. H. Thompson ..	1844	350
Bethel So.	18—	9	4	W. Polk	R. M. Frier	1845	369
Cape Girardeau ..	1834	9	5	.....	B. Thompson	1843	195
Black River	1835	21	8	.....	A. A. Short	1845	845
NewCape Girardeau	1840	13	5	B. Gordon	E. A. Buckner	1846	348
So. Liberty	1840	26	10	W. Tatum	U. L. Sutherland ..	1846	752
Blue River	1834	26	28	A. Brooking	W. C. Ligon	1846	1,494
Concord	1823	28	13	J. B. Logan	M. D. Noland	1846	1,915
Saline	1842	9	6	.....	W. D. Hampton	1843	582
Osage River	1844	9	10	.....	Z. W. McCubbin	1846	294
Mt. Pleasant	1818	23	14	U. Sebree	J. Swetnam	1845	1,794
Fishing River	1823	27	15	H. Hill	W. F. Jessee	1846	1,042
Salem	1827	18	12	B. Wren	G. W. Morris	1846	780
Little Bonne Femme	1839	15	6	S. Thomas	W. W. Keep	1846	1,201
No. Liberty	1844	7	9	J. D. Wilson	A. P. Williams	1846	573
Platte River	1842	18	10	J. M. Falkerson ..	A. Hawkins	1846	556
No. Grand River ..	1843	16	13	A. D. Rock	J. G. Flournoy	1845	702
Cuivre	1822	7	4	.....	A. Bowen	1842	177
Salt River	1823	20	20	W. Biggs	T. T. Johnston	1846	1,068
No. Bethel	1834	24	10	W. Hurley	W. Carson	1847	1,320
No. Union	1844	9	8	.....	J. H. Thompson	1844	350
Wyaconda	1845	12	6	C. V. Madox	P. N. Forsee	1845	674
Spring River	1840	14	7	.....	W. H. Farmer	1844	383
Mt. Zion	1841	10	5	.....	.....	1847	261
Mt. Pleasant, No. 2.	1836	15	8	.....	.....	1845	643
Two River	18—	8	4	.....	.....	1846	303
Yellow Creek	18—	8	4	.....	.....	1846	217
Eight others ² .....	.....	75	40	.....	.....	.....	1,400
Total	34	511	312	.....	.....	.....	22,191
<i>Iowa.</i>							
Desmoines	1838	27	15	H. Burnett	W. B. Morey	1846	603
Do. River	1840	10	8	J. L. Gilmore	W. M. Morrow	1846	242
Davenport	1841	13	9	B. F. Brabrook	B. Rupert	1846	339
Total	3	50	32	.....	.....	.....	1,184
<i>Wisconsin Territory.</i>							
Wisconsin	1838	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Racine	1846	8	7	S. Tucker	L. Jones	1846	418
Milwaukie	1846	18	18	A. Miner	H. Honey	1846	595
So. Western	1846	7	7	.....	N. E. Chapin	1846	235
Walworth	1846	8	9	.....	J. Delany	1846	391
No. Western	1846	5	3	.....	.....	1846	100
Total	6	46	44	.....	.....	.....	1,739
<i>Illinois.</i>							
Illinois	1809	6	4	G. Simpson	W. Peach	1845	106
Edwardville	1830	10	14	E. Rodgers	W. Leverett	1847	384
So. District	1810	20	28	J. Peters	J. H. Lemca	1843	1,081
Nine Mile	1845	10	9	P. Hagler	J. R. Hutchins	1846	357
Franklin	1841	30	14	W. Ferrell	N. Harrelson	1847	1,267
Clear Creek	1831	10	7	B. Worthington	R. G. Davis	1846	553
Muddy River	1819	10	6	C. H. Clay	W. Allen	1844	383
Bethel	1829	4	3	W. Jordon	W. Hindman	1844	380
Palestine	1841	8	4	A. J. Fuson	D. Logan	1846	224
Vandalia	1840	14	13	J. Huey	G. Stacey	1846	325
Springfield	1836	17	11	T. Taylor	E. G. Minor	1846	734

MISSOURI.—But few of the associations in this State have made any report of their doings for benevolent objects. Bethel No. has reported \$118; none of the others come up to 100 dollars.

² Their names are Missouri District, Little Piney, Sac River, Siloam, Middle Fork, Third River, and Salem So.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clerks.	When heard from.	Total.
Sangamon.....	1823	17	8	A. Vandever.....	R. Bagby.....	1846	458
Apple Creek.....	1830	13	8	J. Brown.....	E. L. Cooper.....	1845	637
No. District.....	1829	10	5	M. Lemen.....	J. O. Graves.....	1847	389
Kaskaskia.....	1830	16	5	H. Sears.....	D. Yarbrough.....	1847	207
Wabash.....	1809	22	7	R. M. Newport.....	A. Norton.....	1845	729
Bloomfield.....	1836	10	4	G. W. Riley.....	A. Smith.....	1846	299
McLean.....	1837	12	7	L. Whitney.....	S. Lander.....	1845	369
Illinois River.....	1836	23	14	D. Newell.....	O. Fisher.....	1847	813
Spoon River.....	1830	15	10	C. Vandever.....	A. Miller.....	1846	274
Salem.....	1833	13	11	J. Logan.....	T. Holman.....	1847	540
Do., No. 2.....	1835	10	5	J. Boits.....	J. Tucker.....	1846	206
Quincy.....	1842	19	7	C. Harrington.....	H. Carmer.....	1846	996
Rock Island.....	1844	10	6	D. Dye.....	H. G. Reynolds.....	1847	219
Rock River.....	1840	15	11	J. Haskell.....	L. Stone.....	1846	811
Northern.....	1835	19	10	J. Dudley.....	W. Walker.....	1847	932
Fox River.....	1846	14	10	.....	L. Stone.....	1847	921
Separate.....	1836	20	26	.....	Z. Waters.....	1844	605
Colored.....	1838	13	18	R. J. Robinson.....	A. H. Richardson.....	1846	191
Little Wabash.....	1823	10	6	.....	.....	1845	212
Okaw.....	1832	8	4	B. B. Piper.....	J. Fowler.....	1847	226
Concord.....	1838	10	7	S. Conrod.....	J. Canfil.....	1845	268
Morgan Co.....	1830	9	4	W. Crow.....	J. Hill.....	1845	254
Clary's Grove.....	.....	7	5	.....	M. Carpenter.....	1843	299
Five others ³.....	.....	50	30	.....	.....	.....	1,000
Total.....	39	504	341	.....	.....	.....	17,658
<i>Indiana.</i>							
White Water.....	1809	28	14	G. Farlan.....	J. P. Brady.....	1845	1,275
Do., No 2.....	18—	12	8	.....	.....	1847	707
Laughery.....	1816	30	22	E. Ferris.....	J. Henry.....	1847	1,404
Blue River.....	1816	14	8	N. Anderson.....	J. Gibbs.....	1840	449
Coffee Creek.....	1827	15	22	T. Hill.....	J. Vawter.....	1847	1,003
Madison.....	1832	18	13	A. Baker.....	A. Vawter.....	1847	1,468
Flat Rock.....	1822	32	22	B. Reece.....	J. Reece.....	1846	1,918
Bowntown.....	1835	15	9	J. R. Tinder.....	J. E. Moore.....	1846	602
Sand Creek.....	1843	11	6	W. Varoter.....	P. D. Baughn.....	1846	596
Bedford.....	1843	15	4	T. N. Robertson.....	P. M. Parks.....	1845	852
Bloomington.....	1835	10	6	.....	D. Barrow.....	1844	403
Mt. Zion.....	1844	5	4	M. W. Sellers.....	Z. Sparks.....	1845	120
Bethel.....	1837	12	7	S. Woodruff.....	W. McCoy.....	1846	668
Union.....	1824	15	7	J. Chambers.....	W. G. Cole.....	1845	644
Curry's Prairie.....	1834	14	8	A. Frakes.....	W. C. Griffith.....	1846	806
White Lick.....	1835	24	20	D. Boswell.....	J. Currier.....	1847	1,315
Liberty.....	1824	18	13	J. B. Stinson.....	W. W. Willard.....	1845	800
Salem.....	1822	15	8	.....	.....	1845	851
Indianapolis.....	1828	20	13	.....	T. R. Creasey.....	1847	1,012
Eel River.....	1825	18	14	J. W. Thomas.....	B. Parks.....	1846	630
Freedom.....	1840	8	8	D. S. French.....	R. Davis.....	1847	303
Sugar Creek.....	1832	14	10	J. Lee.....	D. Earley.....	1844	414
Tippecanoe.....	1833	24	11	W. Reese.....	S. G. Minor.....	1846	986
Northern Ind.....	1836	13	12	E. H. Hamlin.....	M. W. Leland.....	1846	654
Elkhart.....	1845	17	11	.....	N. Dilla.....	1847	763
North Eastern.....	1841	16	8	.....	P. H. Evans.....	1847	416
Salmonie River.....	1846	12	7	R. Tisdale.....	F. G. Baldwin.....	1846	250
Huntington.....	1841	16	10	J. E. Thomas.....	G. Sleeper.....	1846	520
Little Pigeon.....	1822	14	6	R. M. Snider.....	J. A. Phillips.....	1846	462
Conn's Creek.....	18—	12	8	.....	.....	1846	326
Danville.....	1827	15	10	.....	.....	18—	500
Lebanon.....	18—	14	7	.....	.....	1842	375

ILLINOIS.—Contributions for benevolent objects—Illinois River, \$387; Rock River, \$158; Quincy, \$179; Springfield, about \$125. All the others fall short of \$100.

³ Their names are So. Illinois, Skillet Fork, Vermillion, Shelby Co., and Mt. Giload. Most of the Minutes I have received; the others I estimate, so as to make the aggregate as above.

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clarks	When heard from.	Total.
William's Creek	1831	12	9				400
Eight others ⁴		75	50				1,500
Total	42	593	393				25,394
<i>Ohio.</i>							
Miami	1797	15	16	D. Bryant	F. Snyder	1847	1,966
Do., No. 2	1839	25	8			1842	681
Mad River	1812	33	17	T. J. Price	J. Webb	1847	1,731
Do., No. 2	1841	8	5			1841	304
E. Fork	1817	19	10	J. Lyon	R. Hubbard	1847	1,048
Strait Creek	1812	18	7	E. Frey	J. C. Thompson	1847	860
Scioto	1805	13	9	L. Madden	B. Y. Siegfried	1847	443
Do., No. 2	1805	15	10	G. Ambrose	J. Peters	1846	494
Muskingum	1811	31	18			1842	892
Meigs' Creek	1826	23	17	J. M. Courtney	H. S. Dale	1847	1,734
Zoar	1826	22	11	T. M. Erwin	G. Seymour	1847	1,024
Salem	1828	11	6	H. Parsons	A. Stevens	1846	233
Ohio	1820	29	15	J. Young	W. H. Kelley	1847	1,288
Wills' Creek	1820	23	20	W. Sedwick	W. Mears	1847	1,261
Coshocton	1846	17	11	L. Madden	S. D. Alton	1847	683
Wooster	1839	17	14	J. Brown	H. Wallace	1846	965
Portage	1833	18	14	S. R. Willard	J. M. Chapman	1847	954
Trumbull	1839	10	8	B. Phelps	J. Winter	1846	381
Grand River	1817	16	16	J. Elliott	B. S. Knapp	1847	1,015
Gauga	1834	14	10	L. Andres	W. A. Hoskin	1847	563
Rocky River	1832	16	12	A. M. Torbet	H. L. N. Leonard	1846	1,116
Columbus	1819	15	20	D. B. Cheeny	T. G. Lamb	1847	1,276
Mt. Vernon	1843	19	15	H. B. Fuller	C. Platts	1846	910
Owl Creek	1835	14	5			1842	669
Mohican	1819	15	11	S. B. Webster	S. R. McBride	1847	745
Huron	1821	19	14	J. Hall	E. Eaton	1847	1,261
Lorain	1838	20	20	D. Eldridge	H. Allen	1847	1,002
Seneca	1835	18	8	V. B. Wall	J. Jackson	1846	516
Maumee River	1838	12	9	F. Smith	F. C. Skinner	1847	335
Auglize	1845	12	10	W. Chaffee	W. S. Rose	1847	303
Union	1840	15	10	W. Shelton	S. D. Fox	1845	644
Sandusky	1840	11	5			18—	317
Cæzer's Creek	1846	8	6			1846	431
Five others ⁵		33	20				750
Total	38	609	407				28,975
<i>Michigan.</i>							
Michigan	1827	30	18	J. Gambell	J. Darrow	1846	1,662
Washtenaw	1835	16	12	J. Booth	L. H. Moore	1846	1,065
Lenawee	1839	15	13	A. S. Ames	R. Harvey	1817	1,064
Jackson	1841	20	12	J. D. Hosford	G. W. Harris	1846	595
Wayne	1842	20	16	E. Weaver	J. H. Rascoe	1846	962
St. Joseph's River	1832	15	12	W. H. Brown	U. B. Miller	1846	761
Kalamazoo	1841	20	15	W. Taylor	J. Gilbert	1847	966
Hillsdale	1843	12	7	J. Ambler	J. Swegles	1846	491
Shiawassee	1830	9	6		S. Barnes	1846	561
Grand River	1844	9	6	A. Chase	E. K. W. Cornell	1847	306
Total	10	166	117				8,433

INDIANA.—Although a considerable number of the associations in this State do something for benevolent objects, yet I do not find that any of their doings amount to \$100.

OHIO.—Miami contributed for benevolent objects \$2,800—upward of \$800 was for Granville College; Mad River, \$140; Strait Creek, \$187; Trumbull, about \$100; Grand River, \$418; Rocky River, \$182; Mt. Vernon, about \$150; Lorain, about \$100. None of the others come up to \$100.

MICHIGAN.—The contributions for benevolent objects are—Washtenaw, \$275; St. Joseph's River, \$184, in 1842. This very active State in benevolent efforts, does not generally report its doings in the Minutes of its associations.

⁴ The names of them are Point Creek, Little Zion, Lost River, White River, West River, Prairie Creek, Bethel No. 2, and Mississinewa.

⁵ Their names are Greenville, New Market, Clover, Fodd's Fork, and Walholding.

RECAPITULATION OF BAPTISTS IN AMERICA.

959

ASSOCIATIONS.	Dates	Church.	Min.	Moderators.	Clarks.	When heard from.	Total.
<i>The Canadas.</i>							
Haldimand	1803	17	8	.....	W. Lacy.....	1847	897
Eastern	1819	13	6	G. Silvers.....	W. Huron.....	1847	623
Grand River.....	1819	27	18	G. J. Ryerse.....	W. Thompson.....	1845	1,825
Long Point.....	1837	23	8	B. Andrews.....	H. Black.....	1845	1,593
Brock and Talbot... 18—	4	3	.....	P. Steinhoff.....	1845	174	
Johnstown.....	1827	10	8	P. Schofield.....	L. Fisk.....	1847	506
Ottawa.....	1835	12	6	W. Frazer.....	W. Dick.....	1847	348
Montreal.....	1845	11	7	J. M. Cramp.....	F. Bosworth.....	1847	616
Total.....	8	117	64	.....	.....	.....	6,582

RECAPITULATION OF THE ASSOCIATED BAPTISTS IN AMERICA.

States.	Assoc.	Chhs.	Mins.	Members.	States.	Assoc.	Chhs.	Mins.	Members.
Nova Scotia and New Brunswick } 2	171	127	14,171	Mississippi.....	24	458	241	24,467	
Maine.....	14	306	231	21,686	Louisiana.....	6	88	59	3,609
New Hampshire....	7	107	91	9,320	Arkansas.....	7	80	46	2,655
Vermont.....	9	112	89	10,181	Texas.....	4	57	33	1,388
Massachusetts.....	12	236	247	30,389	Tennessee.....	45	798	491	43,157
Rhode Island.....	2	47	50	7,128	Kentucky.....	58	216	570	68,811
Connecticut.....	7	111	126	16,278	Missouri.....	34	511	312	22,191
New York.....	45	825	852	88,615	Iowa.....	3	50	32	1,184
New Jersey.....	5	95	110	12,062	Wisconsin.....	5	46	44	1,739
Pennsylvania.....	20	342	276	29,188	Illinois.....	39	504	341	17,658
Maryland.....	4	43	25	2,496	Indiana.....	42	593	393	25,394
Virginia.....	36	664	403	85,239	Ohio.....	38	609	407	28,975
North Carolina....	33	640	414	38,771	Michigan.....	10	166	117	8,433
South Carolina....	16	420	234	42,104	The-Canadas.....	8	117	64	6,582
Georgia.....	46	925	527	62,387	Indian Territory & } 21	25	1,654		
Alabama.....	31	710	301	41,779	Oregon.....	75	5,000		
Florida.....	2	46	23	1,700	Unassociated ¹	100	75	5,000	
					Total.....	614	10,914	7,376	776,371

STATISTICS OF MINOR PARTIES OF BAPTISTS.

	Yearly Meet.	Quarterly do.	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Free Will Baptists	25	115	1,178	1,019	51,947
Do. do. in N. C. ....	.....	.....	71	57	3,376
Total.....	.....	.....	1,249	1,076	55,323
Six Principle Baptists ² .....	.....	.....	20	22	3,500
Mennonites.....	.....	.....	400	250	58,000
German Baptist Brethren, or Tunkers.....	.....	.....	150	300	10,000
Church of God, or Winebrennarians.....	.....	.....	130	90	10,000
Campbellites, or Reformers.....	.....	.....	1,600	1,000	200,000
Christian Society Conferences.....	40	.....	1,200	1,100	80,000
Seventh Day Baptist Assos.....	4	.....	63	58	6,060
Total.....	.....	.....	4,812	3,896	422,883

¹ This is but about half the number which I made out by actual survey in 1812. But many churches, and some quite large, which for different reasons formerly stood off from all associated confederacies, have since fallen into them and become active members. So many are the opportunities for baptists of all creeds and opinions to find companies and homes congenial to their minds, so much is it a matter of course for churches soon after they are formed, to apply for admission into some bodies near them, that the proportion of those who stand alone is few compared with former years.

As some small Assos. of recent date may not have come under review, to cover the whole, I have made the moderate estimate above. If all these thousands and hundreds of thousands of baptist professors were engaged, heart and hand, in their Master's cause, what mighty deeds could they perform in the spread of the gospel in our destitute regions, and among the heathen nations abroad?

² I have had a free correspondence with Rev. J. B. Weston, of Newburyport, on the numerical strength of this community. He, and Elders Shaw and Pike, all connected with the Ch. Herald, assume responsibility for the correctness of this augmented statement over all former returns on

Remarks on benevolent operations. As my object in these notes has been to exhibit the annual contributions of the Assos. for *benevolent* objects, in all cases where it could be done, I have left out the sums paid for minutes and other current expenses, also funds on hand, old balances, &c. Many of the accounts are very vague and indefinite, and as I have often suggested, many of the strongest bodies do not report on their Minutes the doings of their churches in the cause of benevolence. The practice of reporting is a good one, and is becoming much more common than formerly, as is the fact of their having something to report.

All sorts of ways prevail in making up the treasurers' reports; and I have met with a few instances at the South, of churches making returns of what they pay their minister as among their charitable donations. These sums, of course, I have always omitted, as I have those reported in favor of houses of worship for themselves and others.

One main object in these notes has been to make our people in remote parts of the country acquainted with the liberal efforts of their brethren beyond their acquaintance for the spread of the gospel at home and abroad. The amounts, to be sure, are often small, but it ought to be borne in mind, that with young and feeble bodies the business of doing anything for themselves and others with any system and efficiency is wholly new, and furthermore that their early efforts often have to be made in the midst of much indifference or downright un-friendliness. As I have reported no sums under \$100, of course a large number of incipient movements have been wholly omitted.

N. B. I would here suggest to all clerks of Assos. the propriety of giving the totals of their churches and contributions, so far as it can be ascertained, for mission, bible, tract, and other causes of a kindred character by themselves; then the compiler will have an easy task if their documents can be obtained.

Remarks on Licentiate. It will be seen that I omit the distinctions which are usually made by our statistical compilers, between *ordained* and *licensed* preachers or probationers. According to the rules of our denomination, the latter class differ in nothing from the former except that they are not qualified to administer the ordinances of the gospel, assist at ordinations, and perform the marriage ceremony; in all other respects they are ministers *de facto*, and officiate the same as their ordained brethren in all clerical functions. In many of the associational fraternities at the south and west they are not reported on the Minutes, and of course the number is not small who are not recognized in my statistical tables; the number, however, on the whole, is much less than formerly, especially of those who are merely exhorters, and are making no preparations for assuming pastoral stations.

Do. on Corresponding Secretaries of Associations. I have already stated, that whereas the custom of appointing these officers in addition to the clerks is of recent origin, of partial prevalence, and of doubtful continuance, I have not named them in my list of official appointments.

Do. on Statistical Returns. I see that all who have taken it in hand to collect and arrange statistical information, whether for their own States or for the whole country, complain of neglect on the part of many to whom they apply for the Minutes of Associations, and from my own experience I know how to sympathize with them in this business. Such backwardness and inattention often surprised me, especially from those who profess to be the friends of evangelical efforts. On the part of the opponents of these efforts, I was prepared to expect neglect; but many of them have paid more attention to my requests than not a few of those who are classed among the missionary baptists.³ But, after all, in one way or another, sometimes by going back to older documents, I have made my tables on my plan much more complete than I expected. In comparatively but few cases have I been obliged to resort to estimates in my tabular accounts.

The Minutes for 1847 are daily coming to hand. Unfortunately for us as a community, however, they for the most part exhibit but a small increase, often a loss in numbers; but as my accounts must *now* be closed, it is altogether probable that many of these documents will arrive after the stereotypers have made all fast; and should any of our brethren not see the latest returns of these bodies, they will know how to explain the cause.

the ground that no full account of their numbers has been heretofore published. They say that many of their strongest churches, not being connected with these conferences, have not been counted in the statistical tables of the Ch. Register and Almanac.

While the above was in preparation, the Minutes of the *Free Christian Connection*, of Nova Scotia, came to hand. Their number is between 11 and 1200. From this document I learn that there is a similar body in New Brunswick.

³ A few of the people referred to above have taken pains to supply me with the statistics of all communities within their reach. Under this head I ought in justice to name elders Beebe, of N. Y., Cox, of Tenn., and Long, of Ill.

SECTION II.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF FOREIGN BAPTISTS.

ASSOCIATIONS IN ENGLAND, WALES, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

Berks and West Middlesex, Bristol, Bucks, Cambridgeshire, Carmarthen and Cardigan, E. and N. Ridings, East Kent, Essex, Glamorganshire, Gloucestershire, Herts and South Beds, Lancashire, Leicestershire, London, Midland, Monmouthshire, Norfolk and Norwich, Northamptonshire, Northern, North Wales, Notts and Derby, Old South Wales, Oxfordshire, Pembrokeshire, Shropshire, Southern, South-western, S. W. Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk, Suffolk and Norfolk New, Western, West Kent and Sussex, West Riding, Worcestershire.

Baptist Union of Scotland, Irish Southern Association.

	Assoc.	Chhs.	Mins.	Members.
Total in Great Britain and Ireland, ³	44	1,800	1,372	140,000
In France, ⁴ Germany, and other parts of Europe,		32	54	2,375
Mennonites in Europe, ⁵	10	300	400	30,000
Liberia Association, ⁶		8	8	564
In other parts of Africa,		10	10	516
Bengal Association,		20	61	1,207
In other parts of Asia,		76	34	7,029
Jamaica and other West India Islands, ⁷		98	146	36,390
Total,	54	2,344	2,066	218,081

GRAND TOTAL OF BAPTISTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

	Assoc.	Churches.	Mins.	Members.
United States and British Provinces.....	614	10,914	7,376	776,371
Minor Parties in do.....		4,812	3,896	422,883
Foreign Baptists.....	56	2,344	2,066	218,081
GRAND TOTAL.....	670	18,070	13,357	1,417,335

³ This account is taken in substance from the E. Baptist Manual for 1847 and the A. B. Almanac and Register.

⁴ A small association has lately been formed in this kingdom.

⁵ This account is taken from Rippon, Ward and Chase.

⁶ The account of the Liberia Association was made out in 1843. Since then revivals of religion have caused additions to most of the churches.

⁷ Although these churches are on the American coast, yet they are so completely under the management of the English Baptists that I have placed them under this head.

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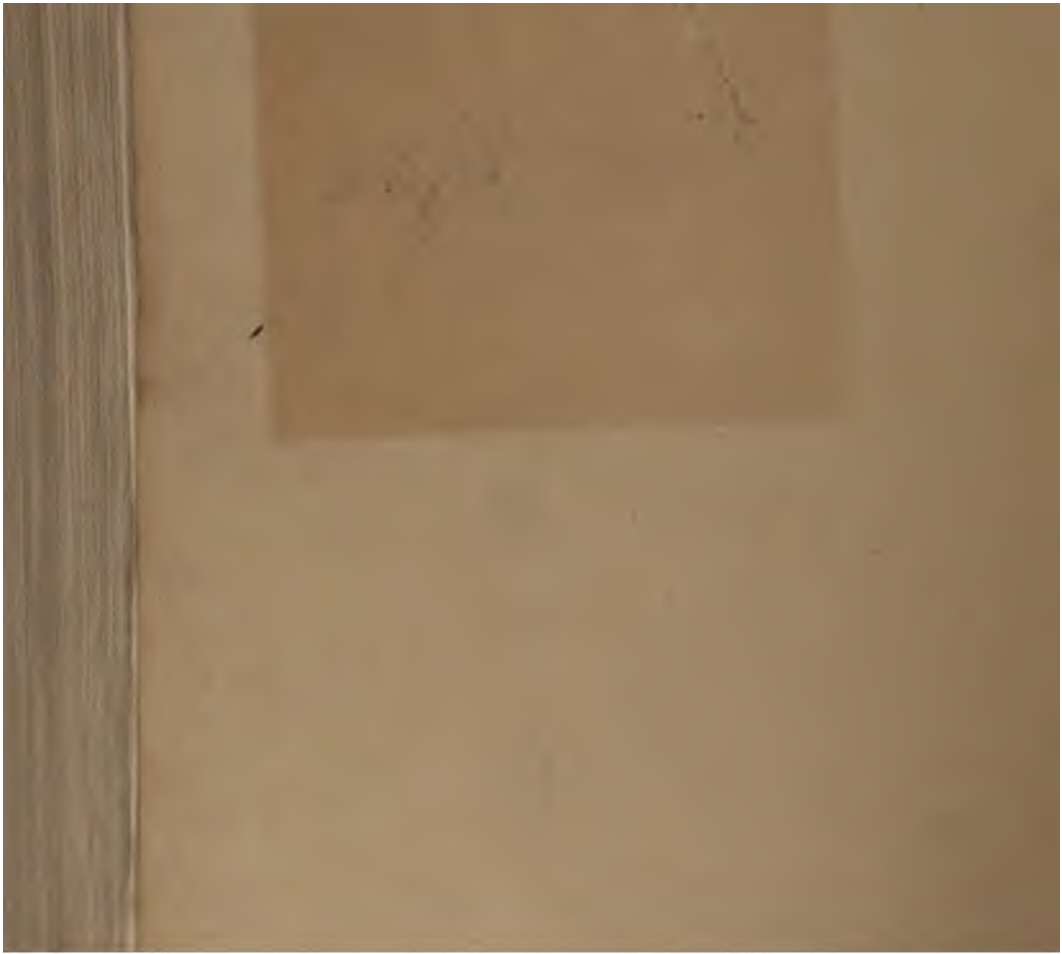
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